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THE HISTORY OF THE

# WAR WITH RUSSIA:

GIVING FULL DETAILS OF THE

Operations of the Allied Armies.

*By Henry Tyrrell Esq.*



*H.M.S. The Duke of Wellington (1851)*  
*By the late Commander of the British Fleet*





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BY HENRY TYRRELL, ESQ.

*Illustrated by a Series of Steel Engravings,*

COMPRISING PORTRAITS OF CELEBRATED COMMANDERS; EVENTS OF THE WAR; BATTLE SCENES;  
VIEWS OF CELEBRATED PLACES IN THE SEAT OF WAR; MAPS, PLANS, Etc.

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БАЛАКЛАВА.

# THE HISTORY OF THE WAR WITH RUSSIA.

## CHAPTER I.

RETROSPECT OF THE ASIATIC CAMPAIGN OF 1854; STATE OF THE TURKISH ARMY AT KARS; APPOINTMENT OF COLONEL WILLIAMS AS BRITISH COMMISSIONER AT KARS; THE TOWN OF KARS; ANECDOTE OF GENERAL MOURAVIEFF; RUSSIAN ATTACK ON A TURKISH OUTPOST; SKIRMISH BEFORE KARS; BLOCKADE OF THE CITY; THE REMAINS OF THE CAVALRY FIGHT THEIR WAY OUT; TURKISH SUPPLIES SEIZED BY THE RUSSIANS; THE BRILLIANT BATTLE OF KARS, AND VICTORY OF THE TURKS; DESPATCHES CONCERNING IT.

THE Asiatic campaigns of 1853 and 1854 were, as we have already related, unfortunate ones for the Turks. After the capture of Fort St. Nicholas they experienced nothing but reverses. They were defeated at Akhaltzik, reduced to a demoralised condition, and cheated and starved by their officers. A powerful detachment was defeated in an expedition it attempted against the Russians at Gumri, and the troops returned to Kars, more like a military rabble than a disciplined army. They fled from before the Russians near the fortress of Akiska, leaving their guns and other trophies in the hands of the enemy. In 1854 they were defeated at Ozurghetti, at Bayazid, and at Kurekdéré, where 35,000 Turks, after four hours' fierce fighting, were hurled back by only 18,000 Russians, whom they had attempted to attack by surprise. All these reverses resulted from the incompetence and, too frequently, the cowardice of the Turkish generals; for the Ottoman troops fought with that desperation which has ever been the characteristic of their warlike ancestors.

The battle of Kurekdéré occurred on the 6th of August, 1854. Towards the end of the month, the famous Circassian chief and prophet, Schamyl, swept down from the mountains, and, assailing the Russians, inflicted a severe chastisement upon them. The Turks also regained their spirit, and, by attacking the rear-guard of the retreating foe, succeeded to some extent in revenging themselves for their recent defeat. At this point the campaign of 1854 ended; for the Russian army was too much exhausted by

its late defeat, and also by its dearly purchased victories, to resume the struggle.

The state of the army of Kars, during the autumn of 1854, is thus described by Dr. Sandwith, in his pleasant and gossiping book; and as that gentleman beheld what he pourtrayed, we shall place ourselves under the obligation of quoting from his work.\*

"The position of the army of Kars was an innovation on all military science. The artillery was nearest to the enemy, the infantry close to the city, and the cavalry far away on the road towards Erzeroum. This latter arm presented a sorry spectacle, and was surely a great contrast to those gallant horsemen who once overran the east of Europe. This Turkish cavalry had been so drilled, after a variety of European models, that they had become the most useless form of hybrid that could be imagined. I never yet heard of them accomplishing a charge. The hussar, if he may be termed such, was mounted on a small horse that would scarcely bear his weight, not from his small size, but his low condition,—for the poor animal's barley had gone into the pocket of the colonel; his clothing had been used as bedding for the servants and chiboukjis, so there was little left to the animal beyond his skin and bones. A more miserable sight could not be seen than these 'poor jades,' who—

"Lob down their heads, dropping the hides and hips,  
The gum down roping from their pale dead eyes;  
And, in their pale dull mouths, the gimmel bit  
Lies foul with chewed grass, still and motionless."

\* *A Narrative of the Siege of Kars, &c.*; by Humphry Sandwith, M.D., chief of the medical staff.



The trooper himself was wretchedly clothed. On his feet were slippers on which he had contrived ingeniously to fasten a rusty spur occasionally. His jacket and pantaloons were in the last stage at which a garment can arrive; for the cloth of which they were formed, more costly than any turned from the looms of Leeds, had enriched pashas and Armenians in the imperial factories ere ever it reached Kars. The schabraque and saddle were in tatters, but the most wonderful of their equipments were the arms. The cavalry had hitherto been accustomed only to act against Arabs and Kurds, who dread firearms beyond anything; so they had been taught to put their trust in a clumsy flint and steel carbine. With this weapon they charged, fired it off, and then had nothing to trust to but a sort of policeman's sword, about half the length and weight of that worn by the cavalry of any other nation. This weapon was, of course, perfectly useless against a dragoon's sabre, as these poor fellows had learned by sad experience. The sole covering of the head was the fez, or red cloth cap; so they ran away, to prevent their skulls being cloven. Other head-dresses had been proposed, but as they resembled those of the Ghiaours, the ulemah of Constantinople had decided that it was better for the sultan's soldiers to be cut about the head than to wear the casque of the infidel. The Asiatic seat on horseback, admirable for the sword exercise, had been disapproved of by the Prussian instructors; and so these horsemen sat with their legs stretched to the utmost, and their toes but just touching the stirrups. In short, to my unsophisticated eyes the exhibition of such horsemen was ridiculous: I should have predicted nothing good from the appearance of these strangely Europeanised troopers, and never was failure so flagrant as in these Asiatic campaigns. I do not presume to enter into the military question of cavalry drill and tactics, and the necessity of reducing every detail to the European standard; I merely give a Yorkshireman's opinion of the horseman I see before me, and do not hesitate to say he makes a ridiculous figure. How different is the appearance of that Bashi-Bazouk dashing across the plain on his active little Kordish horse! What perfect command he has both of horse and arms! A regiment of men drilled to manœuvre, but retaining the seat formed from childhood, would surely answer better than this bastard

Prussian style. If I am not mistaken, our irregulars in India, rising daily into higher repute, are an illustration of this remark. The infantry I saw before me had many excellent qualities. The dress of the men was simple and perfectly well adapted for work, but the cloth was bad. The muskets were precisely such as were used in the Peninsular war, the old-fashioned flint and steel 'brown Bess.' In manual exercise these troops were perfect; the European officers unanimously declared that in this point they were unsurpassed by any troops in the world; but any combined movement usually ended in a muddle. The men themselves were of all kinds; many who ought to have been rejected for bodily infirmities had been nevertheless passed to make up for the deficiency caused by the richer ones having bribed the doctors, which latter (be it said in excuse) were always several months in arrears of pay. Still the general appearance of the men was certainly soldierlike—they were stout, muscular, hardy peasants, of very temperate habits, docile and tractable. I observed a much larger development of the calf of the leg than is ever met with in an English army, since these Turkish peasants have to perform all their journeys over mountain and plain on foot, causing a fine swelling of the muscles, and a hardihood most valuable to a campaigning soldier. There was an *élite* corps of *shishanajis*, or riflemen, armed with the new French *carabines à tige*. These men had been recruited almost entirely from the Zebeks, or mountaineers inhabiting a tract of land south of Smyrna, a race of ready-made riflemen, trained from childhood to carry that formidable weapon. Of somewhat short stature, they were nevertheless wiry, deep-chested youths, and in drill and appearance would have done credit to any army in the world. Great numbers had fallen, as they had stood their ground longer than the rest in the battle of Kurekdéré. All the infantry drill was on the French system. The artillery was chiefly under the command of Tahir Pasha, who had been educated at Woolwich, and Ibrahim Bey, a Prussian officer, both admirable artillerymen; and this arm had distinguished itself when all others failed: but the Turks have always been remarkable for the excellence of their gunnery, since the time when Mahommed the Conqueror breached the walls of Constantinople with his enormous cannon cast at Adrianople by the Hungarian artisan.



Of late years the Turks have borrowed largely in this department from Europeans, first from the English, latterly from the Prussians. The Russian minister did his utmost at all times to throw obstacles in the way of these European innovations, and at one time succeeded in nearly driving out of the country some English officers sent to instruct the Ottomans. Of course he did not appear on the field, but worked, it is said, through the Turkish authorities by the soft persuasion of the all-potent metal.

"Properly speaking, no organisation can be said to have existed in the army of Kars. It is true that there was a mushir, or commander-in-chief, feriks, or generals of division, and livas, or generals of brigade; but from the mushir no act of public importance ever emanated spontaneously. The responsibility of every measure was made to rest on some subordinate's shoulders, and the daily routine and unavoidable emergencies seem to have been invariably settled by a council of officers. The feriks, instead of commanding divisions, for the well-being of which they were individually responsible, shared the command of the whole army with the mushir; and it is extremely doubtful if any officer of the Turkish force understood the meaning of the word 'brigade,' much less could they handle one. Thus among all the superior ranks of the army no chain of discipline existed, and when any great misfortune befel the troops, it was utterly impossible to attach the blame to any single officer. Thus the loss of the battle of Kurekdéré may be laid to the charge of a dozen different persons, as in the councils of war which preceded the engagement each member made his own proposition, bent in no way to the opinion of others, and finally went into action with no more definite plan of operations in his own mind than that they were 'to fight the Ghiaours.' As the army was supposed to be modelled on the French system, there existed a *chef d'état major*, but who or what his staff were, or in what their respective duties consisted, no one seemed to know. The chief of this department was the well-known General Guyon, of Hungarian fame, and his *état major* consisted chiefly of Poles, Hungarians, and Italians, and a certain number of young Turkish officers, educated in the military school of Constantinople. Against these latter officers, especially, a system of persecution was pursued, not difficult to account for when

we call to mind the natural dislike an ignorant man has to his better-informed subordinate. This mean and spiteful conduct towards these unfortunate young Turks was observable in all their superior officers, from the mushir downwards, and was shown in a variety of ways. No tents, pay, or rations were given them, and they prowled about the camp in rags, fed by the charity of those who pitied their sad condition.

"Guyon himself and many of his staff, were men of proved courage, talent, and military ability; but, unhappily, they were divided into factions, thwarted by the Turkish generals, and their position ignored by every one. Guyon appears to have totally failed in conciliating contending parties, soothing their jealousies, and enforcing due obedience among the officers of the many nations who composed his staff. It could not have been otherwise; alone and unsupported, he had to combat with the avowed enmity of the Europeans, and the more baneful, but concealed, hatred of the mushir and his satellites. These two powers, for once playing into each other's hands, for the common purpose of doing injury to a mutual enemy, soon succeeded in rendering the authority of this brave officer but nominal, and his presence with the army even worse than useless. Fortunately for us, the command of the outposts had been allotted to a man every way fitted for the duty. This arduous task devolved on General Kmety, a Hungarian refugee, and he, though an invalid, suffering from painful bodily infirmities, continued to perform his harassing and unceasing duties with the wretched remnant of the cavalry, until the army finally struck their tents to occupy their winter cantonments. It may readily be supposed that an army in such a state of neglect and demoralisation, was but little skilled in drills of any sort: indeed, ever since the defeat at Kurekdéré, in the early part of August, up to the arrival of the British commissioner at the end of September, the troops had never gone through the most ordinary exercises."

The British commissioner alluded to was Colonel Williams, then regarded as a highly distinguished officer, and an able scientific engineer and diplomatist; since esteemed as one of the most meritorious heroes of the war. The unsatisfactory condition of the Turkish army in Asia, and the reverses it had experienced, resulting, it was well



known, from the misconduct of the Turkish officials, induced the British government to appoint Colonel Williams as a commissioner to examine into the causes of previous failures, and endeavour to prevent a repetition of them. He was instructed to act at the head-quarters of the Asiatic army, "in communication with, and under the orders of Lord Raglan, from whom he was to receive detailed instructions for his guidance." Our government had for once succeeded in the apparently difficult task of putting the right man into the right place. Some years ago Colonel Williams was appointed, in conjunction with the Hon. Mr. Curzon, to regulate the frontiers of Turkey and Russia in Asia. For some time he resided at Erzeroum and on the disputed territory, where he not only acquired a knowledge of the Turkish language, but became familiar with the peculiar views, customs, and prejudices of the Turkish people. In addition to this, he was a man of great military talents; he possessed great powers of patience, perseverance, and endurance, and was well fitted for the onerous duties of command.

On the 2nd of August, 1854, Lord Clarendon informed the British ambassador at Constantinople of this appointment, in a letter which stated that Colonel Williams was "attached to the head-quarters of the Turkish army in Asia, on the same footing as Brigadier-general Rose was attached to those of the French army." It added—"Your excellency will acquaint the Porte with this appointment, and request that the necessary instructions may be given to the commanders of the Turkish armies in Asia on the subject; and you will urge the Porte to send those instructions without delay, so that Lieutenant-colonel Williams, on his arrival at the Turkish head-quarters, may be treated with all the consideration due to the position which he holds." This direction Lord Stratford de Redcliffe obeyed in so tardy and ungenerous a manner, as to lead to serious inconvenience to the gallant officer concerned.

Colonel Williams arrived at Constantinople from England on the 14th of August, 1854, and shortly afterwards he received from the late Lord Raglan the detailed instructions which the foreign-office had directed him to apply for. They were as follows:—

Varna, August 20th, 1854.

Sir,—Her majesty's government having

been pleased to nominate you commissioner at the head-quarters of the Turkish army in Asia, and to act in that capacity in communication with me and under my orders, I have the honour to request that, in obedience to their commands, you will lose no time in proceeding to Kars and assuming the duties confided to your discharge. You will, however, in the first instance, take advantage of your being at Constantinople, for the purpose of obtaining the necessary equipment, to solicit her majesty's ambassador to get from the Turkish government introductions to the authorities with whom you will have to communicate in the accomplishment of the objects of your mission. You will also seek to obtain from his excellency the advice which his great local experience, his knowledge of public men in this country, and his unrivalled power of discrimination enable him to give better than any other man. The instructions of the secretary of state are ample, and would render unnecessary that I should add anything thereto, were it not that the variety of accounts that have been given of the mushir's army obliges me to impress upon you the expediency of trusting to no reports you may receive, but of endeavouring to ascertain by close personal observation its actual composition, the numbers each arm can bring into the field, distinguishing the regulars from the irregulars, the state of the arms in possession of the troops, whether cavalry or infantry, the quantity of musket ammunition (rounds per man) in the hands of the men and in reserve, the number of pieces of artillery and their calibre, how horsed, and with what number of rounds per gun, and how carried; whether the infantry or cavalry are formed into brigades and divisions, and under general officers, or whether there is no formation beyond that of a regiment or battalion; whether the troops are regularly supplied with provisions and the horses with forage; and, lastly, whether the army is paid, and to what period. You will also make it your business to discover whether the officers exercising commands of importance are efficient, and whether they support each other, or are occupied in intriguing to supplant those with whom they are associated. You will make all these inquiries free from any spirit of party or bias in favour of or prejudice against any individual, and you will attend especially to the judicious injunction of the Earl of Clarendon, to establish and maintain the most



friendly relations with the French officer whom I have reason to hope Marshal St. Arnaud will attach to that army for the exercise of the same functions as those entrusted to you. You will correspond with me by every opportunity, and you will take care to send your despatches to the secretary of state under flying seal to Viscount Stratford, and to keep his excellency informed on all military as well as political matters.

I have, &c.,

RAGLAN.

On the 14th of September, 1854, Colonel Williams, attended only by Major Teesdale and Dr. Sandwith, reached Erzeroum, the capital of Asiatic Turkey, and considered only of secondary importance to Constantinople itself in the government and defence of the Ottoman empire. On the 24th he proceeded to Kars, which in past times was considered the key of Asia Minor, where he was received with all the honours due to his position; for the corrupt Turkish officials were by no means aware what a rigid military reformer and exacting disciplinarian they had received among them. Kars has a fortress partly in ruins, but which was in past times considered one of the most formidable in Asia. It was built by Armurath III. in the latter part of the 16th century, and obtained in Asia a reputation for impregnability, on account of the garrison within it having, in 1735, repulsed all the efforts of the famous Nadir Shah at the head of 90,000 Persians, after he had defeated 100,000 Turks in its vicinity. The fortress now presents a very picturesque appearance. Standing upon a lofty rock, its gray old walls seem to frown gloomily upon the city which lies beneath it.

From Dr. Sandwith's excellent volume, we borrow the following interesting word-picture of the town:—

"Kars is as yet free from European innovations; you see in it a true Asiatic town in all its picturesque squalor. The houses are for the most part built like those in the villages,—burrows in the uneven hill-sides; but in the best quarters you find good houses, built like those of Erzeroum, and containing ample accommodation for the suite of a great man. In all these houses, however, the windows are extremely small, and plastered over with greased paper during the winter, the luxury of glass not having reached Kars. The bazaar is just what you meet with in any other town of Asia Minor;

each shop is opened by raising a large board which covers the whole apartment, in which squats the owner of a very paltry stock of goods; of which the price accords with the quality. It is scarcely necessary to describe minutely this Asiatic style of shop; it is the same from the Danube to the Tigris, and enough of this old-fashioned kind remain in Constantinople for the English tourist to sketch.

"The lover of the picturesque, however, and the student of ethnology, may enjoy himself in the market-place; for Kars is richer by far than Erzeroum in variety of costumes and physiognomies. Loitering about amidst bales of Georgian goods lying before the khan doors, you have numbers of *Karapapaks*—a race of frontier Turks who have adopted a costume very similar to that of the Circassians, and who in time of war are mistrusted alike by Russians and Turks, both of which governments they live under. Groups of these men, armed with that long broad dagger the *kama*, and a short rifle, may always be seen in the streets of Kars. Their head, unlike others of their race, is covered by a round and shaggy fur cap; the rest of their costume is not unlike that of the Persians. But the finest subjects for the painter are the Kurds. I fancy I see before me at this moment a group of these fellows riding over the bridge of Kars,—the rays of the setting sun are reflected from or absorbed by every variety of colour. The first horseman who crosses that mediæval structure is the chief, who wears an enormous turban composed of handkerchiefs of yellow, black, green, and white. His jacket is crimson, and blazes with coarse gold embroidery. His horse, an active little animal, full of blood, bone, and sinew, is hung with crimson trappings. His nearest follower carries a bamboo lance, tufted with ostrich feathers: each cavalier has a small shield suspended from his neck, fringed with green and red trappings, and covered with steel bosses; he is armed besides with pistol, scimitar, and dagger: hung round about him are powder-horns, flint and steel apparatus, drinking cups, and a variety of appendages useful or ornamental. Each horseman, with his fiery eyes and large moustache, seems a very Rustem, but I doubt if he has a bigger heart than any other savage, whose valour, decked out with warlike ornament, is apt to pale before real hand-to-hand fighting.

"Another race of men to be seen in Kars



are the *Daghestanlis*, or followers of Schamyl, the warrior prophet. Their language is the Avar, a tongue quite distinct from that of any other people. Their arms, too, are peculiar here, though they differ but little from what are worn throughout Circassia. Their pistols, of a singular shape, are worn in a belt behind, which, with the above-mentioned Caucasian *kama*, form what may be termed the undress weapons with which the Daghestanli strolls about the streets. When mounted on horseback, a large curved sabre, without a guard, and an ornamented rifle, complete his equipments. The hilt of the sabre is forked, so that the horseman, dismounting, rests the rifle on the hilt, whereby he takes a deadly aim. Many of these men pass and repass the well-guarded Russian frontier, by ways known only to themselves; and crossing the rugged mountain ranges of Georgia, keep Schamyl well informed of political events.

"Another clan of Mussulmans may be passed in review. You see groups of them escorting a convoy of horses laden with hampers full of apples, pears, or cherries—fruit grown in the warm valleys of Lazistan; for this high plateau produces no fruit whatever. These men wear a peculiar turban, formed of a sort of capote wound round their heads, the peak appearing above. A round jacket with loose sleeves, and formed of a coarse brown homespun, covers the upper part of the person; while their lower dress consists of a pair of trowsers somewhat of the Circassian cut, and of the same dark-brown material. These men are bristling with arms; for they are of a truculent disposition, and are frequently engaged in blood-feuds. They carry excellent home-made rifles, a brace of pistols, and a *kama*. These *Lazi* are Mussulmans, but not Turks. They are one of those very numerous and entirely isolated tribes of the Caucasus whose race and origin are still mysteries. Their language is, I believe, of that Georgian class which includes Georgian Proper, Mingrelian, Suanic, and Laz, of which the first is the purest and most typical, and Laz least so; but I am open to correction: Dr. Latham doubtless knows all about it. In figure, the Lazi resembles most mountaineers. He is short of stature, but muscular and large-jointed: more active and intelligent than the Turk, but perhaps as little civilised as any of the padishah's subjects, excepting perhaps the Bedouins. These Lazi wear long hair, and have only

one wife, both peculiarities at variance with the habits of the people around them. They dwell in villages, or in huts scattered singly over the country by the side of mountains, cultivating small patches of land cleared from the dense forests, and often in such precipitous places that they are obliged to suspend themselves by ropes while digging. Indian corn is the only cereal cultivated. Their country is densely wooded, the trees being chesnut, beech, walnut, alder, poplar, willow, oak, elm, ash, maple, and box. The higher parts of the mountains are covered with fir."

Shortly after his arrival at Kars, Colonel Williams inspected the Turkish army. The men were in rags, and their pay was fifteen and even eighteen months in arrear. The lean and spiritless horses received only one-half, and even one-third, of their proper allowance of barley, while the number for which rations were drawn was double those actually in existence. Yet the infantry, in spite of their ill-treatment, bore a healthy and soldier-like appearance. Discipline, however, could scarcely be said to exist, and the generality of the officers were addicted to the lowest vices and the most disorderly habits. The stern and business-like habits of Colonel Williams struck these men with astonishment, and raised emotions of dislike and apprehension among the plunderers of the army. On reviewing a regiment, he found the names of 900 men upon the muster-roll; but on the soldiers being counted (a circumstance on which he insisted), there proved to be but 600 in fact. The pay and rations of the 300 imaginary men had gone into the pockets of the colonel of the regiment and the commander-in-chief; while a portion purchased the silence of the still higher authorities in Constantinople. Colonel Williams called these dishonest and unpatriotic officers to account, and boldly told them that he was reporting their offences to head-quarters. With a laborious attention to duty, he inspected every detail, and visited the hospitals and camp kitchens, and examined the food of the troops. He also distributed the men into their winter quarters, as Kars itself could not accommodate more than 10,000 men without exposing them to the risk of disease. It may be supposed that Colonel Williams met with a great deal of opposition from those Turkish officials who were in the habit of making fortunes out of the plunder and ruin of their country. The following



communications, addressed by that energetic officer to the Earl of Clarendon, will exhibit the nature of the opposition he encountered, and also his mode of overcoming it:—

“Camp near Kars, Oct. 10th, 1854.

“After the dispatch of my last messenger I waited on the mushir,\* and offered his excellency the following advice:—1. Seeing that severe frosts now occur at night, which especially affect the invalids, and that we have before us the certainty of winter, which may at any day overtake us, I strongly recommended a selection of the weak and sickly men from all the corps, as also the most attenuated of the cavalry horses, in order that they might march leisurely towards Erzeroum, which arrangement would in no wise lessen the real effective of the army, and at the same time enable the men to reach their winter quarters with less chance of crowding the hospitals after their arrival. Mustafa Pasha at first insisted that all his men were able to march to Erzeroum in four days. I replied that in all armies infirm and weak men were to be found. The mushir then said that he would order the selection of the sickly and weak from each regiment. I have just heard from the ferik pashas that no such orders have been given.

“2. I told the pasha that, in superintending the drills of the army, I found the infantry uninstructed in loading even with blank cartridges; that many of the regiments had not the opportunity of one day’s file-firing given to them; and I begged him (now that it could be done without even the fear of scarcity of powder, which fear he had expressed when I first spoke to him on this vital point) to carry my wishes into effect.

“3. I have repeatedly begged him to send into the neighbouring forests to cut wood and haul it into Kars before the terrible winter of these regions sets in.

“4. I have not ceased for the last ten days to importune the mushir to cause the houses intended for the safety of the sultan’s troops to be cleared out and cleaned for my inspection.

“5. I have inquired in vain for the result of any arrangement made by the Vali of Kars for the supply of mutton for the force about to be left in Kars, and I can find no reason for supposing that great privation

will not be felt on that head. The sheep ought to have been purchased before this eleventh hour, and placed in villages within reach of this garrison during the storms and intense cold of an Armenian winter.

“6. Medicines and wine for the sick have also occupied my attention. His excellency Zarif Mustafa Pasha tells me that a supply of medicine has already arrived at Erzeroum; but I have just complaints to offer to your lordship even on the diet of these hospitals. Dr. Sandwith brought me, two days ago, a loaf of black dough, full of all sorts of impurities, and quite unfit for a human being. This was taken from a sick man. I enclosed it to the mushir, who said it had been sent to the hospital as food for the attendants, and not for the sick.

“7. I have just heard of the intention of the mushir to divide those regiments which will remain after the garrison of Kars is completed into detachments, to be stationed at Ardahan, Kaghisman, and Childir; thus reducing the garrison of Erzeroum to a force quite insufficient to prevent its insult and capture by the enemy, operating by Bayazid in early spring. I shall immediately protest against this arrangement.

“8.† I shall again endeavour to bring the mushir to reason on all points connected with this despatch; if I fail, I am prepared to adopt that course which the urgency of our affairs demands at my hands.”

“Camp near Kars, Oct. 11th, 1854.

“Hearing this morning that the mushir was in consultation with his two feriks,‡ I sent and begged to be allowed to speak with them. I was consequently invited to Zarif Mustafa Pasha’s tent. I began by recapitulating my requests to have quarters prepared for the troops who are to remain here. On this point I received the usual excuses and vague answers. I then touched on the preparations to be made for the march of the division intended as the winter garrison of Erzeroum. Zarif Mustafa Pasha answered with a smile that did not convey respect, ‘that he knew how to manage and quarter his troops.’ I felt that the moment had arrived when I must act with firmness, or lose all my influence, which has thus far wrung from the mushir daily drill for the army, and procured wholesome food for the hitherto half-starved and fever-stricken soldiers, who have expressed to General Guyon their gratitude for this amelioration of their condition. I therefore drew from my pocket

\* A *mushir* is a Turkish commander, equal in rank to a field-marshal.

† The eighth paragraph was not read to the pashas.

‡ A *ferik* is equivalent in rank to a general of division.

the draught of my despatch of yesterday's date, and caused each paragraph to be translated to the astonished mushir and his feriks. The tone of his excellency changed in a moment; but as no promise was given I took my leave. I had scarcely reached my tent when Mr. Zohrab, the interpreter and secretary, was recalled, and a promise sent to me that he would attend to every suggestion which I should in future make for his consideration.

"At a later hour of the morning I was called to hear the mushir give his orders for the preparation of the houses intended for the troops in Kars, and also directions for the conduct of this local governor with regard to the supply of wood, grain, and sheep. His reply was, that any supplies can be had with money, but that such is the extent of debts already contracted by this army that nothing but cash would induce the producer to come forward in the market. I have, therefore, addressed a letter to the defterdar of the army at Erzeroum, under cover to Mr. Brant, requesting him to read it to that functionary, and to forward a copy of it, together with his reply, to your lordship. I have this moment heard of the arrival of a courier in camp from Erzeroum, bringing 500 purses (£2,500), but, as on former occasions, it proves to be paper money. This sum, however, has been handed over to the governor of Kars, to insure the immediate supply of wood, meat, and grain. I heard this morning that the mushir was about to quit the army; and, as he had thrown out a hint to that effect while conversing with me yesterday, I waited on him this morning, and advised him to contradict such reports, as his excellency well knew that Kars was his post till the army had been placed in safe winter quarters, in the details of which he will take my advice. The Russian camp is now on the Arpa-tchai river, two hours march above Gumri. It has lost a good deal of ammunition by accidental or wilful explosion, and I got the pasha's promise this morning to have our tumbrils so divided and guarded as to prevent any serious loss by the acts of spies or treacherous friends in this camp.

"P.S.—After writing this despatch I have been able to see the muster-roll about to be forwarded by the mushir to Constantinople. The total number stands 27,538 effective of all arms; whereas, as I have already hinted in my former reports, if this army were called upon to stand to its arms this evening,

14,000 effective men would be all that could respond to that call."

Though treated with an unpardonable superciliousness and neglect by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, General Williams was yet instrumental in promoting a proper discipline in the Turkish army in Asia, and in securing the men from being plundered by their officers. Why the Russians remained merely on the defensive all this while is a mystery. We only know that they did so, although it is probable that a series of energetic attacks on their part would have terminated in the destruction of the Turkish force. Hostilities were not resumed during the winter of 1854-'5; the usual severity of the season precluding them. In the January of 1855, the government of the sultan granted Colonel Williams the rank of ferik, or general, in the Turkish army, together with the title of Williams Pasha. There was some peculiarity about this appointment, as the general was the first foreign officer admitted into the sultan's service with his "infidel" name. The distinction conferred upon him excited much bitterness amongst the corrupt Turkish officers, whom he had done his best to have removed from the army.

On the 19th of February, the new mushir of the army, Vassif Pasha, arrived at Erzeroum. Dr. Sandwith, who was then at that city, thus describes him:—"He was a man of quiet, inoffensive disposition, with about as much military knowledge or experience as might be expected from any Fleet-street shopkeeper taken at hazard from his counter. His antecedents were those of nearly all the mushirs; he had been, as a boy, the slave of old Hosref Pasha, and so had began life with gold and preferment within his reach. I believe he had never heard a gun fired in earnest; he scarcely knew how to read or write; his accomplishments were limited to smoking a narguileh, and gracefully receiving visitors; nevertheless, he was a good man, and one of the best Turkish pashas I ever met with."

Spring passed away, and summer came, before active hostilities were resumed. General Bebutoff, who commanded the Russian army at the battle of Kurekdéré, had been replaced by General Mouravieff, one of the most distinguished of Russian generals; and it became evident, that warlike demonstrations would not be much longer delayed. The following anecdote is





Engraved by J. P. Jones. Lithographed by Adams.

COLONEL TEESDALE, C.E.



related of General Mouravieff and the late Emperor Nicholas, who was very proud of the military knowledge he possessed, and delighted in believing himself a great general. Some years since, Mouravieff, after having distinguished himself in the Caucasus, returned to St. Petersburg. The emperor, who had heard him spoken of as the first of Russian tacticians, one day said to him—"As you play the professor in the Caucasus, I must judge for myself whether your pretensions are well founded. Take the command of a corps, and manœuvre against another which shall act under my directions. Do your best, for I intend not to spare you." The general obeyed, and the trial of skill took place. The manœuvres had hardly commenced, when the emperor lost sight of the corps opposed to him. Some hours passed, and, as no Mouravieff appeared, the imperial force retired towards the Neva; but, unfortunately for the military reputation of the sovereign, the corps of his adversary was concealed behind some high ground close to the spot to which he had withdrawn. Mouravieff suddenly appeared, pushed forward a column, which separated the czar from the body of his corps, and eventually managed to get the latter between his artillery and the river. On seeing this, General Yermoloff, who officiated as *juge de camp*, galloped up to Mouravieff, and observed, "I congratulate you, *mon cher*, on a victory which will prove to be a defeat." The sequel proved Yermoloff to be correct; the vanity of the emperor was wounded; and, for a long time, Mouravieff remained under a cloud.

The Turks had been employed, under the direction of Colonel Lake, in throwing up fortifications around Kars, which gradually assumed the appearance of a formidably intrenched camp. Early in June, the Russians made a short march from Gumri, and appeared prepared to advance upon Kars in great strength. The position of the Turkish army could not be regarded without apprehension. The regular troops amounted to about 15,000 men, who had been familiarised with defeat, and scourged by fever and the scurvy. In addition to this, their provisions were insufficient to enable them to sustain a siege of any considerable duration, and their stock of ammunition was very diminutive. On the 9th of June, intelligence arrived that the enemy was encamped within five leagues, and that their number could not amount to

much less than 40,000 men. Others, however, estimated them at 20,000 only. The soldiers accordingly slept at their posts, and double lines of sentinels were placed around the works.

On the 10th there was a great rising of the inhabitants of the town, who were desirous to aid in its defence, and applied to General Williams for arms. A large amount of muskets and ammunition was accordingly distributed amongst them. A fine old man exclaimed, "Inshallah! (please God) we bring scores of Ghiaours' heads and lay them at your feet, Veeliam Pasha." The general told him, that dead or wounded enemies were to be respected; and that if any such savage conduct was practised, he would leave the place in disgust. Still he applauded the patriotic spirit shown by the inhabitants, and told the old man to assemble all the fighting men before the tent of the mushir, and that he would see that they were organised and paid. "Wallah!" exclaimed the spirited old fellow, "we want no pay; give the money to the nizam: we are Karslis; we fight for our religion and our harems, not for pay; give us ammunition and chiefs, and show us what to do; and Inshallah, you shall not find a coward amongst us." Everything was in readiness to receive the anticipated attack, and each English officer was assigned his post. It is astonishing, observed a spectator, how the Turks confide in the energy of Englishmen in the hour of danger. As to General Williams, he had become an immense favourite with the Turkish soldiers. "They see him everywhere," said Dr. Sandwith; "he is with the sentries at the menaced point ere the morning has dawned, anon he is tasting the soldier's soup, or examining the bread; and if anything is wrong here his wrath is terrible. His eyes are everywhere, and he himself ubiquitous. Each soldier feels that he is something more than a neglected part of a rusty machine; he knows he is cared for and encouraged, and he is confident of being well led."

Before daybreak on the 14th, Colonel Lake, accompanied by Dr. Sandwith and some attendants, rode from Kars to inspect the outposts. After an hour's quiet riding they reached the spot where the men were usually posted; but no one was to be seen. They consequently dispatched two orderlies in advance to reconnoitre, who, on their return, reported that the cavalry pickets



were about three miles ahead. Pushing forward they came upon about 200 of the Turkish regulars, and about 100 Bashi-Bazouks; the latter a good deal in advance. Having inquired about the position of the Russian camp, they rode further on with the intention of taking a view of it. It was yet but twilight; but in the gray dawn a large body of cavalry was observed, apparently advancing upon them. The colonel and his party deemed it prudent immediately to retire upon their pickets. For a time they lost sight of the Russian cavalry, when it again appeared, evidently advancing; and, at a further distance, two other regiments were discerned coming to its support. The Turks commenced a retreat at a trot and canter. Again the enemy was lost sight of in a valley, from which he shortly after emerged within rifle-shot, and dashed on at full charge. The Bashi-Bazouks raised a wild yell, fired their pistols, and fled in confusion. The regular troops struck their spurs into the sides of their horses and followed. The Russian cavalry, four times the number of the Turks, swept onward at a furious speed, and came up with the latter just as they dashed down a hill strewn with masses of rock. The crash of a volley of carbines mingled with the tramp of horses and the yells and shouts of men. The blinding mud was hurled into the faces of the pursuers, as their sabres whirled through the air, and descended on the unfortunate Mussulmans. The Russians chased them till the Turks reached the range of their guns, when they pulled up and retired. Some of the wounds inflicted by the Russian sabres on this occasion were terribly severe.

Saturday, June the 16th, was a religious festival with the Turks, when they gave themselves up to idleness and rejoicing. The Russians, therefore, cunningly chose it for an attack. About seven in the morning a horseman arrived from the outposts, "bloody with spurring, fiery red with haste." He brought the exciting intelligence that the Russians had struck their tents, and were advancing. The alarm was raised, and the soldiers marched to their posts. The townsmen buckled on their cartridge-pouches and shouldered their muskets. Smooth-faced lads of only thirteen or fourteen years old were amongst them. After hurriedly embracing those dear to them, the women rushed to the housetops. There some wrung their hands and wept.

Others, and by far the most, cried out to the passing warriors, in tones of encouragement, "God sharpen your swords! remember us, we are praying for you; go fight the infidels. God speed you!" On looking out from the battlements, the dark masses of the enemy were seen steadily advancing over a broad plain of rich meadow-land, covered with brilliant coloured flowers. The enemy threw out their Cossacks and Georgian skirmishers, which were met by the Bashi-Bazouks, and skirmishes took place between them. Some regiments of Russian cavalry then advanced and charged that of the Turks, who retreated. But the Bashis fought while retiring. The Turkish batteries also opened, and the advancing Cossacks fell under their fire; while those upon whom the great guns could not play, were singled out by the riflemen. The Russians attempted to enter the town along with the retreating Turkish troops, but they were utterly repulsed. The loss of the Turks was about twenty in this affray, while they estimated that of the enemy as amounting to nearly one hundred.

The Russians, however, made a very different, and probably a more correct report. General Mouravieff's account was as follows:—"Yesterday, the 4th (16th) of June, I made a *reconnaissance* with a portion of the troops in the direction of Kara-Dagh, during which a sotnia of our mounted militia opened a fusilade with the Turkish irregular cavalry, behind which we could see two regiments of Turkish laneers, drawn up in columns. The enemy on the flank was driven back by six sotnias of the 2nd regiment of the Cossacks of the Caucasus line, under the command of Colonel Kamkoff, whom I supported with four squadrons of dragoons and four pieces of horse artillery. The remainder of the troops were drawn up in order of battle at four versts from Kara-Dagh. The enemy had scarcely become aware of the movement directed against them, when the Bashi-Bazouks dispersed, and the regular Turkish cavalry commenced retreating slowly, pursued by the Cossacks. They soon got into a trot, the last rank only returning our fire. Taking advantage of the opportunity, Colonel Kamkoff charged with his Cossacks, and penetrated into the centre of the enemy's column. The Grenbenskaia sotnia, and two from Stavropol charged at a gallop the last closed ranks of the enemy; the sotnias of the Caucasus, of the Kuban, and of the mountains, pursued the enemy and sabred



them without mercy; the Turkish horsemen left their horses by dozens, to conceal themselves in the high grass. Carried on by the rapidity of the pursuit, the Cossacks paid no attention to the fire opened upon them by the batteries of Kara-Dagh, and they only stopped in front of the battery of the intrenched camp, situate near the town, behind which the Turkish infantry formed, and the fugitives found support. Emboldened by the vicinity of their main body, the Turks attempted to take the offensive, but two rounds of rockets from the cavalry detachments, under Lieutenant Oussoff, stopped them. I then ordered Count Nyrod to advance with the cavalry reserve, and to call together the different detachments in advance, who returned in excellent order. Our loss consisted of four Cossacks killed; one Cossack officer, ten Cossacks, and three militiamen wounded. Despite the brisk cannonade from the town, only two of our men were hit. The Cossacks brought back seven prisoners, two of whom were lancers; and they brought away all their killed and wounded, with the exception of a subaltern, who had gone too far, and was cut down in the very centre of the enemy's column, close to the camp."

On June 21st, 600 Lazistan riflemen entered the city, singing a wild chorus as they marched. They were fine-looking fellows, each a model of a mountaineer. Their costume was peculiar, and each carried a beautifully finished native rifle, sometimes worked with arabesque of silver and gold. Some of them also carried a broad long dagger and a brace of pistols. These men live under the command of their native chiefs, whom they implicitly obey. On the 18th, the Russians made a threatening movement, and halted for two hours within seven versts of the fortress; but the Turks did not think it well to accept this challenge to battle. On the 27th, the Russians detached a portion of their army for the purpose of destroying some Turkish corn stores, which, by gross carelessness, had been permitted to remain in some villages between Kars and Erzeroum. This the Russians succeeded in destroying, and also in driving off a quantity of carts and cattle. It will soon be seen that this was a heavy loss to the Turks, and contributed largely to the calamity which eventually overtook them.

The time passed tardily on, and anxiously enough for the defenders of Kars. Petty

skirmishes took place, which usually terminated in favour of the Russians. These were followed by movements and manœuvres outside the camp, generally not productive of any result. The presence of the Russians was becoming every day more painfully apparent. Their influence was increasingly felt in the small and diminishing meals of the soldiers and inhabitants of Kars. The road to Erzeroum was in their possession, and supplies fell into the hands of the enemy. No relief could come to the Turks unless it was conveyed by an army; and alarm of the approach of the Russians alone broke the oppressive dulness which stole over the besieged. On the 15th of July, Dr. Sandwich writes:—"We are now fairly blockaded. Up to this time we had been able to receive a few reinforcements in the shape of Lazistan riflemen—doubtful allies, since they were undisciplined, difficult to manage, and not to be depended on; while their mouths required filling as well as those of our best men. Besides these wild soldiers, we got in our posts over the hills; and the townspeople received dribblets of supplies in the shape of fruit, onions, flour, &c., from the surrounding country. We have now a cordon of Cossacks all round us, and a single horseman runs great risk in passing it."

A period of dreary inaction followed, broken only by trivial skirmishes at the outposts. The Lazistan irregulars became discontented, and said that they came to fight, not to be starved. The Turks, however, suffered patiently, and no sort of despondency ever tinged the face of General Williams. "He was thin, certainly; he could not well be thinner: but no wonder, for he never seemed to sleep. Long ere daylight broke, he was with the sentries of Tahmasb, the point nearest to the Russian camp, and his glass learned every movement; then he was by the side of the mushir during the greater part of the day; anon, he was encouraging the Bashi-Bazouks, and settling their differences, or anxiously arranging some plan for feeding the townspeople; and, in our little confidential gossips on the state of affairs, he would impress on us the duty of maintaining a bright and hopeful bearing, since all the garrison looked up to us for encouragement."

A constantly increasing difficulty was felt in feeding the horses, and for some weeks the miserable animals had been dying in great numbers from starvation. To such an extent had this occurred, that though a



great number of men were appointed to bury the carcasses, they were scarcely able to keep pestilence out of the camp. It is said that sensation appeared to be so deadened in many of the wretched horses, that they looked as if even the cravings of hunger were extinct, and that they themselves were scarcely conscious of their existence. In this condition a frosty night frequently extinguished the feeble spark of life within them. To put a stop to this sad mortality among the poor horses, General Williams resolved to send away the greater part of the cavalry from the fortress. Shortly after dark, on the evening of the 3rd of September, 1,200 of the regular cavalry, beside Bashi-Bazouks, were collected on the heights of Tahmasb, and a good feed was given to each animal. Their riders then prepared to cut their way through the Russians and escape. Away then went a grim-looking force, on their famine-smitten horses. Those who remained looked out into the darkness after their comrades, with feelings rather of curiosity than apprehension, and listened for the sounds of the inevitable conflict. It was sad to reflect how many of those poor fellows would never reach their native mountains. The movement was soon perceived by the enemy, and a body of Russian cavalry charged into the centre of the Turkish column; those in advance dashed forward, and made for the mountains, though rapidly pursued by the enemy. But the rear of the Turks was surrounded and routed. The pursuit lasted until daybreak; the Turks at different times pausing to defend themselves by ambuscading in houses and in narrow passes. It is from the Russians alone that we have any information concerning the details of this incident of the siege. We must turn, then, to the report of General Mouravieff, who says—"The whole affair, which took place during a dark night, and on hilly ground, was conducted with admirable skill and sagacity by the commanders of the different detachments.\* The Turks lost, it is presumed, about 500 men in killed and wounded in the encounter;† their dead bodies lined the road as far as the village of Kizil-Ghiadouk, and in the passes: we took two superior officers prisoners, nineteen subaltern officers, and

185 men; the remainder disbanded. More than 400 horses, three banners, trumpets, and a large quantity of arms remained in our hands: this signal defeat inflicted upon the enemy cost us very little loss. We had one soldier and two militiamen killed; one officer, five soldiers, and seven militiamen wounded." After the departure of so many of the horses from Kars, General Williams caused such of the remainder as were in a desperate condition to be taken some distance from the encampment, and to have their throats cut. It was regarded as matter of regret that the heat of the weather would not permit the flesh of the starved brutes to be salted, or otherwise preserved for food.

On the 12th of September, Omar Pasha and a large body of Turkish troops from the Crimea landed at Batoum, where they were received with great enthusiasm by the sickly and neglected garrison of that place. The cruel indifference with which the Turkish troops are treated by their pashas excites indignation and disgust. Omar Pasha found the hospitals of Batoum and Tchuruksu crammed with sick, and utterly without any medical attendance. On inquiry into the reason of this state of things, he was informed that, a short time since, the mushir in command sent to Trebizond for doctors. The steamer returned with six Armenian barbers, who, on landing, bled all the patients. The poor sick soldiers were doubtless in a very low state before, and the result of this blood-shedding was, that no less than 200 of them died by the next day. The vagabond barbers fled in alarm, and the poor prostrate Turks were left without any medical attendants whatever. The commissariat was in a still worse condition. Some days nothing but a lump of butter was distributed to each soldier; at others a handful of rice. The poor creatures who survived had been living on salad and water. A writer from Batoum, under date of October 2nd, observed—"The *Cyclops*, with the English and French commissioners on board, is lying in the harbour, waiting to take Omar Pasha to Suchum. There is very little excitement in life at Batoum. The mountains, which rise to a height of 5,000 or 6,000 feet, a few miles in the interior, are always covered with clouds,

result been otherwise, it would have been very disgraceful to the Russians.

† This is without doubt a gross exaggeration, as the number of the Turks attempting to escape did not exceed 1,200.

\* We cannot see that a very great deal of "admirable skill and sagacity," or of courage either, was required to enable a large body of well-fed and well-mounted Russian cavalry to attack a small body of half-famished Turkish horse with success. Had the



and scarcely a day passes without heavy rain. The immediate neighbourhood of the town is a perfect swamp; and it is easy to perceive at a glance why it has been rejected in favour of Suchum as a base of operations. Half the shops in the miserable and filthy lane of which the town is composed, are deserted; the remainder contain little beside vegetables, tobacco, and Manchester calicoes. There are only three or four enterprising Armenians, who sit cross-legged in front of their wares. English sailors and Turkish soldiers, Tunisians, with their red trowsers, and Gouriel militia bristling with arms, are generally grouped picturesquely round them, while here and there a damsel of the country shrinks past, concealing her charms, and a string of peasants, with loaded horses, wind through the swamp, their heads wrapped up, after the manner of Bedouin Arabs, in cloths of different colours; their short jackets are furnished upon each breast with ammunition tubes; their waists are encircled with a thick shawl, in which knives and pistols are thrust; their trowsers are of a thick woollen texture, loose at the hip, and fitting close to the ankle, while their feet are covered with a thick sock and sandal. A long rifle completes a costume which harmonises well with the independent bearing of the wearers; and it is some satisfaction to know that they are ready and anxious to co-operate with the army whose wants they are engaged in supplying."

The Turks at Kars were doomed to experience many reverses. General Mouravieff learnt that great supplies of provisions were collected at the villages of Otti and Peniaki, with the intention of being forwarded to Kars. Therefore, on the night of the 9th of September, he dispatched a detachment of infantry and cavalry, with twenty pieces of light artillery and eight rocket-stands, under the command of Lieutenant-general Kovalevsky, with directions to drive back the Turks assembled in that neighbourhood.

\* General Kmety was one of the most distinguished, patriotic, and single-minded of the Hungarian commanders in their memorable struggle for national independence. He attached his fortunes to glorious old Bem, nursed that warrior in his dying hours, and closed his eyes in distant Damascus. At the commencement of the war, Kmety was dispatched to the army of Anatolia, where he sought and obtained the command of the Bashi-Bazouk corps. He succeeded in reducing those irregular savages to a species of order, and inspired them with the greatest confidence in his gallantry and ability. Kmety was from the commencement the most popular man in the Ottoman army. His handsome soldierlike face

After a forced march of seventy versts the Russian cavalry came up with the Turkish convoy, near the village of Peniaki. The Turkish dismounted horsemen occupied the sides of the neighbouring mountains, and the Bashi-Bazouks were placed on a rising ground in advance of the village, with the cavalry and artillery in their rear. The engagement commenced about six o'clock on the evening of the 11th, and an obstinate struggle took place, which ended in the Turks being driven from the village, with the loss of their leader, Ali Pasha, who, after defending himself heroically, was wounded and taken prisoner. The routed Turks were pursued for some distance, and suffered a considerable loss. Not only were the Russians successful in intercepting these supplies, but, on the following day (the 12th), a charge of their cavalry swept off many of the Turkish cattle from before Kars, and thus considerably lessened the food supply of the straitened garrison.

We must now relate an incident in this campaign by which the Turks thoroughly re-established their reputation for bravery and soldierly qualities. News of the fall of Sebastopol and of the landing of Omar Pasha at Batoum, induced many of the officers of the besieged army to believe that the Russians were about to retire. This surmise was strengthened by the fact that, for several days, large convoys of heavily laden waggons were observed leaving the Russian camp. General Williams, however, was not deceived by this artifice, and correctly regarded it as a prelude to an extensive attack upon Kars. Shortly after midnight of the 28th of September, the distant rumble of the wheels of gun-carriages was heard by the sentries on the heights of Tahmasb. General Kmety,\* a gallant Hungarian officer, known as Ismael Pasha, at once proceeded to the spot, and listened; but all was silence and darkness. As a precautionary measure, however, the troops

commanded respect; and the brilliancy of his courage—apart from his former splendid antecedents—rendered him the object of universal good-will. At the head of the Bashi-Bazouks, Kmety performed several brilliant exploits; and at the fatal battle of Kurekdéré he took the command of a brigade of regular troops, and his regiments were the only ones that sustained on that day the shock of the enemy. General Williams was not long in discovering the sterling qualities of Kmety, and entrusted to him the post of honour and danger. General Kmety has ever declined mixing in the political quarrels of his exiled countrymen, and when living in England he earned the esteem and good-will of all.



were called to arms, and stood straining their eyes eagerly into the gloom before them. About an hour before dawn the rumble of artillery wheels was again heard; and this time the wind brought with it the sounds of the measured tramp of troops. All doubt was then at an end, and the Turks made hurried preparations to receive the foe. The riflemen looked well to their weapons, and fingered their triggers; the artillerymen charged their guns with grape; and on almost every lip the words *Ghiaour gueliur!* (the infidels are coming), hung in accents which told of deadly hatred. By the dim moonlight a dark moving mass was observed in the valley. It was an advancing column of the enemy. The Russians appeared to believe that they should take the Turks by surprise. They were deceived. A gun was silently pointed against them, and fired when they were well within range. The shower of grape tore through the column, and a yell of agony was followed by a wild hurrah.

The battle then commenced. With a shout the assailants rushed up the hill, and advanced in close column on the breastworks and redoubts. They were met by murderous volleys of musketry, directed from flanking breastworks, and by showers of grape from the great guns. This deadly storm told with terrible effect upon the dense masses of the foe, who fell in heaps. Still they pushed forward, and some of their officers, in the delirious recklessness of the moment, not only charged in front of their men, but leaped singly into the redoubts of the Turks, where they instantly fell pierced by many bayonets. Riddled with shot, baffled and bleeding, the Russians retired to re-form their decimated ranks.

While this was going on, a fierce attack was made upon Fort Lake, the key of the whole position on the north, and on the English batteries in the rear of the town. The latter being very weakly defended, were carried by assault, and the enemy began to throw shells into the city. The rising sun now threw a light upon the field, and showed the position of the Russians. General Kmety checked this partial success of the Russians, and his riflemen thinned their ranks by a furious and well-directed fire. He was soon joined by reinforcements, and the backward movement was changed into a forward one; the loud hurrahs of the Russians being drowned by the yells of the Turks, who charged repeatedly with the

bayonet, and fought with the ferocity of tigers. White-turbaned citizens were seen rushing into the fight, and hewing down the enemy with their broad seimitars, while Lazi mountaineers sprung like wolves from behind rocks, and charged with the clubbed rifle or broad two-edged dagger. The Russians also fought with a wonderful and persevering courage. Again and again they advanced to the deadly breastworks, and were blown from the very mouths of the guns or bayoneted in the batteries. Dense clouds of smoke enveloped the scene of the fierce conflict, but it could be seen that the Russians were repeatedly hurled back, with terrible slaughter, at the point of the bayonet and by a fierce and murderous fire, and that their assaults on the keys of the Turkish position were becoming more and more hopeless. The perseverance of the Russians, and the deadly fury of the Turks, may in some degree be understood, when we mention that 800 of the former were killed before one redoubt, defended by only 400 of the latter. From this point the retreat of the Russians degenerated into an utter rout.

But this was not the only spot on which the battle was carried on. A large body of troops, under Colonel Lake and Kherim Pasha, attacked the flank of a large body of Russians, who were gaining ground in the rear of the Turks, on Tahmasb. The Turks, after pouring a volley into the enemy, raised a wild shout, and rushed on with the bayonet. The Russians staggered and gave way, and the Turkish artillery completed their confusion. Colonel Lake's batteries were admirably planned and worked; and wherever the columns of the enemy were directed, they found themselves under a flanking fire from heavy guns. The whole attacking force at length retreated with precipitation, and were galled during their flight, by a murderous fire. Had not starvation destroyed the cavalry of the Turks, and thus rendered pursuit impossible, the Russians might have been utterly scattered and annihilated as an army. The battle lasted nearly seven hours, and the Russians exhibited great gallantry and perseverance; but the Turks won an unequivocal victory. The loss of the Turks amounted to 362 killed, and 631 wounded. In addition to this, 101 of the townspeople perished in the strife. That of the Russians was enormous. It is said that they carried 7,000 wounded



BRATTLE OF BALA CLAVA.  
CAPTURE OF THE RUSSIAN.

Sept. 25th 1855





off the ground, and also a number of dead; yet, notwithstanding this, the Turks buried no less than 6,300 Russians, who had been left dead upon the field. Amongst these were many officers of the highest rank. The Russians themselves stated their loss at 6,517 in killed and wounded; 252 of this number being officers. Such was the fearful slaughter of the battle of Kars. An English officer engaged in it observed, "The Turks fought, not like lions, but like fiends. I never saw such desperate recklessness of life."

"I rode," said Dr. Sandwith, "round the batteries soon after the action, and seldom had the oldest soldier witnessed a more terrible sight. There were literally piles of dead, already stripped of their clothes by marauding soldiers, and lying in every posture; while the plaintive cries of men with shattered limbs arose from time to time from amidst these acres of defaced humanity. Every ghastly wound was there,—deep and broad sabre-cuts, letting out the life of man in a crimson flood, limbs carried off by round shot, and carcasses of man and horse torn and shattered by grape. I urged our men to carry off the wounded; but this work proceeded slowly, for the distance to the town was nearly three miles, all or nearly all our horses and mules were dead, and our ambulance corps thereby rendered useless. Suddenly a band of music strikes up; it is the rifle band, and the tune is a wild Zebek melody. At once, a dozen of these mountaineers spring up from their repose, join hand-in-hand, and dance amidst the dead, the dying, and the wounded. After a day of hard fighting, of glorious triumph, and soul-harrowing work, the night closed in upon us long ere we had removed the Russian wounded from the battle-field. God help them! After lying naked in a scorching sun, with shattered limbs and burning thirst, they are now exposed to a frosty night. I verily believe that the sensations of the human body are so blunted after a while, as to be no longer susceptible of suffering."

We here append copies of the despatches of General Williams, addressed to the Earl of Clarendon, minister of foreign affairs:—

Kars, Sept. 29th, 1855.

My Lord,—I have the honour to inform your lordship that general Mouravieff, with

the bulk of his army, at day-dawn this morning, attacked our intrenched position on the heights above Kars, and on the opposite side of the river. The battle lasted, without a moment's intermission, for nearly seven hours, when the enemy was driven off in the greatest disorder, with the loss of 2,500 dead,\* and nearly double that number of wounded, who were, for the most part, carried off by the retreating enemy. Upwards of 4,000 muskets were left on the field. Your lordship can, without a description on my part, imagine the determination of the assailants, and the undaunted courage of the troops who defended the position for so many hours. The mushir will doubtlessly, at a future moment, bring before his government the conduct of those officers who have distinguished themselves on this day—a day so glorious for the Turkish arms. On my part, I have great gratification in acquainting your lordship with the gallant conduct of Lieutenant-colonel Lake, Major Teesdale, and Captain Thompson, who rendered the most important service in defending the redoubts of Veli Pasha Tabia, Tahmasb Tabia, and Arab Tabia. I beg to recommend these officers to your lordship's protection. I also beg to name my secretary, Mr. Churchill, an *attaché* of her majesty's mission in Persia. He directed the fire of a battery throughout the action, and caused the enemy great loss. I also beg to draw your lordship's attention to the gallant bearing of Messrs. Zohrab and Rennison, who, as interpreters to Lieutenant-colonel Lake and Major Teesdale, rendered very effective service. Dr. Sandwith has been most active and efficient in the management of the ambulances and in the hospital arrangements. We are now employed in the burial of the dead, and I will have the honour by the next messenger of detailing the movements of this eventful day. Our loss was about 700 killed and wounded.

I have, &c.,

(Signed)

W. F. WILLIAMS.

The Earl of Clarendon, &c.

Kars, Oct. 3rd.

My Lord,—I had the honour to announce to your lordship, on the evening of the 29th ult., the glorious victory gained on the morning of that day by the sultan's troops on the heights above Kars, over the Russian army commanded by General Mou-

\* It was subsequently ascertained that the slaughter of the Russians was far more considerable. General Williams' next despatch states that 5,000

were left dead upon the field, while Dr. Sandwith affirms, that within a few days after the battle the Turks had buried 6,300 Russians.



ravieff, and I now beg to furnish your lordship with the principal incidents of that sanguinary battle. Your lordship will perhaps recollect that in my despatch of the 28th of June, I stated that the Russian general, after his second demonstration against the southern face of our intrenchments, which is flanked by Hafiz Pasha Tabia and Kanli Tabia, marched south, and established his camp at Bugah Tikmé, a village situated about four miles from Kars. Knowing that General Mouravieff served in the army which took Kars in 1828, I conceived his last manœuvre to be preparatory either to a *reconnaissance*, or an attack upon the heights of Tahmasb, from whence the Russians successfully pushed their approaches in the year above cited. Whilst, therefore, the enemy's columns were in march towards Bugah Tikmé, I visited those heights with Lieutenant-colonel Lake, and after studying the ground, decided upon the nature of the works to be thrown up; these were planned and executed by Lieutenant-colonel Lake with great skill and energy. I enclose for your lordship's information a plan made by that officer of the town and its neighbouring heights, which are situated on the opposite side of the river of Kars Chaï, over which three temporary bridges had been thrown to keep up our communications. As all verbal descriptions or bird's-eye views of ground convey but an imperfect idea of any locality, I beg to enclose a sketch made by Mr. Churchill, which will, I trust, tend to elucidate my description. Your lordship will observe that whilst our camp and magazines in the town were rendered as safe as circumstances would allow, the hills above Kars commanded all, and were therefore the keys of our position. The intrenchments of Tahmasb, being those nearest the enemy's camp, demanded the greatest vigilance from all entrusted in their defence; General Kmety, a gallant Hungarian officer, commanded the division which occupied this eminence; he was assisted by Major-general Husscin Pasha and my aide-de-camp, Major Teesdale, who has acted as his chief of the staff. Throughout the investment, which has now lasted four months, the troops in all the redoubts and intrenchments have kept a vigilant look-out during the night, and, at their appointed stations, stood to their arms long before day-dawn. In my despatch of the 29th ult., I informed your lordship of the arrival of the news of the fall of Sebastopol, and of the landing of Omar

Pasha at Batoum. I also acquainted your lordship with the fact that the Russian general was engaged in sending off immense trains of heavy baggage into Georgia, and showing every indication of a speedy retreat; this in nowise threw us off our guard, and Lieutenant-colonel Lake was directed to strengthen many points in our extensive and under-manned lines, and amongst other works the tabia bearing my name was constructed.

At four o'clock on the eventful morning of the 29th, the enemy's columns were reported to be advancing on the Tahmasb front. They were three in number, supported by twenty-four guns; the first or right column being directed on Tahmasb Tabia, the second on Yuksek Tabia, and the third on the breastwork called Rennison lines. As soon as the first gun announced the approach of the enemy, the reserves were put under arms in a central position, from which succours could be dispatched either to Tahmasb or the English lines. The mist and imperfect light of the dawning day induced the enemy to believe that he was about to surprise us; he advanced with his usual steadiness and intrepidity; but, on getting within range, he was saluted with a crushing fire of artillery from all points of the line. This unexpected reception, however, only drew forth loud hurrahs from the Russian infantry as it rushed up the hill on the redoubts and breastworks. These works poured forth a fire of musketry and rifles, which told with fearful effect on the close columns of attack, more especially on the left one, which, being opposed by a battalion of 450 chasseurs, armed with Minié rifles, was, after long and desperate fighting, completely broken, and sent headlong down the hill, leaving 850 dead on the field, besides those carried off by their comrades. The central column precipitated itself on the redoubts of Tahmasb and Yuksek Tabias, where desperate fighting occurred and lasted for several hours, the enemy being repulsed in all his attempts to enter the closed redoubts, which mutually flanked each other with their artillery and musketry, and made terrible havoc in the ranks of the assailants; and it was here that Generals Kmety and Hussein Pasha, together with Major Teesdale, so conspicuously displayed their courage and conduct. Lieutenant-general Kereen Pasha also repaired to the scene to encourage the troops, and was wounded in the shoulder and had two horses killed under him.



The right column of the Russian infantry, supported by a battery, eventually turned the left flank of the intrenched wing of the Tahmasb defences, and whilst the Russian battery opened in the rear of the closed redoubt at its salient angle, their infantry penetrated considerably behind our position. Observing the commencement of this movement, and anticipating its consequences, Lieutenant-colonel Lake, who had taken the direction of affairs in the English tabias, was instructed to send a battalion from Fort Lake to the assistance of the defenders of Tahmasb, and at the same time two battalions of the reserves were moved across the flying bridge and upon the rocky height of Laz Jeppé Tabia. These three reinforcing columns met each other at that point, and, being hidden from the enemy by the rocky nature of the ground, confronted him at a most opportune moment; they deployed, opened their fire, which stopped and soon drove back the enemy's reserves, which were then vigorously charged with the bayonet, at the same moment when General Kmety and Major Teesdale issued from the redoubts at Tahmasb and charged the assailants. The whole of that portion of the enemy's infantry and artillery now broke and fled down the heights under a murderous fire of musketry: this occurred at half-past eleven, after a combat of seven hours.

In this part of the field the enemy had, including his reserves, twenty-two battalions of infantry, a large force of dragoons and Cossacks, together with thirty-two guns. Whilst this struggle, which I have attempted to describe, was occurring at Tahmasb, a most severe combat was going on at the eastern position of the line, called the English Tabias.

About half-past five o'clock, A.M., a Russian column, consisting of eight battalions of infantry, three regiments of cavalry, and sixteen guns, advanced from the valley of Tehakmak, and assaulted those small redoubts, which, after as stout a resistance as their unavoidably feeble garrison could oppose, fell into their hands, together with the connecting breastworks, defended by townsmen and mountaineers from Lazistan, whose clannish flags, according to their custom, were planted before them, on the epaulements, and consequently fell into the enemy's hands; but ere the firing had begun in this portion of the field, Captain Thompson had received orders to send a battalion of infantry from each of the heights of Kara-Dagh

and Arab Tabia to reinforce the English lines. This reinforcement descended the deep gully through which flows the Kars river, passed a bridge, recently thrown across it, and ascended the opposite precipitous bank by a zigzag path which led into the line of works named by the Turks Ingliz Tabias (the English batteries.) Their arrival was as opportune as that of the reserves directed toward Tahmasb, which I have had the honour to describe in the former part of this despatch; these battalions, joined to those directed by Lieutenant-colonel Lake, gallantly attacked and drove the Russians out of the redoubts at the point of the bayonet, after the artillery of the enemy had been driven from those lines by the cross-fire directed from Fort Lake and from Arab Tabia and Kara-Dagh, by Captain Thompson. This officer deserves my best thanks for having seized a favourable moment to remove a heavy gun from the eastern to the western extremity of Kara-Dagh, and with it inflicted severe loss on the enemy.

After the Russian infantry was driven from the English redoubts, the whole of their attacking force of cavalry, artillery, and infantry retreated with precipitation, plied with round shot from all the batteries bearing on their columns. During their temporary success, however, the enemy captured two of our light guns, which the mortality amongst our horses from famine prevented our withdrawing from their advanced positions. He also carried off his wounded, and many of his dead; yet he left 363 of the latter within and in front of these intrenchments: and his retreat occurred at least an hour before the assailants of Tahmasb were put to flight.

During this combat, which lasted nearly seven hours, the Turkish infantry, as well as artillery, fought with the most determined courage; and when it is recollected that they had worked on their intrenchments, and guarded them by night, throughout a period extending to nearly four months, I think your lordship will admit that they have proved themselves worthy of the admiration of Europe, and established an undoubted claim to be placed amongst the most distinguished of its troops. With regard to the enemy, as long as there was a chance of success he persevered with undaunted courage, and the Russian officers displayed the greatest gallantry. Their loss was immense; they left on the field more than 5,000 dead,



which it took the Turkish infantry four days to bury. Their wounded and prisoners in our possession amount to 160, whilst those who were carried off are said to be upwards of 7,000. As the garrison was afflicted with cholera, and I was apprehensive of a great increase of the malady, should this melancholy duty of the burial of the dead be not pushed forward with every possible vigour by our fatigued and jaded soldiers, I daily visited the scene of strife to encourage them in their almost endless task; and I can assure your lordship that the whole battlefield presented a scene which is more easy to conceive than to describe, being literally covered with the enemy's dead and dying. The Turkish dead and wounded were removed on the night of the battle. The dead numbered 362, the wounded 631. The townspeople, who also fought with spirit, lost 101 men. His excellency the mushir has reported to his government those officers who particularly distinguished themselves—a difficult task in an army which has shown such desperate valour throughout the unusual period of seven hours of uninterrupted combat.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) W. F. WILLIAMS.  
The Earl of Clarendon, &c.

The following Russian report, by General Mouravieff, will yield abundant evidence of the furious character of the battle, and of the desperate valour of the Turks:—

“Informed of the reinforcements received by the Turkish troops in the environs of Batoum, and of the enemy's intention to advance simultaneously in the Gouriel and towards Akhaltzik from one side, and on the other, from Erzeroum, in the direction of Kars, I determined to profit by the existing state of the garrison there, and on September 27th, assembled a council of war. Every member pronounced for an attack. It is necessary to say, by way of preface, that the fortress of Kars, which is situated upon the right bank of the river Kars-Tchäi, has been strengthened by new fortifications, forming a chain along the heights surrounding the city. Amongst those fortifications are some redoubts, connected by curtains, erected upon the left bank of the Kars-Tchäi, upon the heights of Schorakh, nearly three versts from the city. Another line of fortifications extends more to the north of the city, also upon the left bank of the river, and upon the heights of Tahmasb. To unite these fortifications,

and to protect the space between them, a redoubt, called a citadel, and many separate lunettes, have been erected. The Kara-Dagh heights upon the right bank of the Kars-Tchäi are protected by fortifications, and the part of the fortress on the side of the plain has been strengthened by a triple range of intrenchments. The space of the whole line of defence forms a circuit of thirteen versts. The greater part of the army of Anatolia, which is composed of the best troops, was stationed upon the heights of Schorakh. The fortifications here are feebler, and the heights command all the others. It was hoped then that in becoming masters of this part, Kars would be ours. For this reason it was decided to carry these heights by an assault, and September 29th was the day fixed. The following were our arrangements decided upon:—

“The troops intended to take part in the assault were divided into four columns. 1. The first column, commanded by Lieutenant-general Kovalevsky, was to assemble before and at the left of the Observatory hill (at the east of the heights of Schorakh), from whence, after the second column had approached the fortifications and commenced the assault, it was to advance and attack the right flank of the enemy's position. 2. The second column, under the orders of Major-general Maidel, had for its point of reunion the Stol hill (at the south-east of the heights of Schorakh); it was ordered to be at the foot of the Moukh hill at four o'clock in the morning. It had for instructions, ‘whether perceived by the enemy or not,’ and immediately after arriving at the assigned post, *i.e.*, at a little height on this side, and a little to the left of the Moukh hill, to bring forward to this hill the light battery No. 1, to protect two companies of the battalion of the Caucasian tirailleurs and a company of sappers. This column was directed, moreover, to continue to advance in three lines, and, with a division of miners, in the greatest possible silence, and to take possession without firing—at least unless forced to do so—of the battery at the extreme left of the enemy's flank, or more to our right. The commander, Dobrynine, received the order after our infantry had occupied the enemy's heights to pursue him, and not give him time to re-form his ranks. In order that there might be more uniformity of action in the attack of the first and second columns, a column was placed between them, under the command of Lieu-



tenant-general Gagarine, to follow the first; its rallying point was the village of Schorakh, to the left of the Observatory hill. 3. The third column, commanded by Major-general Count Nyrod, after assembling at the village of the Little Tikmé, was to advance to the right of the village of Haut-Karadjouran, and to take up position at a thousand sagues from the enemy's batteries. The column of reserve, under the command of Lieutenant-general Brummer, was to keep watch on the north side of Kars. At the same time I caused Major-general Bazine's detachment to advance near Kars, and place itself in connexion with Major-general Baklanoff's detachment; these two detachments were ordered to act simultaneously from the side of Tahmasb, under the superior command of Major-general Bazine. I pointed out to each of these columns the disposition and the order of attack. The general attack was to commence at four o'clock in the morning, in order to prevent the enemy from being able to point his pieces and taking aim. Wishing to keep my intention of assaulting the fortress of Kars in the greatest secrecy, I had caused our troops to advance by detachments on the preceding days; and, according to the general arrangement, the infantry returned to the principal camp, and three sotnias of the No. 2 regiment of Mussulman cavalry, and a sotnia of the No. 1 regiment of the same cavalry, were left in the village of Nijnie-Kotauly to watch the road on the side of Saganloug.

"Here follows the description of the march made by these columns to reach their respective positions. The latter were occupied in the greatest order at the hour appointed—viz., four o'clock in the morning—and where were General Bazine's and Major-general Baklanoff's detachments, which remained at the foot of the heights of Tahmasb up to half-past four in the morning; while the second column, under the command of General Maidel, got through the obstructions of its position, and advanced boldly against the fortifications. It arrived without being seen up to within 400 sagues, and the light battery No. 1, with the companies of sappers and skirmishers which had been attached to it, had already succeeded in reaching the right declivity of the hill, when the Turks fired the first volley from the fort Tomas-Tabia. It was three-quarters past four, A.M. All the other pieces arranged upon the front of this

fort then opened fire, to which was soon added that of the skirmishers and musketeers of the Turkish infantry, who, upon the signal of alarm, threw themselves upon the ramparts and in the fosses which had been prepared for the skirmishers in front of the fort.

"The infantry of the second column advanced at a quick step, protected by the battery No. 1, already in position, and whose well-aimed volleys threw the enemy into confusion. Arrived within musket-shot of the fortifications, General Maidel gave the order to attack, and our infantry advanced at a run. A part of the Mingrelian regiment commanded by Colonel Serebriakoff, marched to the space between the two forts, and the rest of the regiments, under the orders of Major Baum, went to the right of the redoubt which flanks them, while the carbineers, commanded by Colonel Moller, went towards their right flank. The 1st and 2nd battalions boldly advanced to the ramparts, and the 4th went along the road, to get round them. At the same time the hill-pieces taken from the Turks at Peniack, and which occupied spaces in the first line, opened a fire of grapeshot.

"Battalions of the second line advanced at a running step; the troops of the first line rushed to the assault with cries of 'Hurrah!' attacked with the bayonet the Turks who occupied the outer fosses, leaped upon the ramparts, ran *en masse* against the Turkish infantry, who were there put to the rout, and took possession of part of the guns. At the same time the carabinieri of the Erivan regiment, under their chief, De Moller, sprang upon the battery, and seized two pieces on its extreme outer angle. Two other pieces were taken by Major Baum's Mingrelians upon the side bordering upon the redoubt; but here the success of these troops were checked by the batteries erected at the right of these redoubts, and by the redoubts themselves, the sides of which had been lately carried up from the side of the gorge to the same height as those in the front. Following the battalions of the first line, the second penetrated the fortifications. The captain second in command succeeded in bringing in his hill-pieces. General Maidel himself led his troops upon the redoubts and batteries still occupied by the Turks, while the captain of the staff, Romanovski, caused the cavalry and the rest of the infantry to advance, and turned them partly against the Turks, who



fought retreating from the rampart, and partly against the enemy's masses commencing to assemble in the camps behind the fortifications; the nearest were dispersed at the point of the bayonet; and pursued even into their very camps by our infantry. The latter then charged the Turks, who fired upon them from their hiding-places behind the tents, stone constructions, and from the ravines: these Turks were almost all put to the sword. The first camp was thus carried. Meanwhile the cavalry, preceded by the noble militia, under the orders of Prince Tzitzianoff, and by a sotnia of the combined regiment of the line No. 1, turned to the right of the first camp, where, charging the masses of Turks commencing to assemble behind the tents, sabred a great number on the spot, carried off a flag, and then rushed into the second camp.

"In the interim, the infantry, led by General Maidel in person against the 4-gun battery of the centre redoubt, took possession of this battery, which was taken by Lieutenant Pillar de Pillhau, of the regiment of his royal highness the Grand-duke Constantine's grenadiers, who, in spite of the fire of grapeshot and rifles from the redoubt, threw himself upon the battery with his company, killed its attendants upon the spot, and took possession of the four pieces, two of which were carried away, and the other two thrown from the rampart. Profiting by this success, General Maidel directed the first battalion of the skirmishers of the regiment of the guard upon the first central redoubt, and the Mingrelians upon the second, causing them to be supported by a detachment which was to watch the enemy from the side of the camps.

"During all this time, a part of the Turkish troops occupying the heights of Schorakh and the other nearest fortifications, was engaged with the columns of Lieutenant-general Kovalevsky and Lieutenant-general Prince Gagarine, which had commenced to attack almost at the same time as Major-general Maidel. These columns were in front as soon as the cannonade was opened. The two first lines of attack—the first column, commanded by Lieutenant-general Kovalevsky in person—advanced upon the right flank of the Turkish fortifications, keeping the left of the road, while on the right advanced the corps of horse volunteers. The No. 2 battery had opened its fire from the position which it occupied, and this it

continued until it was masked by the troops, who marched to the assault.

"The troops of the centre column were directed upon the redoubt, which attacked the Mingrelians of the Maidel column with the exception of a division of the battery No. 4 of the fourth battalion of the regiment of Toula, a company of sappers, and a company of skirmishers, who were left in reserve. The skirmishers and the second battalion of the Riajsk regiment were sent to the assault by Lieutenant-general Prince Gagarine, who, on his part, followed with the battalions of the second line, reserving them to send where need required. Our troops were received by a cross-fire of artillery, first of balls and shells, then grapeshot, then rifle and musket-balls. In spite of this, Lieutenant-general Kovalevsky's first line succeeded in reaching the curtain which unites the two flank fortifications, and upon his steps advanced the battalions of the second line. Some volunteers of the regiment of the Wilna chasseurs, Colonel Schlikevitch at their head, and many officers, had succeeded even in getting upon the rampart, but all fell mortally wounded. The battalions of the Wilna regiment maintained their position in the fosse, although overwhelmed by balls and bullets, and pieces of stone thrown upon them by the Turks. Ere long, the latter opened a heavier fire of grapeshot from their two flank batteries against the battalions. Lieutenant-general Kovalevsky was here mortally wounded. Colonel Keeloff, commander of the Belew regiment, was also wounded, and a great part of the superior officers of the two regiments were killed or wounded. Amongst them Colonel of the Staff Roudanovskii, Quartermaster-general Captain of the Staff Raditch. Moreover, all the officers attached to Lieutenant-general Kovalevsky were killed or wounded. Captain Kagnatchee, of the corps of engineers, who had been attached to my person, and whom I had sent to this column, was pierced with three balls.

"Meanwhile the horse volunteers had rushed to the right of the infantry, and, in spite of a most violent fire, penetrated the fortifications; but the movement of the infantry of this column not having succeeded, they were obliged to retire. At the same time the skirmishers of the centre column, also the second battalion of the Riajsk regiment, which supported them, reached, through a terrible fire of grapeshot and musketry, the enemy's battery. Here the



Turks, throwing down their arms, took to flight. The battalions of the second line, which had taken the left, were received by a cross-fire from the central fort of Tomas-Tabia and its adjacent redoubts. Here Lieutenant-general Gagarine and two chiefs of battalion were grievously wounded. Of six chiefs of the company three were killed and the others wounded. These battalions, which had not reached the fort, then joined those of the first column, which having lost the greater part of its superior chiefs and officers, began to retreat. Soon afterwards the enemy succeeded in concentrating considerable masses of forces against the skirmishers and the second battalion of the Riajsk regiment, already enfeebled by its losses. Here were killed Colonel Brestschinskii, chief of battalion, and Captain Khlioustine, chief of company; this battalion was then obliged to abandon the battery it had occupied, and to join the troops of the first column. I then transferred the command of these two columns to Colonel Prince Dondoukoff-Korsakoff, who, after bringing them upon the heights which stretch to the left of the Kourgan, where the battery No. 2 was, re-formed them, and made the combined regiment, No. 2 of the Cossacks of the line, and two divisions of dragoons advance to cover their retreat. At the same time he caused the wounded to

be collected by the Cossacks. The battery No. 2, which opened its fire against the enemy's batteries facilitated these operations. After the troops had been re-formed, they were arranged in the following order:—A sotnia of Cossacks, with the section No. 2 of the battery of fuseens, occupied the elevation where the No. 2 battery was; behind came the infantry, and, more to the left, two divisions of dragoons with the horse battery.”\*

The following brief account of the battle, by a French writer, is from the columns of the *Moniteur*; and with it we close this chapter:—

“The blockade of Kars, which place had been isolated for more than three months from every other part of Anatolia, had not in any way shaken the firmness of the Turkish troops confided to the command of Vassif Pasha. Different attacks made at various times against the works which defend the town had been before repulsed with great vigour, but the favourable turn which the operations of the allied armies in the Black Sea had recently taken appeared to have determined General Mouravieff to make another desperate effort. Two hours before sunrise, on the 29th of September, the Russian troops, from 35,000 to 40,000 in number, and formed in several deep columns, attacked the works placed on the

\* Here the original report of the Russian general terminates. A second division of it afterwards appeared in the *Journal de St. Petersburg*, of which it occupied no less than seven columns. It consists of a narrative of the order of retreat, the unavailing efforts made by the Russian troops to recover their position, individual instances of bravery, and details of the losses. The circumstances under which the general order to retire was given, are thus detailed by the Russian general:—“It was now eleven o'clock. The troops of the second column had continued their obstinate attacks for more than five hours; the greater part of the superior chiefs and officers were *hors de combat*, some of the pieces in position had only a few attendants, and scarcely any horses; the losses of the troops increased every second, while the enemy's means of resistance were proportionately strengthened, and the armed inhabitants of Kars had joined the Turks. As the other assaulting columns abandoned the field of battle the Turks concentrated their troops and artillery against our position. In this situation of affairs, I sent Lieutenant-general de Brummer to the second column with the 3rd battalion of the regiment of the Erivan carabinieri, and the 2nd battalion of the Riazan regiment, ordering him to attempt once more to take possession, if seeming possible, of the redoubts, in order to occupy the heights of Schorakh, or to immediately commence the retreat in the event of success appearing impracticable. After Lieutenant-general Brummer's departure, I ordered the

battery of position No. 4 of the 18th artillery brigade to take up a position against the fort Tomas-Tabia, which was unceasingly thundering against the flank of our twelfth column. Lieutenant-general Brummer made his battalions halt out of cannon range, and, after verifying in person the situation of the second column upon the field of battle, appreciated exactly our position upon the height of Schorakh, and resolved immediately to order the attack to cease, and to bring off the troops. This operation was difficult in the view of an exasperated enemy, and under the cross-fire of his works, but every one knows General Brummer's courage; and his long experience of battles enabled him to successfully fulfil this painful and arduous duty. After ordering the chief of the staff to send four sotnias of Cossacks from the reserve to bring off the wounded, he stopped nearly another hour in his position.” The arrangements which were made to cover the retreat are then detailed, and the general concludes:—“I directed Colonel Dondoukoff-Korsakoff's troops upon the village of Bozgaly, and those of the second column having joined the reserve at the foot of the mountain, a halt was made there for some time, while all the wounded had their wounds dressed and were sent to the camp. After this our forces returned to their old camps near the village of Tchivty-Tchai, arriving there at four o'clock in the afternoon. The same day all the troops occupied their position, and the blockade of Kars, raised for some hours, was resumed as before.”



hills to the north of Kars. The intention of the Russians was to gain possession of these heights, which, once in the power of the enemy, would have rendered any further resistance on the part of the garrison impossible. All the efforts of the enemy were therefore concentrated on the redoubt of Tahmasb Tabia and the two others adjoining, called the English and Arab redoubts. The first-named, which was considered the key to the others, was energetically defended by Ismail Pasha (General Kmety), whose bravery and enthusiasm completely electrified the troops. Four times did the Russians gain possession of the redoubts, and were driven out at the point of the bayonet by the Turkish soldiers, led on by General Kmety. After a desperate combat, which lasted seven hours, the Russians were compelled to give way. It could not be even said that they made a retreat, for they retired in complete disorder, followed into the plain by the victorious Turks, who took a hundred prisoners and one piece of artillery. The fatigue of the troops and the want of cavalry would not allow of the pursuit being long kept up. If only a small

force of cavalry had been at hand, the slaughter among the flying Russians would have been immense. Such was the confusion among the enemy that it took them five hours to collect their scattered battalions into anything like order. On the 30th, the Turks had buried 4,000 of the Russians, whose bodies filled the ditches and the redoubts, and it is calculated that as many more, in killed and wounded, were removed during the action.\* The loss of the Turks amounts to about 1,200, in killed and wounded, and among the former are several superior officers, who met a glorious death at the head of their men. The highest praise must be given to the admirable arrangements made for the defence by Vassif Pasha, in concert with General Williams; as well as to the skill displayed by General Colmann, who directed the engineering department, and the daring courage and energy of General Kmety and Abdul-Kerim Pasha, who headed the troops. The account of this very brilliant and desperate affair has caused the greatest joy in the Turkish capital, and the news was announced by salvos of artillery."

## CHAPTER II.

OMAR PASHA AT SUCHUM-KALEH; HE ADVANCES TO THE INGOUR; PASSAGE OF THE RIVER AND DEFEAT OF THE RUSSIANS; DESPATCHES CONCERNING IT; THE TURKS REST AT SUGDIDI; ANECDOTE OF A TURKISH SOLDIER; ADVANCE OF OMAR PASHA AGAINST KUTAI; IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE LATENESS OF THE SEASON HE IS COMPELLED TO RETIRE AND GO INTO WINTER QUARTERS; SUFFERINGS OF THE SOLDIERS AND INHABITANTS OF KARS; HORRORS OF STARVATION; GENERAL WILLIAMS AND THE TURKISH GARRISON SURRENDER TO THE RUSSIANS.

OMAR PASHA was detained at Batoum† by the almost hopeless condition in which he

found the army of Mustapha Pasha there. On the 3rd of October he arrived, in the

\* This statement is much within the fact.

† Shortly after the landing of Omar Pasha on soil which the Russian government deems a part of its territories, General Bebutoff, then commander of the army at Tiflis, addressed the following proclamation to the *noblesse* of the Transcaucasian provinces:—"Illustrious Princes and Nobles,—You know that upon the great men of a country rest the foundations of the social life, and that they always precede their inferiors in the trials to which peoples are subjected. A trial now awaits your country, where the Christian faith has been established since the time of the apostles, and where hostile forces have always succumbed before your fidelity to the czars. The reason for which our enemies have risen

against our emperor, the only orthodox czar in the world, is not unknown. They have envied his power, they have been jealous that he, full of love for men, conformably to the law of the Saviour, should demand for the Christians living in Turkey relief from wrongs and sufferings. Three powers, calling themselves Christian, have consulted with the enemy of Christians, and have proposed to overturn the grandeur of Russia, and so to destroy the protection beneath which we now repose. The Turk, in entering your sacred country, pollutes it. He threatens to destroy the law observed steadfastly by you in the course of eighteen hundred years; he threatens to destroy all upon which your prosperity rests; the church where sleep your illustrious ances-



*Cyclops*, at Suchum-Kaleh. He was received with enthusiasm, and almost immediately proceeded to the work of inspecting the troops. He found them in a tolerably satisfactory condition, and was cheered heartily by the men as he passed along their lines. Suchum-Kaleh is a town on the Circassian coast of the Black Sea. It was one of the few places in that locality not destroyed by the Russians. There was a good street running from the shore, in which many of the shops were opened by the mob of speculators who ever follow in the track of an army. A correspondent from the spot observed—"The first object of Omar Pasha, upon arriving at his head-quarters, is always to make himself personally acquainted with the country in the immediate neighbourhood of his camp. I accompanied him this morning upon an exploratory ride of this nature. After having inspected the hospital and the fortifications which are being erected to the rear of the hill on which they are situated, and galloped over the mountain slopes, covered with fern, in search of the most eligible site for the camp of the battalions still expected, his highness struck right into the mountains by a narrow path, along which we followed our Abasian guides for about two hours. The path led through a narrow gorge; the sides of the lofty hills which enclosed it were clothed with pendulous forests. So narrow was the valley, and so magnificent the timber, that we seemed almost buried in foliage: wild grape clambered over the

loftiest trees, and hung above us in tempting festoons; gigantic fig-trees spread out their fantastic branches loaded with wild but luscious fruit; apples, pears, and walnuts, all of a fair quality, were to be had for the trouble of stretching out the hand: but the rapidity with which his highness gets over the ground removed all danger of our making ourselves ill from any such indulgence. We splashed along, followed by fifty or sixty mounted orderlies, through mud and jungle, until we emerged upon an open space, on which a village was situated, where the women and children rushed, frightened and crying, into their konaks, and the men collected round the doors, not a little bewildered and astonished at so unusual an apparition. However, they soon regained confidence, and came to kiss the skirt of Omar Pasha's coat, and offer us hospitality. We therefore dismounted at the door of the principal cottage in the village, the only one constructed of planks, and made ourselves comfortable. Omar Pasha, who is eminently gallant, knocked at the door of a room where a bevy of fair damsels had locked themselves, and told them there was nothing to be afraid of. He was obliged to exercise his powers of persuasion for some time before he could induce them to open a chink large enough for us to see the sparkle of their eyes. However, they gradually relented, and before we left their shyness had quite disappeared. They spun, embroidered, and netted for our edification, and we were much struck with

tors; the houses which shelter your wives, your children, and your property; the distinction of classes, by which the high are distinguished from the low, and which has been from all time your privilege. The enemy has not remembered that in your prayers to the Almighty you utter these words, 'Make my heart pure, oh God! and raise up my spirit in distress;' he has forgotten that your faith has been watered by your blood, and that the prosperity of your families rests in your own hands, which have never proved unfaithful. Our government is persuaded that there is not one amongst you who cannot discern falsehood from truth, and defeat the snares of the enemy. Faithful to the emperor and to his service, you have often shed your blood in circumstances where the danger was less imminent. Now the enemy is before you; he has already crossed your frontiers; he seeks to afflict the heart of the emperor by your misery; the loss of your property, and the destruction of your faith. The time of trial, sent by the impenetrable decrees of God, has come; the hour in which the soil, desecrated by the feet of your enemy, must be purified—that soil consecrated by St. Andre and the holy martyrs—the hour in which the ashes of your ancestors, lying in your temples, must be protected from sacri-

lege; your personal dignity be maintained intact; your wives, children, and property be defended from outrage and violence; thus honouring the precious traditions of your fathers, and showing your fidelity towards God and His anointed, our monarch. Arm, every one of you! Arm the peasants and your servants; unite yourselves to the victorious troops of Russia, who have shed their blood for you. Show the enemy that you are the children of those noble Imeretians, Gouriens, and Mingrelians, who were never vanquished in the times of old. It now depends upon you that this war with the enemy become the cause of the entire people, and be waged throughout the length and breadth of the country. In every shrub, in every hollow, behind every stone, prepare his death, in order that the indefatigable adversary of our faith may learn at last that he is unworthy to be buried in Christian and consecrated ground; let him know that you will bury him where the sound of church bells is unheard—in the spots which serve only for the lair of savage beasts. Salvation to you, in the name of the Lord, illustrious princes and noble gentlemen; raise above you the victorious sign of His cross, and, marching under its protection, drive the enemy from your territory.

"The Lieut.-general PRINCE BEBUTOFF."



the ingenuity they manifested in their female accomplishments. One or two of the girls were remarkably pretty, differing neither in complexion nor in the character of their features from those in our own country. Their hands and feet, which were bare, were very small and delicate. Their costume is by no means so picturesque as that of the men, or so well calculated to do justice to the fair wearers. It consists simply of a sort of loose dressing-gown, open at the bosom, and confined with a girdle at the waist. Most of the houses are constructed of wattle, and thatched with the stalks of Indian corn. Meantime the male portion of the community had not been idle, and we found a breakfast of yourghourt (sour milk), honey, pasta (a sort of bread made of Indian corn), and pumpkin—by no means unacceptable after our ride. Omar Pasha made presents to the ladies, patted and praised their children, said civil things to the men, and behaved generally very much as if he was soliciting the suffrages of the population at the next general election. Then we mounted our horses and galloped back again. On our way we were overtaken by some of our late entertainers, who breathlessly informed us that a slave had taken advantage of the commotion which our visit to the village had caused to make his escape. We had not proceeded half a mile after this before a ragged figure came bounding out of the thicket like a startled deer, and threw himself at Omar Pasha's feet. He was a Circassian boy of about eighteen, who two months before had been kidnapped by the Abasians, and thus contrived to make his escape. His highness did not hesitate an instant to assure him of his freedom; and, although by so doing he must have in some degree alienated the good-will of the people of the country, he said, in discussing the policy of the act afterwards, that he felt it was a duty which his feelings of humanity, whatever might be its political consequences, imposed upon him, and that he was determined, under all circumstances, to do his utmost to put a stop to the system of man-stealing and slavery which at present exists among the tribes of the Caucasus. For the rest of the way our ragged attendant kept up with us with a light heart, and as light a foot; he seemed never to think himself safe unless he was almost ridden over by the guard. We met two battalions marching up to their camping ground as we ap-

proached the town; the long lines of troops, sometimes so hidden among long ferns, that nothing but the glitter of the bayonet above it was visible, produced a picturesque effect."

The English transport vessels were, with their usual deliberation, bringing Turkish troops from the Crimea to join Omar Pasha, who at length had an army of 30,000 men under his command. When this force was in a condition fit for active service, Omar Pasha dispatched an advanced guard, led by Colonel Ballard, one of the heroes of Silistria, along the sea-coast in the direction of the river Ingour. This is one of the principal streams which enter the Black Sea upon its eastern shore. Rising at the base of the snow-capped Caucasus, it pursues its winding course through the densely wooded country which extends from the base of the mountain-range to the sea, and debouches at Anaklia.\* On the 1st of November, the advanced guard of the Turkish army was stationed at about an hour's march from the river. On the other side could be seen a line of stockades erected among the trees, and serving as a cover for an army of Russian soldiers and Mingrelian militia. A correct estimate of this force could not be obtained, but it was supposed to amount to no less than 10,000 men. For several days some desultory firing took place, but with very little result on either side. It was, however, necessary to use great caution in reconnoitring, as the whistle of a bullet was sure to follow any imprudent exposure.

Omar Pasha joined the advanced guard on the 3rd, which then consisted of about 20,000 men, the remainder of the Turkish army being left to protect the military depôts. He at once rode over the ground, and inspected the position. At this spot the average breadth of the river was about 200 yards. Large stony islands intersect it in every direction, and there was but little water in it at that period of the year. The two branches at which it was presumed to be most easily fordable, were very shallow, and not above thirty yards broad each. Considerable difficulties, however, presented themselves to an attempt to cross in that direction, for a dense wood rose from the opposite bank, and the passage through it was blocked up with felled timber and stockades. Having inspected the ground, Omar Pasha ordered two batteries to be con-

\* See Map of the Black Sea, which accompanies this history.





AMIR FASHA,  
COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF  
OF THE TURKISH ARMY.







PASSAGE OF THE INGOUR, BY OMAR PASSIELA





structed to command the passage of the river. These were erected during the night of the 4th; and although the working parties were right under the enemy's batteries, they were not discovered until daylight, by which time their labour was almost complete. The Russians, on discerning them, immediately opened fire, but only one man was killed by it.

After considerable deliberation, Omar Pasha resolved to cross the river, both above and below the position occupied by his troops. On the morning of the 6th, the men were marshalled in order, and at eleven o'clock one branch of the river was crossed without opposition. Landing on an island in the centre, about two miles broad, they marched forward. They were soon fired upon by the Russian riflemen, from a thick wood in front. After some brief skirmishing the Russians were dislodged and driven across the river; but they opened a heavy fire from a battery of five guns on the opposite bank. The Turkish artillery replied with steadiness and effect. While this conflict was being carried on opposite the Russian battery, six battalions crossed at a ford about a mile and a-half lower down the river. They were instantly opposed by the enemy, who were drawn up in force on the opposite bank. Having fired a volley, the Turks dashed across the river in the teeth of a terrible fire, and, charging the Russians with the bayonet, drove them into the woods.

At the same time Colonel Simmons, her Majesty's commissioner attached to the army of Omar Pasha, at the head of two battalions of infantry and three companies of rifles, crossed the river in another direction, where, after a brief but fierce struggle, a bayonet charge drove the Russians into confusion and retreat. Captain Dymock, aide-de-camp to Colonel Simmons, and a brave and promising officer, was killed while charging at the head of his battalion. But the Russians were completely routed, and left behind them in their flight five (other accounts say three) guns, and six ammunition waggons, besides fifty prisoners. The ground was strewn with dead, and, before the close of the following day, 347 Russians, including eight officers, were buried. The loss of the Turks amounted to 68 killed and 128 wounded, and four missing. The victory of the Turks was rapidly won; but their force was, as we have mentioned, about double that of the enemy. The conduct of the English officers in the Turkish army

elicited the admiration of the troops, and won the praise of Omar Pasha. The Russian troops retreated towards Kutais.

In reference to this victory the Turkish government published the following bulletin, which it will be seen contains several exaggerations, especially with regard to the loss suffered by their own troops:—

"A previous publication announced that his highness Omar Pasha had quitted Suchum-Kaleh with the troops under his orders, and had advanced into the interior at one hour's distance in the direction of Anaklia, on this side of the river Ingour. On the other bank the Russians were stationed; they were from 15,000 to 16,000 in number, and were fortified by means of redoubts and other works. Their position was formidable. On the 25th of the month of Sefer (7th of November), the imperial troops advanced boldly towards the river, for the purpose of crossing it, and attacking the enemy. Arrived on the bank, they were received by a violent cannonade, to which they replied. Carried on by their ardour and their patriotism, and braving the grape of the Russians, they crossed the stream on two points at the same time, and fell on the enemy with the bayonet. The enemy opposed an obstinate resistance, but they ended by being dispersed shamefully. The Russians fled on every side, leaving in the power of our troops five guns, seven carriages, a great number of muskets, a considerable amount of booty, and from thirty to forty prisoners. The Sirdar-Ekrom writes, that at the moment of closing his despatch they had not yet finished burying the dead, but that 400 had already been counted. After the battle the general-in-chief threw forward a corps of cavalry, and it was known that a great number of Russians, dead or dying, were scattered in the neighbourhood. The loss of the enemy must, therefore, be considerable. The imperial troops have only eight killed, and a few wounded. Thanks to the Most High, we have won a glorious victory for the arms of his imperial majesty. Our troops are still on the advance. In his first report the general mentions with great praise the gallant conduct of the troops under his orders, and promises that he will send a more complete report."

We append also a copy of the despatch, addressed by Colonel Simmons to the Earl of Clarendon:—

Camp, Shangwano, Nov. 7th.

My Lord,—I have to inform your lordship



that Omar Pasha, having collected a dépôt of provisions at Tchimshera, moved on by the sea-coast to the mouth of the river Ertiss-Tchal, where a standing bridge was immediately constructed for the passage of the troops. The advanced guard, consisting of sixteen battalions of infantry and three battalions of chasscurs, under Lieutenant-colonel Ballard, the whole commanded by Ferhad Pasha (Baron Stein), moved on the 28th of October to the village of Ertisszkalsk. From that day until the 1st of November his highness was occupied in sending up provisions to the advanced guard, in moving other troops to support it, and in establishing dépôts at Godova, at the mouth of the Ertiss-Tchal, whence to provision his army for a forward movement. On the 1st inst. the advanced guard moved about ten miles forward, having its advanced posts on the river Ingour, opposite an old ruined castle called Rooki, on the road to Sugdidi.

His highness joined the advanced guard himself on the 3rd inst., his total force consisting of four brigades (thirty-two battalions) of infantry, four battalions of chasseurs, and 1,000 cavalry, with twenty-seven field-pieces and ten mounted guns, or, in all, about 20,000 men; the remainder of his force, about 10,000 men, being employed to protect the dépôts at Godova, Tchimshera, and Soukoum. On the 4th inst. his highness commenced constructing batteries on the right bank of the Ingour, with the view of menacing the enemy by the ford at Rooki. These batteries were armed on the following night, and opened their fire on the morning of the 6th inst. about noon. On the same morning his highness moved three brigades of infantry (twenty-four battalions) with three batteries, with an advanced guard of three-and-a-half battalions of chasseurs and four guns, under the command of Colonel Ballard, down the right bank of the river, a distance of about seven miles, where a branch of the river was forded to an island which is some miles in length, and from a half to two miles wide. After proceeding along this island for about two miles, some Mingrelian militia were encountered near a ford which crosses from the island to the left bank of the river; they speedily retired, when the enemy opened a fire of artillery and a heavy fire of musketry from their intrenchments on the left bank, thrown up for the protection of the ford.

It very soon became evident that to force a direct passage at this ford would be a very

difficult undertaking. His highness, therefore, while occupying the enemy at this ford, sent officers to the right and left, and fords were discovered in both directions—one about three-quarters of a mile above or to the left of the main ford, the other about one mile and a-half below or to the right of the main ford. Troops were immediately sent to pass these fords; that to the left was unprotected. The passage was made by two battalions of infantry and three companies of chasseurs by about four p.m. His highness having intrusted me with this command, I moved them by a waggon track through the forest, unperceived by the enemy, until within about 600 yards of the position at the main ford, which his troops were occupied in defending from a direct attack. The Turkish troops advanced readily to the attack, taking the enemy and his intrenchments in reverse. The enemy immediately fell back, and attempted to break through the Turks in column, but, being met by a heavy fire in their front and on both flanks, they broke and dispersed in the forest, leaving us masters of the field, with three pieces of their field artillery and six ammunition waggons in our possession. At the moment that the Russian columns attempted to break through our line I grieve to say that my aide-de-camp, Captain Dymock, 95th regiment, having first had his horse killed under him, was wounded close by my side, encouraging the Turkish troops. He died soon afterwards. His death is to be deplored, as her majesty has lost in him the services of a most promising and brave young officer, for whom his highness Omar Pasha has frequently expressed to me his high esteem. This young officer had accompanied me from the commencement of the war in Turkey.

While this operation was proceeding on the left, a brigade moved down to the right, under Osman Pasha, and forced a passage in front of a force believed to be of four battalions, but without artillery and not intrenched. This operation succeeded; and soon after dark the Turkish forces on the left bank were in communication from right to left, and complete masters of that side of the river throughout this length. The loss on the side of the Turks has been 310 killed and wounded, of whom sixty-eight are killed, and four missing. His highness has been pleased to express himself in terms of the highest satisfaction of the conduct of the British officers who accompanied his force.



Lieutenant-colonel Ballard conducted the advanced guard, and sustained a very heavy fire from the enemy at the principal ford, about a hundred yards wide, from noon until dark at five P.M., occupying the enemy until his position was turned by the Turkish left. Captain Caddell also rendered good service, attached as second senior artillery officer to that branch of the service. His interpreter was killed. The loss on the side of the enemy has not yet been ascertained; but up to the present time (noon) 347 have been buried, of whom eight are officers, among which the prisoners report there are two colonels. The prisoners report that there were eight battalions of infantry, besides a great number of Mingrelian militia, opposite the main ford. I am, &c.,

JOHN L. A. SIMMONS.

The Earl of Clarendon, &c.

The following is the Russian account, taken from the *Invalide Russe*, and is, it will be seen, even more chargeable with exaggeration than the Turkish one. In all matters of this kind, exaggeration seems so natural a quality of the human mind, that it is only by a dispassionate balance of conflicting statements that an approach to the truth can be arrived at. As to the pure and simple truth without distortion, colouring, or bias, we conceive that it has no existence in history.

"In the second half of the month of October the Turkish troops landed at Suchum-Kaleh, under the command of Omar Pasha, commenced an offensive movement against Mingrelia, advancing in two columns, the one on Anaklia, by the sea-coast, and the other towards the lower course of the river Ingour, following the Roukh-road by Otsartsa. The total force of these troops amounted to about 28,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry, with twenty-six pieces of artillery. On the (17th) 29th of October, flying detachments of the enemy showed themselves on different points of the right bank of the Ingour, but, received by the fire of our pickets placed along the left bank, they withdrew. Meantime, Major-general Prince Bagration-Moukhrausky, leader of the Gouriel detachment, concentrated the main body of his forces in the Roukh position, to await the enemy as soon as he had crossed the river and give him battle, turning to account the advantages of the ground, which were favourable to defensive operations. On the 25th of October

(November 6th), about noon, the Turks near Otsartsa opened a violent cannonade against our position at Roukh; and, after two hours' violent firing, advanced a portion of their infantry towards the river. Our well-directed fire forced them to withdraw hastily. Simultaneously with this demonstration twenty-five hostile battalions, which had crossed the river below Roukh (at from fifteen to twenty versts) near the village of Koki, attacked two battalions of the line of Georgia, which were stationed at that point. At the very commencement of the combat the two commanders of those battalions, Colonel Josselian and Lieutenant-colonel Zvanboi, were killed. Our reserve, on arriving on the ground, continued the combat for some time, but, after an obstinate struggle of six hours' duration, in which the enemy had four times been driven back into the river, our troops were finally obliged to give way before the Turks, eight times their number;\* and, as some of the artillery horses had been killed, our detachment was under the necessity of sacrificing three guns. Accordingly, after three murderous rounds of grape fired into the dense columns of the enemy, our gunners, according to order given beforehand, dismounted the guns, and, having rendered them unserviceable, abandoned them. To cool the ardour of the enemy's attack, Prince Bagration-Moukhrausky (who had arrived on the field of battle) ordered the eleventh battalion of the Black Sea division to advance once more: the Turks were driven back; they, however, maintained their footing on the left bank of the Ingour in the intrenchments which they had erected. Darkness put an end to the combat. Our loss, an exact return of which has not yet been made, was considerable; that of the enemy must also have been heavy; for, as already observed, their troops were four times driven back into the river. On the 26th of October (7th of November) the Turks occupied the village of Sugdidi, having pushed on their advanced posts to the river Djouma; our forces are concentrated on the river Tsiva, which falls from the right side into the Rion, at about forty versts from the mouth of the latter."

After the battle of the Ingour, Omar Pasha and his troops reposed at Sugdidi, which, after Kutais, is the principal town of Mingrelia. It is situated upon a gentle eminence, overlooking a vast level plain, on

\* We have already stated that the Turkish force was about double that of the Russians.



which the army encamped itself. The town consisted of two streets of wooden houses, shaded by avenues of beech-trees. The inhabitants, estimated at about 2,000, had abandoned it on the approach of the Turks, and only a few stray dogs were to be found in it. Some dignity was given to the place by the magnificent residence of the Princess Dadian, only one wing of which was completed. It formed one side of a square, two others of which were composed of the Greek church and its adjacent buildings, and a picturesque wooden residence belonging to Prince Gregoire. "We entered the palace of the princess," said a writer from the camp, "and found a magnificent collection of furniture in the drawing-room. It was evident, from the number of articles of value which have been left behind, that her highness had calculated upon a more protracted resistance on the part of the Russians than had been made. A very handsome picture of the Emperor Nicholas was still in its case, and had evidently been packed, but considered not worth carrying away under the circumstances. Chairs and couches covered with crimson velvet, beautiful inlaid tables, which looked like late importations from Paris, were all so carefully arranged, that he would have been a ruthless conqueror who could have destroyed them. After satisfying his curiosity, Omar Pasha accordingly placed guards at all the entrances to the palace, and to the gardens, which are extremely beautiful, and laid out with great taste. There are the choicest flowers in great profusion, and extensive fruit gardens and orangeries; while the deer and pea-fowl wander about completely their own masters. Having once penetrated into the mysteries of this fairy-land, it is somewhat annoying to find that, though my tent is pitched at the gate, I am debarred, like my neighbours, from re-entering it by an inflexible sentry, otherwise I should assuredly indite this from the summer-house in the flower-garden, which I am looking at with longing eyes. The Princess Dadian, who is said to have been very beautiful, was married to Prince Dadian, who had by her one son. Since the death of her husband she has been acting as regent for this boy, who is about eight years old. Her husband had two brothers, Constantine and Gregoire, both of whom have fled with their sister-in-law to her residence in the mountains, about a few days' journey distant from here. Since the arrival of

Omar Pasha, a few peasants who had been taken prisoners have been sent home, and told that their property and countrymen would be respected everywhere by the Turkish army. Sentries are posted at the church and in the streets, to prevent any one even from entering them; and so strict are the orders against plunder of any sort, that no shooting is allowed near the camp, which, considering the quantities of woodcocks and peasants in the woods, and the great scarcity of animal diet, is rather a privation. It is beyond the power of human resistance to refrain from pocketing a chicken now and then; and the chasseurs or rifles, who are Omar Pasha's favourite corps, and the flower of the army, are expert hands at this sort of thing. On the day of a *reconnaissance* at least a hundred fowls, besides a quantity of honey, were taken from the deserted cottages by the skirmishers in the woods, and an occasional cackle might be heard issuing from sundry coat-pockets as the men marched past. The country-people are gradually regaining confidence; and four priests have returned to the town, and are prepared to recommence their ecclesiastical functions as soon as they can collect a congregation."

After the battle of the Ingour a curious incident occurred, singularly illustrative of the almost universal corruption and selfishness which exist among the Turkish officials. A common soldier, one of the first who entered the battery of the enemy, perceived a Russian colonel lying dead upon the ground. With an eye to plunder he drew off the glove of the dead man, and possessed himself of a valuable diamond ring which encircled one of the fingers of the corpse. Feeling that he could not long keep secret the possession of so valuable a prize, he showed it to his *usbashi*, or captain, and requested permission to retain it. The latter said it was quite right to bring the prize to him, and immediately took possession of it. Of course the soldier objected to this arrangement, and referred the case to the *bimbashi*, or major. Smitten with the value of the treasure, the *bimbashi* observed that both of them were highly culpable in daring to retain the ring from their superior officer, and that he would therefore relieve them of the subject of dispute. The soldier resolved, if possible, not to be defrauded of his ring — went to the *kaima-kama*, or lieutenant-colonel, who reprimanded the others, and then immediately followed their example by taking



the ring himself. The disappointed soldier would not give up his prize without a struggle, and therefore he went and laid the matter before the meer ali, or colonel. This officer at once decided that the ring was his by virtue of his rank, and, taking possession of it, he haughtily dismissed the litigants from his presence. The persevering soldier resolved on one more effort. He went and hung about the tent of Omar Pasha until he was observed and questioned by an officer attached to the staff of that general. The officer laid the matter before the commander-in-chief, who caused the ring to be restored to the soldier who had won it by his valour in being one of the first to enter the battery of the enemy. Besides recovering his prize, the man had the satisfaction of knowing that all those who had successively attempted to deprive him of it were severely censured for their conduct.

On the 15th of November the army of Omar Pasha was again advancing, his intention being to march upon Kutais. The country was undulating in its aspect, and the scenery and weather beautiful. The troops passed through fertile valleys, winding away to the base of the Caucasian range, and by villages clustering among the woods. It was supposed that Omar Pasha would direct his course at once to Kutais; but he took a route considerably south of the one that would have led to that town. The correspondent, to whom we recently referred, observes—"We continued our march along a magnificent road; the bridges, however, were almost universally destroyed; and, notwithstanding the activity of the Turkish artillery horses, and the excellent way in which they are managed, there is occasionally some difficulty in getting the guns across the ravines and muddy streams with which the road is intersected. We frequently remarked tabias and abattis upon either side of the road, wherever the Russians thought the position available for harassing an army; and it is not a little significant that they have not attempted to offer any opposition to our advance since the passage of the Ingour. It is a pleasant occupation, after a short march, to explore so beautiful a country, particularly when the principal object is to obtain provisions. With a good guide I sometimes gallop miles away from the camp, up narrow dells, where the houses nestle amid thick foliage, by the side of some brawling stream, or over the level country, where there is no underwood to

impede my rapid progress, and beech and oak-leaves are only now beginning to drop their yellow leaves. As we get near a village we see children and pigs basking in the sunshine, and pull up at the door of the largest house, considerably to the alarm of its inhabitants: this, however, is speedily dispelled by my companion, who tells them that I am a Christian, and will be delighted to prove it, by sharing their breakfast of pig's-face, &c. After this, and a glass of wine too sour to have much taste in it, they open their hearts in proportion as I do my pocket, and tell me they hate Russians and abhor Turks, but love English and French; in proof of which they give me a goose in return for three sixpences, and I return triumphantly to camp with my prize—the envy of the whole camp—swinging from my saddle-bow. This morning (Nov. 19th) a spy was brought into camp in Mingrelian costume, who turned out to be an aide-de-camp of Moukhrausky, the Russian commander-in-chief. When the fact was ascertained beyond a doubt, Omar Pasha ordered him to be shot. The unfortunate man met his fate with the utmost courage. The corpse, attended by a priest in full canonicals, has just passed the tent to receive Christian burial."

Omar Pasha had not undertaken his campaign until the year was too far advanced, and he could not contend successfully against the natural obstacles that lay in his path. The beauty of the weather rapidly passed away; autumn became winter. The cold was severe, the country deluged with rain, and the troops ill supplied with provisions. This could scarcely be otherwise, for the commissariat was in the hands of pashas, who sat on their carpets, smoked their pipes, and said, "Let us wait a little; Allah is merciful; he will send some bread and pilaff." Yet the Turkish general resolved to attempt to force his way over a flooded country, and across several mountain torrents, to Kutais. His troops, however, were overtaken by a tremendous storm: the rain resembled descending sheets of water; the roads were described as knee-deep in mud; little streams had been swollen into deep rivers; the men were hungry, and the horses daily dying from want. It became difficult either to advance or retire, and the situation of the army was exceedingly critical. At this period, also, the Turkish general received intelligence of the fall of Kars, the particulars of which we are about to relate, and knew that Mouravieff's army was at liberty to



swell the number of his opponents. Sooner, therefore, than expose his troops to peril of such a nature, he reluctantly issued orders for them to retire. The general proceeded to Redout-Kaleh, and the Turkish troops went into winter quarters at Choloni, four miles to the rear of the village of Ziewie, where the formation of the country was regarded as offering great natural advantages of position. Lieutenant Simmons, the British commissioner, then took leave of absence, in order to return to England.

From the letter of an English correspondent resident in the Turkish camp, we quote the following slight summary of these unsatisfactory proceedings:—"Throughout his brief campaign, Omar Pasha has adopted a highly lenient policy with regard to the natives; a policy so lenient that it is to be feared a wild people will interpret it as a confession of weakness, while the hostility of the Greek church towards Mussulmans is far too deeply rooted to be quenched by a little civility. This feeling appears to be gaining ground among the invaders, for in one village, a few days ago, all deserted shops and houses were allowed to be broken open and plundered, although a guard was placed to protect those of which the proprietors still remained. The Mingrelians speak freely of Russian oppression, saying that their property has been taken without payment, and that their houses have been burnt in order to compel their departure. They are friendly and civil to the few Christians in the army, and would probably have received the English or French with open arms; but they all carry guns, and they shoot a stray Turk without mercy. Two soldiers were shot yesterday within a hundred yards of the camp, and one has been stabbed this morning. The country around, in fine weather, would be singularly beautiful and picturesque, abounding in forest, and the view limited by snow-capped mountains. Where the tents are now pitched the neighbouring ground is intersected by deep ravines, and is covered with fine oak trees, and with an undergrowth of yellow azclea in full blossom. Hence there is abundance of wood, and some possibility of opposing fire to water. And so ends this campaign, undertaken a month too late to be successful, and commenced without any of the means and appliances essential to the health, if not to the existence of an army. The Turks were sick of inaction, complained loudly of their position in the

Crimea, longed for a scope, a theatre, an enemy. Pashas and bimbashis proclaimed that they were eager to die, that they would never turn their backs to a foe; and, over their chibouques, indulged in Alnaschar-like visions of Georgian maidens and of Muscovite spoil. One rainy fortnight has cooled their impetuous courage, drowned their enthusiasm, and washed out their zeal. It has exposed their weakness, has shown the rottenness of their system, and the incapacity of their government; has sent their army back, in an ignominious retreat, over ground which they should never have traversed in their advance, and has written, in indelible characters, another blunder upon the page of history. All their expenditure of life and money has effected nothing but the passage of a river; and the occupation of some strong positions that now have to be abandoned."

We must return to Kars, and its wretched garrison and inhabitants. The Russians, though severely beaten in the battle of the 29th of September, were not put to flight. It will be remembered that the Turkish cavalry had perished, and that pursuit was therefore impossible. Under these circumstances the Russians rallied, and were enabled to resume the blockade of the city with as much strictness as before.

A detail of the horrors suffered by the wretched soldiers and inhabitants of Kars from this period, until, when exhausted by starvation, they surrendered to a foe whom they had once so gloriously defeated, is appalling and hideous. The tortures of disease were added to the pangs of hunger. During the excitement of the battle, the cholera, from which the troops had been suffering, disappeared; but in the time of listless apathy which followed, it returned with greater virulence. The wounded especially fell victims, for their feeble condition invited disease. The hospitals were crowded with sick and wounded troops, but that which they most wanted—nourishment—could not be given them. No animal food, not even horseflesh, was now served out to the troops; the rations of the soldiers consisted of nothing but a small supply of coarse bread, and a something called soup, but made of flour and water only. Some unhappy soldiers, overcome by sickness and starvation, and abandoned by hope, crept into deserted houses, and died there in hideous solitude. A terrible change was



coming over the men; they were visibly emaciated; they tottered in their walk; their faces were gloomy and haggard; and their eyes bloodshot and wolfish. Some poor wretches were tempted by the high price of bread in the city, to sell their miserable rations; but those who did this, sank and died at their posts. Grass was torn up in every open space where it could be found, and the roots greedily devoured. Outside the city swarms of vultures were to be seen preying on the mangled corpses which the hungry dogs had scratched out of their shallow graves. All this was borne in the hope that the Russians might be compelled to retire, or that the garrison of Kars might be relieved by Selim Pasha, who had landed at Trebizond with a considerable army, or by Omar Pasha, whom they supposed to be advancing to their assistance.

These hopes were not to be fulfilled. The desperate wretchedness of the soldiers and townspeople was getting still more hideous. Cats were sold for a hundred piastres each, for the sake of food. A daring peasant, who contrived to bring a load of onions into the town, found an instant sale for them at sixty piastres the oke, or twelve shillings for two pounds and a-half. The few horses that were left had their throats cut to prevent them from dying of starvation, and the flesh of these emaciated brutes was regarded as a luxury. On a few occasions small stores of corn, sugar, and coffee was found buried by the jealous owners beneath their houses. The precious luxuries were distributed to the troops and people; but the relief was but trifling. One day twenty men were brought into the hospital in consequence of their having, to satisfy their desperate cravings, eaten some poisonous root; but none of the cases proved fatal. To these horrors others were added, by the occasional execution of deserters or spies. One of the latter, an Armenian, who was hanged in the market-place, was detected with a paper about him, on which was written, "Wait a little longer; the troops are starving; the pashas are fighting among themselves; they will soon capitulate."

Soldiers were sent to the hospitals in large numbers, in a state of exhaustion from starvation. Their voices were very feeble, a clammy cold pervaded their bodies, and many of them expired without a struggle. Some of the stronger among them were recovered by the administration of horse-flesh broth. Many poor wretches, livid and

emaciated, died within an hour or so after their admission. Frequently a hundred men perished in the hospitals during the day and night, while others went mad or became idiotic from the sufferings they had undergone. Yet the endurance of those unhappy men was wonderful, and almost sublime in its appalling heroism. Dr. Sandwith observed—"With hollow cheeks, tottering gait, and that peculiar feebleness of voice so characteristic of famine, they yet clung to their duties. I have again and again seen them watching the batteries at midnight, some standing and leaning on their arms, but most coiled up under the breastwork during cold as intense as an Arctic winter, scarce able to respond to or challenge the visiting officer; and, in answer to a word of encouragement or consolation, the loyal words were ever on their lips, '*Padishah sagh ossoon!*' (long live the sultan!)" It would seem that the extremity of human suffering called forth latent sparks of a loyalty and devotion not observed in seasons of prosperity."

Still the garrison held out, and the work of starvation went on with increasing grimness and horror. Children dropt and died in the streets, and every morning skeleton-like corpses were found in various parts of the camp. One day a peasant managed to elude the vigilance of the Russians, and to drive a lame buffalo, laden with a bag of flour, into the city. He made his fortune by the extravagant sum he obtained for it. The relief was but momentary. The soldiers deserted in large numbers, and discipline was almost at an end. At one time the poor fellows had almost worshipped General Williams; and when he appeared they gathered round him, only too happy, if, after the Eastern fashion, they could but touch the hem of his garment, in token of their submission and respect. Now these very men refused to salute him, and turned their eyes away when they saw him approach. Some of the townspeople crowded round him as he rode out from his quarters, and entreated him, with all the eloquence of despair, to seek some means of putting an end to their misery. Wretched women forced themselves into his very room, and laying their pallid, famine-smitten children at his feet, implored him rather to kill them than to let them perish from want.

At length all hope of relief from either Selim Pasha or Omar Pasha had expired. General Williams received a note in cipher



from the English consul at Erzeroum, saying, "I fear you have no hope but in yourselves; you can depend on no help in this quarter." It was useless to contend any longer against what was inevitable. At one time the Turks might have fought their way through the cordon of Russians who surrounded them, but now they were utterly incapable of doing so. Their weakness was such, that few of them were able to drag themselves from their tents. At length, on the 25th of November, General Williams and his aide-de-camp, Major Teesdale, proceeded under a flag of truce to the Russian camp. Before doing so, generals Kmety and Kollman, the Hungarian officers, were informed of what was to be done. They accordingly made their escape, passed through the enemy's lines, and proceeded to Erzeroum, which they were fortunate enough to reach in safety. General Kmety's case was a desperate one. He had been formally sentenced to death by the Austrian government, and had no mercy to expect at the hands of the Russians, who would doubtless have delivered him up. Rather than endure this fate, he declared he would blow his brains out. General Kollman, as an officer who had held high rank in the Hungarian revolutionary army, was in the same predicament.

Williams and his aide-de-camp were received with great courtesy by the Russian general, Mouravieff. The English hero consented to surrender on certain conditions, adding—"If you do not grant these, every gun shall be burst, every standard burnt, and every trophy destroyed; and you may then work your will upon a famished crowd." The Russian chief behaved with a generosity which did honour both to his humanity and magnanimity. He answered—"I have no wish to wreak an unworthy vengeance on a gallant and long-suffering army, which has covered itself with glory, and only yields to famine." Then pointing to a lump of bread and a handful of roots, he added—"Look here; what splendid troops must these be who can stand to their arms, in this severe climate, on such food as this! General Williams, you have made yourself a name in history, and posterity will stand amazed at the endurance, the courage, and the discipline which this siege has called forth in the remains of an army. Let us arrange a capitulation that will satisfy the demands of war without outraging humanity."

The following articles of surrender were

then drawn out and executed. It is proper to mention, as illustrative of the generous courtesy of General Mouravieff, that the concluding sentence of the first paragraph of Article 2, granting permission to the officers to retain their swords as a testimony of honour and respect, was added at his direction:—

*Act of the Surrender of the Town and Fortress of Kars on the Stipulations agreed upon between the Commander-in-chief of the Army of the Caucasus, Aide-de-camp-General Mouravieff, and General Williams, Commissary of her Majesty the Queen of England, the 13th (25th) of November, Head-quarters of Tchiftli-Kaya.*

Art. 1. Surrender of the fortress with all its *matériel* intact. The guns surrendered are not to be spiked; the stores and arms are to be given up in the same state as they are actually in; the ammunition, powder, arsenals, deposits of military clothes and stores are to be given up as they stand in the official returns up to the day of surrender. Nothing is to be detracted or taken from the archives. On evacuating Kars the troops are to leave posts, each of three men and a corporal, at the following points:—at each fort, redoubt, or battery armed with artillery; at each powder magazine, arsenal, or military *depôt*, hospital, archives, treasury, and mosque. Commissaries shall be appointed by the Turkish authorities for each part of the *matériel*, as the treasury, arsenals, artillery, hospitals, provision stores, and archives, charged to hand over the same to commissaries appointed for that purpose by the commander-in-chief of the Russian army. Immediately the troops have left the place the above-mentioned posts are to be relieved by Russian posts in the presence of the above-named Turkish commander and of the newly-appointed Russian commandant. The Turkish soldiers are to give up their arms and accoutrements to the Russian posts, and under the orders of their commander are to march towards the Maïnlı redoubt, to await instructions for their further movements. The remittal of the above-mentioned articles by the commissaries is to take place the day after the evacuation of the place.

Art. 2. The garrison of Kars surrendering prisoners of war, with the commander-in-chief of the Turkish army and all the military authorities, will leave the place with the honours of war, and deposit their arms, flags, &c., in a spot agreed upon previously,



whence they will proceed to the destination indicated to them by the Russian commander-in-chief. *As a testimonial of the valorous resistance made by the garrison of Kars, the officers of all ranks are to keep their swords.*

All the troops forming the garrison of Kars, except those actually in hospital from illness, are to leave the fortress in full uniform, with drums beating and colours flying, having first discharged their muskets, and are to assemble at ten A.M. near the ruins of the village of Goubet. They are to deploy in a single line, in columns, by battalions. The artillerymen are to form separate columns by regiments. The Rediffs, Lazes, and Bashi-Bazouks are to form separately at half a verst distance from the other troops. The garrison are to pile their arms, flags, and accoutrements, and to form in the preceding order in front of the line of muskets. The mushir commander-in-chief of the army of Anatolia is then to wait upon the Russian commander-in-chief and hand him the muster-roll of his troops and a report of all the *matériel* stipulated in the act of surrender. Delegates of the Russian army will then call over the muster-roll and enregister the officers and men of the Turkish army, for which object the Turkish authorities are called upon to present the registers of their respective commands. The enregistration finished, all the prisoners of war, headed by their officers, will proceed in columns to the bridge of Tchiftli-Kaya, where they will be met by the Russian troops appointed to serve as their escort. The Turkish troops mentioned in the subjoined articles as having permission to return to their homes will take the Tamra road, under an especial escort, and will halt for the night near the village of Kotanly; they bind themselves to respect the inhabitants of that village, and not to commit any excess. The column will continue its march the following day in the same order, and halt for the night at the village of Tosanly. On the third day, when they shall have reached the foot of the Saghanloug, the Russian troops will stop, and the Turks continue their march across the chain of mountains. In the direction of Erzeroum the Turks engage themselves not to enter the village of Bardours, occupied by militiamen of the Russian camp. The Turkish stragglers who, within twenty-four hours of the last day's march, should not have crossed the Saghanloug will be considered as prisoners of war.

In evacuating the town and fortress of Kars, the military authorities of the Turkish army engage themselves to leave there a sufficient number of medical men and nurses to take care of the sick left in the hospitals until their recovery.

Art. 3. The private property of members of the army of every rank is respected. Each individual belonging to the *personnel* of the army is authorised to sell his property or take it away, at his own cost of carriage.

Art. 4. The militia (Rediffs, Bashi-Bazouks, and Lazes), their number having first been accurately ascertained, will be allowed to return to their homes. The Rediffs, Bashi-Bazouks, and Lazes in hospital will have the same right under the same conditions, as soon as well enough to leave.

Art. 5. The non-combatants of the army, as scribes, interpreters, and nurses, are allowed to return to their homes as soon as their number has been accurately ascertained.

Art. 6. To General Williams is reserved the right of designating at his choice in a list, which must be previously submitted for the approval of General Mouravieff, a certain number of persons, to whom permission will be given to return to their homes. Military men, subjects of one of the belligerent powers, are excluded from this list.

Art. 7. All persons indicated in Articles 4, 5, and 6, engage themselves by their word of honour not to bear arms against his majesty the Emperor of all the Russias during the whole duration of the present war.

Art. 8. The inhabitants of the town throw themselves upon the generosity of the Russian government, which takes them under its protection. Immediately the troops have given up their arms the inhabitants of the town are to send a deputation, consisting of the principal inhabitants of the place, to give the keys to the Russian commander-in-chief, and to trust themselves unreservedly to the generosity of the august sovereign of Russia.

Art. 9. The public monuments and buildings of the town belonging to the government are to be respected and left intact. It being the principle of the Russian government to respect the customs and traditions of the people subjected to its government, and especially the buildings devoted to worship, it will not allow any damage to be done.



to the religious monuments or historical *souvenirs* of Kars.

Signed and approved by,

W. S. WILLIAMS, Major-general.  
Colonel DE KAUFFMANN, Chief of  
the Military Chancery of the  
Commander-in-chief of the  
Army of the Caucasus.

It must be admitted that these conditions were not severe ones, but exhibited a generosity and forbearance not commonly shown by the Russians. The last paragraph, respecting the religious monuments and historical remembrances of Kars, bears the appearance of being a sarcasm aimed at the conduct of the allies in the destruction of the museum of Kertch.

On the 27th, General Williams and his whole staff, together with two Turkish officers, accepted an invitation to dine with General Mouravieff and his staff. Mouravieff was described as a stout, short man, about seventy years of age, but strong and active-looking for his time of life. He was a highly accomplished officer, and spoke Russian, French, English, German, and Turkish with almost equal fluency. How the poor, worn, and famished officers enjoyed the hospitality, it would want a very facile pen adequately to tell. They were treated with great respect by the Russian officers, and afterwards permitted to walk about the camp. The following day the Turkish soldiers in Kars were commanded to pile arms, which many of them did with a passive melancholy, as if regardless, or even unconscious, of the nature of the act. Others, in fury, dashed their muskets against the rocks, exclaiming, "Thus perish our pashas, and the curse of God be with them! May their mothers be outraged!" Some of the officers broke their swords, and cursed the sultan and the whole Turkish government. Certainly, had they done their duty, Kars would have been saved. Some old soldiers and citizens shed tears, while others, gathered into groups, uttered such sayings as these—"God is great! and has it come to this? How is Islam fallen! Alas, alas! and do my eyes behold it? Would to God we had never been born! would to God we had died in battle! for then we had been translated to heaven; then had we been purified and acceptable. The Ghiaours are coming, and our arms drop from our hands! God is God, and Mohammed is his prophet! How has the All-Merciful forsaken his children, and de-

livered us up to be the prey of the spoiler!" While this was going on, General Williams rode through the camp. His popularity was then restored, and both soldiers and citizens thronged around him and implored blessings on his head. "Where are you going, pasha?" was the general cry. He replied, "I am a prisoner." Sounds of lamentation were mingled with the request for permission to follow him. To Dr. Sandwith unconditional liberty was given, and that gentleman started for Constantinople. General Williams, accompanied by several other English officers and Mr. Churchill, his private secretary, were sent in General Mouravieff's carriage, on the route to St. Petersburg. As the Turkish troops marched out of the town, the Russians presented arms to them as they passed. The victors then entered it; but, although much confusion prevailed, the persons and property of the inhabitants were respected. Indeed, the conduct of the Russians is described as having been entirely irreproachable. The victors had generously given some provisions to the wretched Turks; but great numbers of the latter dropt from exhaustion, and perished by the way after leaving Kars, while nearly all of them were in a state of abject destitution.

On the day the Russians took possession of the town (November 28th), Mouravieff issued the following rather extravagant order of the day to his troops:—

"Companions in arms, I congratulate you! As lieutenant of our sovereign, I thank you. At the price of your blood and your labour the bulwark of Asia Minor has been placed at the feet of his majesty the emperor. The Russian standard floats on the walls of Kars. It proclaims the victory of the cross of the Saviour. The whole of the army of Anatolia, 30,000 strong, has vanished like a shadow. Its commander-in-chief, with all his pashas and officers, and the English general who directed the defence, with his staff, are our prisoners. Thousands of Turkish prisoners, who return to their homes, will proclaim your deeds of arms. No inventory has, as yet, been made of the vast stock of arms and government property at Kars; but, without counting the cannon and flags captured by us in the course of the campaign, 130 new cannon will enrich our arsenals. Numerous flags will adorn the holy temples of Russia, and recall the memory of your constant warlike virtues. Companions in arms, I thank you



again, from the first man to the last. Brave comrades, I also thank you again in my own name. I owe to you the happiness of procuring a joy to the heart of our monarch. You have this year achieved what you prepared to accomplish in the course of the two preceding years. Unite your thanksgiving with mine to the God of armies, who in His impenetrable secrets now gives us victory in the very hour of trial to which we have recently been put. May faith in divine Providence maintain the martial spirit within you, and double your strength! We will undertake new labours with hope in the protection of the Almighty.

"MOURAVIEFF,

"Commander-in-chief."

The Russian general also addressed the following official report, on the capitulation of Kars, to his government:—

"After the assault on Kars of the 17th (29th) September, the Turks, momentarily encouraged, expected to see our troops retreat, and were astonished to see, on the contrary, that the blockade became stricter than ever, and that our camp was turned into regular organized quarters, receiving daily provisions of every description. The besieged still founded their hopes on the arrival of aid from Erzeroum. In fact, Vely Pasha, coming from Trebizond, had attempted to advance on Kars, but at each attempt he was met by General Sousloff's detachment, which threatened his rear. Our patrols skirmished with these troops, keeping them in a state of alarm, as far as the vicinity of Erzeroum. Meantime the provisions at Kars were diminishing; the cold weather was coming on; snow had fallen on the Saghanoug; cases of death from weakness for want of nourishment occurred in the garrison, desertion increased, and despondency became general. All these circumstances decided General Williams, who directed the defence of Kars, to surrender the fortress.

"On the 12th (24th) of November Major Teesdale, General Williams's aide-de-camp, waited upon General Mouravieff, and handed to him a letter, in which General Williams asked leave to proceed on the following day to the camp to enter into conference, to which General Mouravieff gave a verbal reply to Major Teesdale, telling him that he would be happy to see General Williams the following day, the 13th (25th) of November, at noon.

"On the 13th (25th) of November, at the appointed hour, General Williams presented

himself to the commander-in-chief of the army of the Caucasus, as plenipotentiary to negotiate in the name of the mushir, Vassif Pasha, commander-in-chief of the army in Anatolia. Having settled the conditions for the surrender of the place, those conditions were signed by General Williams, and approved by General Mouravieff.

"General Williams was to return next morning to our camp to bring the definitive reply of the mushir; the regulation, however, of affairs inside, and the announcement to the garrison of the surrender of the fortress, which the leaders received with agitation, rendered his presence necessary in the fortress. He sent his aide-de-camp to explain these circumstances.

"On the evening of the same day Major Teesdale brought the full powers given by the mushir to General Williams to draw up the final conditions of the capitulation of Kars, with the list of the pashas of the army of Anatolia shut up in the fortress.

"On the 15th (27th) of November, in the afternoon, General Williams arrived at our camp with his staff and three pashas, and signed the final conditions of the surrender of Kars.

"On the 16th (28th) of November, conformably to the stipulations agreed upon, the remainder of the army of Anatolia, which had formed the garrison of Kars, were to leave the fortress, carrying their muskets, with flags flying and drums beating; but, at the request of the Turkish commanders themselves, the whole army left their arms piled, and placed their ammunition in their camps, leaving only a small Turkish guard, until it should be relieved by our men.

"Although it had been arranged that the Turks should be assembled at ten o'clock in the morning, near the ruins of the village of Gumbel, it was not till two o'clock in the afternoon that the mushir of the army of Anatolia presented himself to General Mouravieff, accompanied by General Williams and the English officers. Our troops were drawn up in line of battle on both banks of the Kars-tehai. The colours of the Turkish regiments were then brought to the front of our lines by a detachment of Toula chasseurs, and received with the bands playing and repeated cheers from our troops.

"A portion of the Turkish army, consisting of the older and most feeble of the men, soldiers on unlimited leave (Redifs), and militiamen (Bashi-Bazouks and Lazes), altogether about 6,000 men, were sent back to



their homes after the capitulation, with the obligation not to take up arms against his imperial majesty during the whole course of the present war, and were accompanied the first stage by a military escort. After the defile of the Redifs the commander-in-chief received a deputation consisting of the most notable inhabitants of the town.

"Having passed along the front of the line of the Turkish regular troops who surrendered prisoners, to the number of from 7,000 to 8,000 men, General Mouravieff ordered the repast to be given to them which he had previously prepared for them in the military kitchens on the left bank of the Kars-tchai.

"On the same day (28th of November) the fortress was occupied by our troops, under the command of Colonel de Saget, and the Russian standard was hoisted on the citadel.

"Thus, with the surrender of Kars, the last remnant of the army of Anatolia, which in last June numbered 30,000 men, has vanished. The mushir, Vassif Pasha, commander-in-chief of that army, is himself a prisoner of war in our hands, without counting eight pashas, and a great number of superior and subaltern officers, including the English general (Williams) and his whole staff. In the fortress we took 130 cannon and a great stock of arms."

Though long expected at Constantinople, yet the surrender of Kars produced a strong sensation there. An indolent government was conscience-smitten for its neglect, and peculating pashas feared detection and punishment. When the unfortunate news was confirmed, a sudden energy arose in official quarters, and innumerable councils were held. The object was, to find out who was to blame for this reverse, and to guard against its consequences. To the brave defenders of Kars all honour was justly accorded. Throughout Europe there was but one opinion concerning the heroic army who so long held out against an inevitable fate; and perhaps no military deed, unsuccessful in its ultimate result, ever conferred so much fame on those concerned in it. The allies, the Turkish government, Selim Pasha, and Omar Pasha, were all, in their turn, regarded as the cause of this calamity. It can scarcely be urged that any of them were free from reproach, though the apathy of the Turkish ministers is most to be wondered at. From their indifference, Russia was able to create a sensation in favour of her power throughout Asia Minor, and to

win a laurel which subsequent events did not wrest from her.

Truly enough was it remarked that the fall of Kars was a disgrace and a scandal to all who might have contributed to prevent it. It was a disgrace to Selim Pasha, with his 10,000 men at Erzeroum. It was a disgrace to Omar Pasha, who was passing away his time at Suchum-Kaleh; and it was a disgrace to the allies, who certainly ought to have relieved it. The excuse urged on behalf of Omar Pasha was, that the season was too far advanced to permit him to march upon Kars; and that he probably indulged in the hope that Mouravieff, on learning that Kutais and Tiflis were threatened, would retire from Kars and retreat to Georgia. Kars is known over the whole of Asia Minor, even in places where Sebastopol had never been heard of. Therefore, this success of the Russians probably made more impression upon the wild tribes, and semi-barbarous nations of that locality, than the triumph of the allies in the Crimea. The allies were making war against Russian *prestige*, and yet they allowed her, by comparatively easy Asiatic success, to obliterate, to some extent, the effect of European defeats inflicted on her by gigantic exertions, and at a tremendous cost. The Russian government understood this well enough; and the emperor, in his gratitude, addressed the following letter to General Mouravieff:—

"The immovable firmness, the exemplary fortitude, and the strategical circumspection which have characterised all your actions in Asiatic Turkey, are now crowned with perfect success. The proud keep of Asia Minor, the fortress of Kars, has surrendered, with its whole garrison, its artillery, and its extensive depôts of arms. The Anatolian army, 30,000 men strong, exists no more; and its commander-in-chief, Mushir Vassif Pasha, is our prisoner. I thank you heartily for this glorious achievement, which has covered the Russian flag with new fame. I give it you in commission to express my sincerest thanks to the troops under your command, whose firmness and courage have overcome the most obstinate defence of the enemy. In recognition of your praiseworthy merits, I make you, herewith, Knight of the Grand Cross of St. George, 2nd class, to which you have earned an indisputable right; and I remain,

"Your well affected,

"ALEXANDER."



## CHAPTER III.

OUR ARMY IN THE CRIMEA; A BODY OF RUSSIANS ATTACK AN ADVANCED POST OF THE FRENCH; SKIRMISH BETWEEN A BODY OF THE ANGLO-TURKISH CONTINGENT AND COSSACKS NEAR KERTCH; CONDITION OF OUR TROOPS BEFORE SEBASTOPOL; CASES OF FROST-BITE; THE FRENCH BLOW UP ONE OF THE FAMOUS DRY DOCKS OF SEBASTOPOL; CHRISTMAS IN THE CAMPS; RETURN OF THE IMPERIAL GUARD, AND THEIR TRIUMPHAL ENTRY INTO PARIS; THE EMPEROR'S ADDRESS TO THEM; REMARKABLE PAMPHLET ON "THE NECESSITY OF A CONGRESS TO PACIFY EUROPE."

IN the neighbourhood of Sebastopol, the rival powers pursued their preparations for winter, and remained watching each other, to see what step would be taken next. The Russians could be seen drilling the raw levies, who had, for the most part, taken the place of their old and practised troops; while, on the other hand, General Codrington was directing attention to the interior economy of the British army, and enforcing some stringent regulations affecting discipline and police arrangements. It was evident that the Russians had resolved to winter on the north side of the harbour; and they frequently made their presence manifest by a serious fire across it. For some time after the destruction of the south side of the fortress, it was supposed that the enemy could not possibly preserve his position on the north. The Russians were, however, well supplied both with provisions and munitions of war. The vast importance of the stake at issue was fully felt, and the whole resources of the empire were devoted to the sustainment of the Crimean army.

Our troops were tolerably healthy; the drunkenness which had been the disgrace of our camp decreased,\* and many efforts were made to relieve the tedium of the time by the circulation of interesting books among the soldiers. It is said, that the works of Shakspeare, and even the grand and solemn poetry of Milton, were favourites among them. As to the officers, they began the month of December with a grand international steeple-chase, which was con-

sidered a great success. Many riders, however, were thrown; and one officer was ridden down in the first rush, and carried from the field in a state of insensibility. The race was preceded by a storm, which blew down many of the huts, and committed other mischievous vagaries, though happily not of a very serious nature. As in the winter of 1854, one of the great discomforts of the camp arose from the large amount of clayey mud which rain rendered almost intolerable. The horses suffered much from exposure. The effect of the mud and wet on the poor animals of the land transport corps was very painful. Though many tolerably good roads existed through the camps, yet there were muddy pools and uneven tracts where the poor neglected and overworked creatures sunk beneath their heavy loads, and lingered out the brief remains of a miserable existence. "It is not permitted," said Mr. Russell, "to shoot these wretched creatures—why, one cannot say. People residing near the fourth division camp, will remember the skeleton spectre of a wretched gray horse with a sore back, which haunted the camp for weeks before it fell into a ditch and died. It had been turned loose to live or perish, and it was a shocking sight to behold the dogs leaping up against it to lick its sores; but there it stood for days, with its legs drawn close together, and no one ventured to put it out of pain. These spectacles, renewed this year, recall the horrors of last winter. Every one exclaims, 'How fortunate that Sebastopol has fallen! What should we have done had

\* Many complaints had been made of the great drunkenness said to exist among the English soldiers, and many severe comments made upon it. General Codrington, in a despatch dated December 27th, affirmed, and we trust truly affirmed, that the description of the drunkenness attributed to the soldiers was greatly exaggerated. He observed—"No doubt there are many facilities in all these open and crowded camps for drunken men to get in without being seen. They do so, and escape observation. But suppose we double or treble the

amount of the number of cases of drunkenness, taken from official returns, I suspect the army will bear a comparison with many towns, many villages, many populations of Great Britain. It is easy to give—it is as easy to read—a minute, a ludicrous, or even a filthy description of a drunken man, and it seems seized upon as the type of the whole. The fathers and mothers, and wives and sisters in England, are fully persuaded we do nothing but drink, and the good character of the army is forgotten in a few sketches from nature."



we to guard the trenches this winter?" Not that there could have been an equal amount of physical suffering; but that there would have been unavoidably a great deal of misery, and disease, and death, incident on another winter's active operations, despite railroads, dépôts, roads, warm clothing, and abundant food. The transport mules and horses perish; but French and English suffer alike, though I cannot say if they do so proportionately."

On the morning of the 7th of December the Russians attempted a surprise against the advanced posts of General d'Autemarre's division in the valley of Baidar. These outposts were stationed in several villages, and formed a circle at 3,000 metres in advance of General d'Autemarre's division. The enemy acting, it is supposed, on information received from some Tartars, conceived the idea of carrying off some of these outposts, and thus restricting the ground which afforded fuel to the French army, and food for their cattle. A portion of the Russian troops were put in motion before daybreak. The Cossack regiment of Colonel Zolotoroff took the lead, followed by 500 men taken from the ranks, armed with rifles; these were followed by three battalions of the Smolensk regiment, consisting of about 2,500 infantry, and four to five hundred horsemen. The night was dark and stormy, and the Russians advanced with their usual feline aptitude for surprises. Having surrounded a small advanced post of only twelve men, placed at the junction of the Baga and Ourkust roads, they made them prisoners, after a vigorous, but of course unavailing, resistance. Then, shortly before dawn, they attacked the villages of Ourkust and Baga with the greatest part of their force, though directing their efforts chiefly against the latter village. The Russians had succeeded in the surprise, for the attack was altogether unexpected. The French guard stationed at Baga consisted of a section of the 7th battalion of *chasseurs-à-pied*, of three companies of the 2nd battalion of the 26th regiment of the line, and of a detachment of the 4th *chasseurs d'Afrique*, commanded by Chef de Bataillon Richebourg. Our allies soon got into order, and after a smart fusillade, drove out the enemy at the point of the bayonet.

During the attack on Baga the Russians also advanced on the neighbouring village of Ourkust. The effective movements of

the French, by which they were threatened on the right, caused them first to hesitate and then to halt. Colonel Lacretelle, perceiving this indecision, ordered the charge to be sounded along the whole line. Instantly, both from Ourkust and Baga, the French threw themselves against the enemy, who speedily beat a retreat, and were pursued through the woods nearly as far as the ridges which encompass the valley. At the time of the first attack, 200 Russian infantry, and about 150 Cossacks, attempted a diversion on the left of Ourkust; but their advance was stopped by two companies of the 7th *chasseurs-à-pied*, and after two or three bayonet charges, they turned and retired. Captain Pichou, who had the command of the French companies, displayed remarkable vigour, and killed three Russians with his own hand. On hearing the firing, General d'Autemarre dispatched reinforcements to the line attacked, but on their arrival on the scene of action, the fray was over, and the enemy routed. The Russians left behind them 150 in killed, wounded, or prisoners; the French stated their loss to amount to only two men killed and eleven wounded; camp rumour, however, spoke of their casualties as seven killed and thirteen wounded.

We must here also relate the particulars of a skirmish which took place on the 16th of December, at Kertch, between a detachment of British and a party of Russian cavalry. A garrison had been left in this little dreary and ruined town. The Anglo-Turkish contingent, or irregular Turkish troops, in the British service, were also stationed there to winter. Lord Raglan looked with distaste on the formation of this body. His successor, also, was hostile to it, and undecided as to the mode in which it should be employed. After many proposals had been made and disapproved of, as to its destination, it was eventually sent to Kertch. The command of it was given to officers who had served in our Indian army, and were consequently accustomed to deal with Asiatic troops. The men were difficult to manage; for they were but semi-savages: but many exaggerated stories were told of their misbehaviour and ferocity. A quantity of forage had been purchased at a farm about seven or eight miles from Kertch, and a strong guard was sent to protect it. This was necessary; because when the enemy found that forage had been thus secured, they usually



came down in the night, and not only set fire to it, but also to the neighbouring villages that had fallen under suspicion of rendering us assistance. The British guard was under the command of Major M'Donald, who, on learning that the enemy was approaching in considerable numbers, resolved on a *reconnaissance*. Accordingly he started, early on the morning of the 16th, with Captain Sherwood, his second in command, and eighty-four troopers. After a ten or twelve miles' ride, they perceived the advanced posts of the enemy, which speedily fell back, and were joined by others. Major M'Donald pushed forward, and the force which had at first retired before him soon increased to thrice the number of his own, and then advanced in their turn. It was now his part to retire; this he did, galled by a fire from the enemy, which his men were unable to return. Finding the Russians were outflanking his party, he charged and cut his way through them, unhorsing from twenty to twenty-five of their number. For some time he pursued his way homeward unmolested, when he found the Russians, now swelled to about 400 horsemen, again on his flank. His men had been seven hours in the saddle; their horses were fatigued, and their numbers were being reduced by the enemy's shot. Under these circumstances he permitted the latter to approach him, and then gave the order to charge. The Russians charged also, and the hostile parties met with a crash. A desperate hand-to-hand encounter then took place, and lasted for a considerable time. Major M'Donald lost more than half his men, and was himself wounded, before he was able to withdraw. He retired, however, in good order, and reached the camp about dusk. The enemy followed as long as he could safely do so, but did not attack them again. Captain Sherwood was amongst the missing, and a flag of truce was sent the next day to ascertain his fate and that of the other wounded men. The party in charge of the flag of truce were treated with great courtesy, and introduced into the room where the lifeless body of Captain Sherwood lay, he having expired of his wounds a few hours before their arrival. He was a brave officer, and much respected. When he fell, he said to Major M'Donald—"Tell the general I died doing my duty to my country." The colonel commanding the Cossacks talked of the whole affair as a good joke, and said that the Turkish sol-

diers would never have shown such a bold front, if they had not been commanded by Englishmen. Major Goldsmit, who commanded the party carrying the flag of truce, remained for three days within the lines of the enemy, and met with much civility from the Russian officers. The writer of a private letter from Kertch said—"The Russian officers are all extremely well-disposed to the English; and one evening they insisted on drinking Queen Victoria's health. There is no sort of hostility to the English; and the feeling among them appeared to be that they would be most glad if the war were at an end; but not the least from any feeling of having been beaten." Major M'Donald was blamed for rashness in exposing his men to this unequal combat, in which upwards of forty of them were sacrificed; but it proved the metal of the Anglo-Turkish contingent, and the steadiness with which these wild soldiers would obey the English officers.

When information of the fall of Kars arrived in the English camp, it created a very painful feeling; though many persons acutely observed that it would tend to the promotion of peace, as it would soothe the pride of Russia, and give her one success as a counterpoise to the many reverses she had sustained during the war. Rumours of coming peace were general, not only in Europe, but in the camps; and both English and French officers longed for a peace, rather than a campaign in Asia; to which a general indisposition was manifested. The festive season of the year was rapidly approaching. Mr. Russell, after enumerating some causes of complaint among the troops, observed—"Still this will be a joyous Christmas, as far as it can be away from friends and home. Solitary subalterns ride out to Miskomia, and gaze gloomily on the beautiful mistletoe which grows on all the wild pear and apple trees in these lovely valleys, but their contentment returns when they think of the fat goose who, tied by the leg, is awaiting his doom by the kitchen tent or bakehouse, or of the tender pig, who has been reared up from his childhood for the sole purpose of doing honour to the coming feast, and who is 'just fit to be killed.' Already contrasts are drawn between diners in the trenches, on dreary outposts, on remote guards and pickets last year, and the luxuries which are forthcoming for the grand English festival. Men remember 'that tough old turkey which cost forty



shillings, and that turned the edge of the carver like plate glass,' and laugh over the fate which seemed somehow to attend most efforts to be jolly last Christmas, and then turn and look round their huts, which are generally, it must be confessed, very like retail grocers' establishments, backwood stores, or cantecmen's magazines; the shelves which are placed along the walls in layers, the cupboards made of packing-cases or powder-boxes, are filled with *pâtés* in Strasburg ware, hams, tins of soups and preserves, made dishes, vegetables, long-necked bottles of French manufacture, and the stumplier sturdier work of the English glassblower. There is a stove or some substitute for a fireplace in each hut, and it always enjoys the advantage of a famous draught from the door and walls. As to the latter, the embellishments upon them wile away many an idle hour, and afford opportunities for the exercise of taste, good and bad, the monuments of which must perish with the spring. They consist chiefly of illustrations from the pictorial papers and *Punch*, which are transposed ingeniously by the introduction of faces, figures, and bits out of different engravings, with the view of giving them a ludicrous or whimsical character, and the result is often very amusing. The walls are covered with them; a paste-pot, a pair of scissors, some old papers, and a little fancy—these are materials of which a man can make wonderful use in enlivening and decorating the wooden walls of his temporary residence."

At this season the cold was occasionally very severe, and cases of frost-bite not unfrequently occurred. The French appeared to suffer more than our men from this cause. One evening two French soldiers entered an English guard-room in Sebastopol, and asked for some coffee and permission to warm themselves by the fire. Their requests were readily granted; some coffee and biscuit were given them, and they sat down by the fire. One of the poor fellows took the shoes from his stockingless and frost-bitten feet, and endeavoured to restore circulation to the latter by rubbing them. After having been thus engaged for about ten minutes, he rose from his seat, staggered, and fell dead, to the astonishment and horror of the English soldiers. Prompt attention was given to his companion, who was quite restored by the morning. The cases of frost-bite among our own soldiers were usually the result of imprudent negli-

gence. In some instances the men had been lying out while in a state of intoxication; and in others the bite had occurred while they were sleeping in ill-secured tents. The parts frozen were generally the fingers, feet, or ears; but no men who were properly clothed suffered in this manner, or when their occupation permitted them to wear gloves. The transport animals suffered severely from exposure to the cold and from overwork; and on several occasions as many as sixty perished during the day.

We have more than once alluded to the famous dry docks which were the admiration of all strangers visiting Sebastopol and the pride of the Russian government. For some time, both English and French engineers had been engaged in laborious efforts for the destruction of these docks. The first of the five was demolished by the French engineers on the 22nd of December, by the explosion of mines which had been formed beneath it. All troops in the immediate neighbourhood were withdrawn, and a cordon of sentries placed at some distance, for the purpose of guarding against any accidents arising from the explosion. These precautions, however, proved unnecessary; for the mines were so laid, that the effects of their ignition were confined to a very limited sphere of action. The quantity of powder employed by the French on this occasion, was about 2,000 pounds weight, or 1,000 French kilogrammes. It was expected that a tremendous report would follow the explosion, but in this the spectators were disappointed. A tremulous agitation of the ground was felt, and then came a peculiar compressed sound, rather resembling the rumbling of distant thunder than the report of gunpowder fired from within metal. Then a volume of smoke, dust, stones, and rubbish, rose like a heavy cloud into the air. Nearly all the blocks and fragments of stone fell downwards into the vacant space of the dock, scarcely any being hurled beyond its limits. There was no wind, and for some time a dense grim cloud rested over the place of ruin. Before it dispersed, and, indeed, as soon as the crash of falling masonry had died away, the Russians fired several shells about the docks and neighbouring buildings. They hoped to cause some destruction among the troops, whom they supposed to be in the neighbourhood; but their benevolent design had been anticipated and provided against.



Preparations were made for celebrating Christmas-day with due festivity in the Crimea. Happily, when the day arrived, it was bright and cloudless, while the air though cold, was clear, and the roads were hard with frost. Eatables and drinkables of all kinds were in abundance, and the officers of the various corps had made liberal subscriptions to assist the men in providing for a good dinner. The huts were garnished with such green boughs as could be procured, and sounds of singing and merriment issued from the tents. The extent and variety of some of the officers' dinners was wonderful. There were turkeys, bustards, pheasants, wild boar, saddles of mutton, noble-looking pieces of beef, hams, sausages, plum-pudding, tarts, and many other good things, which are pleasant enough in England, but must have been indescribably delicious to the sharp winter-edged appetites of soldiers in the Crimea. There was cause for cheerfulness and thankfulness too; for few in the camp could have failed to give some passing thought to the sad Christmas-day of the preceding year. Then all was want, and exhausting labour and gloom. Men were harassed to death in the dreadful trenches, or pined away and died from exposure to the damp, and severity of the weather. The camp seemed as if it was rapidly becoming a hospital. Hosts of sick and dying men were carried away by their mournful comrades; and the overtasked arms of the soldiers scarce sufficed to dig a sufficient number of shallow graves for the dead. Every soldier must have given some brief thought to these things, though the great bulk of the men had not witnessed them. A year had wrought the changes of a generation.

The Sardinians, like the English, kept the day as one of gladness and festivity; but in the French camp but little attention was paid to it. "The French soldiers," said a correspondent, "were very busy that day. Sawing down trees, rooting up bushes, and providing wood for their camp; but they appeared cheerful, and were singing at their work. I fear many of them know too well what it is to be hungry and cold, as they appear to be very badly provided both with clothes and food. Still they are cheerful, good soldiers; they suffer, but never lose their self-respect. The road was so slippery I was obliged to dismount, and a French soldier leading the horses of a wagon kindly led mine, while

I chatted with him. On my giving him a trifle when going away, he appeared quite hurt, and I had some difficulty in soothing his feelings by saying I wished him to take a glass of wine at my expense, and there being no canteen near, I should be glad if he would favour me by purchasing one. This is not a solitary instance of the French soldier refusing money for a kindness. I hope they had good dinners as well as the Sardinian and English, but I greatly fear they had not."

The following account describes the English camp at the commencement of the new year; and after this picture of the state of things in the Crimea, we must carry our readers, in imagination, for a short time to Paris.

"We have had a heavy snowstorm last night and this morning. The fall has ceased, but the snow lies several inches deep on the plateau. On the white surface the irregular collections of huts have something the appearance of groups of farm-buildings; while the more distant tents, dingy in comparison with the dazzling whiteness of the ground, might be taken for heaps of hay or manure. On all sides, at the distance of about three-quarters of a mile, our horizon is limited by a haze a few shades grayer than the snow, and semi-transparent, so that figures are dimly seen walking within it. The wind howls drearily round the huts, but the snow lends light to the foreground, and the temperature is milder than it has been for the last few days—far milder than it was on the 2nd, a piercing day of frost, wind, and sleet. Fatigue parties, in their short fur-lined coats, their heads protected by those black sealskin caps, the shape of which reminds one of pictures of Russian travelling, bring up firewood on their shoulders to the different commissariat stores, and a considerable amount of snowballing goes on among them in the intervals of their toil. Here and there carts move slowly through the deep snow, in which, hard by my window, some Tartar dogs are now disporting themselves, apparently quite in their element. The winter piece is complete, and not unpicturesque. But it suggests a wish that the whole, instead of part only, of our army, had more substantial shelter than tents against the sharp wind, the drifting snow, the bitter cold that will attend a return of frost, and the chilly floods which a thaw must inevitably bring. Well provided in most essential respects the soldiers



certainly are—well clothed and well fed; but it seems strange that by this time they should not all have been hutted. Huts are getting up, however, with great rapidity; along the road to Balaklava one daily meets thousands of men, bringing up the planks on their shoulders; and it is to be hoped, that before the heavy rains set in there will be few under canvas. The amount of labour that has been expended on this British camp in the Crimea is enormous. It would have built a city of no mean aspect, in some more favoured situation, where materials were less difficult to obtain, and casier of transport. It *has* built a town—a scattered and irregular one, spread over a large surface, in many groups. Besides the numerous wooden buildings, there are not a few of stone—small, but snug and well-built edifices, quite able to resist even Crimean rains and winds, and fitted, many of them, with fire-grates from Sebastopol. If the army were to quit the Crimea, leaving its stone and earthen huts standing, many a Tartar would find a better dwelling than he, perhaps, had ever before enjoyed, and would marvel at the ingenious and comfortable contrivances of the invader. Some of the stables, too, are wonderfully perfect and well contrived, and must have cost an immensity of labour. I rode down, a day or two ago, into the valley towards Karanyi, where the heavy batteries are, and saw some truly admirable stables. The stalls were paved; there was a clean path down the centre; there were racks for the hay, and well-made wooden mangers, bound and striped with the iron bands that confine the compressed trusses—excellent mangers—economical of corn, and which the horses cannot bite. It had been found that the horses sometimes pushed out the planks of the stable huts, so stone walls were built up outside to a sufficient height to prevent this. In short, although some of the men were still under canvas, the horses of the artillery in question could hardly be better cared for, and the condition of those I saw corresponded with the pains that had been taken to protect and preserve them.

"The health of the camp continues good. As far as I have been able to ascertain, the average amount of sickness does not exceed, if it quite reaches, ten per cent.\* But a

\* A subsequent communication alluded to this as an error, and stated that the sickness did not exceed six-and-a-half, or at most seven per cent.

large proportion of the cases are of a trifling nature, and the mortality is small. We must be prepared to expect some increase when the rains return; but we may venture to hope that this will not be great, since the men are well provided, and, as it appears to me, in excellent condition and good spirits. The bringing up of planks from Balaklava, and the other necessary fatigue duties, give them sufficient exercise to keep them in health; for the recruits there is squad and adjutant's drill, when the weather permits; and drunkenness, from all I can learn, is much less rife than it was last autumn. I am assured, that the average amount of punishment for drunkenness having lately been computed, was found not to exceed a half per cent. *per diem*—a small percentage—to which, however, must be added a somewhat larger one for men who get drunk and escape punishment. There can be no doubt, that in the autumn, issues of back pay, and the difficulty of transmitting money, aggravated the evil."

The Emperor of the French well understood the character of the people whom he ruled, and had the gift of attracting to him the affections of his soldiers. On the 1st of November, he issued an imperial decree confirming the promotion of fifty-seven persons belonging to the army in the East to the rank of officer; and the nomination of 572 to the honour of knight of the legion of honour, as well as the grant of 1,284 military medals, conferred by Marshal Pelissier. This list comprised persons of every grade, from the colonel to the private, and extended over every arm of the service. A great number of non-commissioned officers and private soldiers were decorated, that it might be seen that for acts of bravery on the battle-field no distinction was made, and no partiality shown.

Napoleon was not contented with scattering well-deserved honours among his troops; he knew that many of them required that rest from active service which they had so nobly earned. In compliance with this conviction, the imperial guard, together with some other bodies of troops, were recalled from the Crimea to repose upon their laurels, and preparations were made in Paris to give them a triumphant welcome. To a journalist of the day we are indebted for the following admirable account of this celebrated body of troops:—"There is no section of the armies of France more popular than the imperial



guard; none whose history awakes more interesting memories, or whose name is associated with more noble traditions. Poetry and painting have contributed to preserve their fame. From the palace to the cottage; in the most elaborate production of the artist to the most unskilful daub of the village sign-painter; from the most carefully finished engraving to the rudest woodcut that decorates the white walls of the country wineshop, the grenadier of the guard stands next to the emperor himself, as the type and model of the military virtues of the French soldier; and everywhere, on all occasions, and in every class, to have been a *vieux de la Vieille* is the passport to respect and admiration. With that costume every child is familiar; and the veriest *gamin* of Paris, who respects nothing, looks upon it with reverence, and feels stirring within him the ambition of being some day worthy to rival the heroes with whose history he is so familiar.

"The existence of the guard dates before the empire, though it was after that period that it acquired its great celebrity. It existed under the consulate; and not the least remarkable of its triumphal entries into Paris was after the battle of Marengo. The day after that hard-won victory it bent its way to the capital, which it entered on the 14th of July, 1800; and it deposited in the Hotel des Invalides the colours captured from the enemy. It was during the long encampment on the shores of the channel which separates France from England that the imperial guard was completely organised. It was intended to form the reserve of the whole army, and as such more immediately under the command of the emperor himself. Each corps comprised four divisions, varying in strength from 5,000 to 7,000 men, commanded by generals of division, who received their orders from the general of the corps. The imperial guard was considered so essentially a *corps d'élite* that it was only on some great occasion, either to turn the scale of victory when yet doubtful, or to serve as the last rampart against the victorious enemy, that it was employed. On the hard-fought field of Borodino the guard was not brought up. It was too precious an instrument to be used, except on the most important occasions; and the emperor himself declared that he felt the necessity of preserving it unimpaired in order to strike a decisive blow in the greater battle which he expected the enemy would fight in the plains in front of Moscow. Had the guard been seriously

damaged at Borodino, it is doubtful whether the army, of which it was the heart and soul, would have been able to repass the Niemen.

"It was to the old guard that the last farewell was addressed at Fontainebleau, when the emperor declared that he had ever found them in the path of honour and of glory, and that in adversity as in prosperity they never ceased to be models of bravery and fidelity. It was to them that pathetic farewell was addressed; it was their eagle that he last pressed to his bosom before setting out for Elba; and it was on their standard he imprinted his last kiss, while these weather-beaten warriors, whose name was synonymous with glory, wept like women at that bitter parting from the chief whom they believed they had then seen for the last time.

"One of the first acts of the Restoration was the dissolution of that noble corps. They had, in the first instance, been intrusted with the guard at the Tuileries, but were speedily removed, and their place supplied by troops obtained from Switzerland and La Vendée. They were even removed from Paris under pretence of avoiding quarrels with the troops of the allies who occupied the capital; the officers were sent to their homes, there to await their ulterior destination, and the most stringent orders given to the troops who had returned from foreign garrisons to prevent the slightest allusion to the name of the fallen emperor. The new force wearing uniforms unknown to the army of imperial France, and never stained on the field of battle, supplanted the old troops and the national guard in the service of the royal palace. These changes were submitted to in silence, but they were never effaced from the heart of the army; and that dream of security obtained from such measures was soon to have a terrible wakening."

The reorganisation of the imperial guard was not one of the least popular acts of the Emperor Napoleon III.; and, on the morning of the 29th of December, an immense and excited crowd eagerly awaited the entrance of these war-worn soldiers into the capital of the French empire. Even at day-break all the streets seemed alive with troops marching to their stations, or with patriotic sight-seers, intent on procuring a good place from which to behold the spectacle. Before ten o'clock, walking along the Boulevards became an impossibility, and people were compelled to take their positions, and wait



to see the procession pass. Innumerable flags floated in the air, and two triumphal arches were erected—one on the Place de la Bastille, and the other near the Porte St. Martin. On the frieze of the former were inscribed the words—“*A la gloire de l'armée d'Orient.*” A shield with an azure field bore in letters of gold the name of Sebastopol, and was encircled with various military emblems. On the summit were the imperial arms, surrounded by a cluster of flags; and four golden eagles, with outspread wings, occupied the sides. Two gilt statues, representing Victory, appeared on the right and left of the two *façades* of the monument, and held in their hands crowns of laurel. On the frieze were inscribed the names of the different *corps d'armée*; a bas-relief, which adorned the arch, represented France and the muse of history. On the sides were inscribed the names of the principal battles fought and won against the Russians, while four lofty poles with *oriflammes* floating from the summit, were planted in front.

The emperor left the Tuileries at about half-past eleven. He was accompanied by Prince Napoleon, Marshal Vaillant, and Baraguay d'Hilliers, General Canrobert, and a numerous staff, and attended by the regiment of guides, the military household of his majesty, and a detachment of cent-gardes, and two squadrons of cuirassiers of the imperial guard. The troops returned from the Crimea had been quartered for some days in the environs of Paris, and were now brought into the city, and placed in masses in the Place de la Bastille, where they were met by the emperor and his *cortège*. Nothing could exceed the enthusiasm with which the weather-beaten warriors were received by the people,—all gazing with emotion on the faded uniforms, the flags torn to ribands, and the eagles perforated with Russian bullets. The emperor, also, was received with deafening shouts, both from the people and the soldiery. He rode a beautiful bay charger covered with rich housings, and rode slightly in advance of his staff and escort. “His graceful bearing on horseback,” observed a spectator, “and the skill with which he directs the movements of his horse, are familiar to all; and, as he now and then turned to the right and left, and touched his hat to the acclamations that greeted him, his worst enemy must have avowed that he became his place, and that he looked the emperor.”

After riding slowly before the lines of the

troops, he took up his station near the pillar of July, 1830; and, in a firm and powerful voice, delivered the following address to the returned troops:—

“Soldiers,—I have come to meet you as in other times the Roman senate went to the gates of Rome to meet her victorious legions. I have come to tell you that you have deserved well of your country.

“My emotion is great, for with the happiness I feel at again seeing you are mingled painful regrets for those who are no more, and deep sorrow that I could not myself lead you on to battle.

“Soldiers of the guard, and soldiers of the line, I bid you welcome.

“You all represent that army of the East whose courage and whose perseverance have invested with new lustre our eagles, and won for France the rank which is her due.

“The country, alive to all that is accomplished in the East, receives you with all the greater pride that she estimates your efforts by the obstinate resistance of the enemy.

“I have recalled you, though the war be not terminated; because it is only just to relieve in their turn the regiments that have suffered most. Each will thus be able to take his share in glory; and the country which maintains 600,000 soldiers has an interest in maintaining in France a numerous and experienced army ready to march where-soever necessity may require. Preserve, then, carefully the habits of war, and fortify yourselves in the experience you have already acquired. Hold yourselves in readiness to respond, if need be, to my appeal; but yet on this day forget the hardships of a soldier's life, return thanks to God for having spared you, and march proudly in the midst of your brethren in arms and your fellow-citizens whose acclamations await you.”

This address, eloquent as it is dignified, was received by the troops with acclamations, and the emperor returned to the Place Vendôme, where the *defile* was to take place. The troops were in heavy marching order; but the wounded of every regiment, in undress uniform, marched behind the bands of their corps. The pale and haggard features and mutilated limbs of these brave men elicited the liveliest sympathy. As the regiments passed they were received with the loudest acclamations, and the ladies never ceased to waive their handkerchiefs. Each officer, as he rode at the head of his men, raised his sword, and saluted the fair enthusiasts. On reaching the Place Vendôme the





*Drawn & Engraved by D.J. Power.*

NAPOLÉON III.  
EMPEROR  
OF THE FRENCH.





emperor drew up under the balcony of the Ministry of Justice, where the empress was waiting to see the troops file past. She was much affected by the sight, and shed tears as the poor fellows marched by her,\* shouting, as they did so, "*Vive l'Empereur!*" and "*Vive l'Imperatrice!*" At two o'clock the spectacle terminated; the royal party returned to the Tuileries, and the troops marched to the quarters assigned to them. Each soldier, together with the entire garrison of Paris, received a gratuity of two francs, which enabled them to close the day in festivity.

Notwithstanding this demonstration, so natural to a great military nation, the people of France desired peace, and the emperor was by no means adverse to it. There was much that required his attention at home, and the commerce and monetary condition of the country were not in a very secure and healthy condition. Propositions, to which we shall hereafter refer, had been made to Russia through the instrumentality of Austria, and rumours of peace were rife in every capital in Europe. Of the great powers engaged in the war, it was believed that both Russia and France felt it as a heavy and still increasing oppression. Under these circumstances, a pamphlet, bearing the title of *The Necessity of a Congress to Pacify Europe*, made its appearance in Paris. In this age of printing such a circumstance would possibly not have attracted any attention, but that it was reported, and generally believed, that the pamphlet had been written by, or at the dictation of, the Emperor Napoleon. Under these circumstances, it was read and studied at every court, and by every politician in Europe. It was soon denied that the pamphlet was the work of the emperor,

though we do not yet feel perfectly certain that it was not written at his command. Many persons reasoned that this could not be, because the author showed so tender a regard for the dignity of Russia, and spoke of that state with what they regarded as an inconsistent deference. We cannot see any great force in this objection, as to irritate Russia was merely to render the prolongation of the struggle a certainty; and the allies were not in a position to dictate harsh terms to her. The object of the war was not to endanger the existence of Russia, but to put a stop, in future, to her aggressions. If the Emperor Alexander would resign the policy so long and so perseveringly pursued by his father, it was not the policy of Napoleon to heap unnecessary humiliation on Russia, or to bring her to the verge of a weakness which might prove as dangerous to the peace of Europe as her former strength.

After having been attributed to M. Drouyn de Lhuys, to Count Walewski, to M. Guizot, and others, it was declared to be the work of a journalist named Charles Duveyrier. Whoever was the author, it exhibits a considerable amount of ability, and takes a powerful view of the then existing attitude of contesting powers. We can only say, that if the writer did not receive instructions or suggestions from some party in the confidence of the emperor, he exhibited an insight into coming events that bears a prophetic appearance; and we are not believers in the supernatural character of any prophecy promulgated in these days. The pamphlet is not so long but that it may be accommodated with a place in our pages, where we insert it as an historical document of no common merit:—

"According as the probabilities of a

\* The Empress Eugénie was deservedly popular both with citizens and soldiers; and it was difficult not to appreciate the womanly tenderness and simplicity of her nature. The following incident is illustrative of this remark. At a review which took place shortly after the return of the troops to Paris, as the emperor was passing in front of the Zouaves of the guard, the son of the *cantinière* of the regiment, a boy of about seven years of age, and already wearing the Zouave uniform, drew near the emperor and presented to him a fine *bouquet* of violets. His majesty bent down from his horse, and touching the child with his hand on the cheek, said, "Thank you, my little friend; go and take your *bouquet* to the empress." As he spoke he pointed to the balcony where her majesty was seated with her ladies, and then proceeded with his inspection. "But how am I to get to the empress?" exclaimed the child in

great embarrassment. "I will show you the way, my little man," said a deep voice near him; and the boy, looking up, perceived that it was the tall drum-major of the Zouaves who had volunteered to serve him as guide. The tall man then took the boy gravely by the hand, and in a few minutes, thanks to the imperturbable repetition of "By order of the emperor, a *bouquet* for the empress," they soon arrived near her majesty. The empress accepted the flowers, embraced the little boy on each cheek, asked him his name, and appeared delighted with his present. The child, after having been kissed and caressed by the rest of the ladies, returned with his tall comrade to the court below. It may be imagined that he was asked many questions when he came down, but all his faculties seemed to be concentrated in the one fact of his interview, as his constant reply was, "The empress embraced me."



peaceful solution assume greater consistency, certain organs of the English press are endeavouring, by irritating articles, to endanger the effect of the sage resolutions and of the calm attitude of the allied governments. In misrepresenting the form and the character of a document which it is the duty of the official parties to keep secret, a risk is run of offending the power which Europe has applied to for concessions, when the interest of all is to facilitate the success of the proceeding now entered on. It would be senseless to suppose that any statesman of Great Britain can behold otherwise than with the deepest regret this inconsiderate line of tactics. In the plans of arrangement now in course of negotiation, no one has any idea of humiliating Russia or depreciating the just share of influence and authority which she is called on to preserve in the councils of Europe.

"France and England have united together for a just war, not only because it was a just one, but because their own history proved to Russia that she could yield without dishonour. Do England and France find themselves lowered or humiliated by the obligation in which they were placed, the first to recognise the independence of the United States, and the second to renounce the conquests of the republic and of the empire? The result of the present struggle proves the contrary. Yet both these concessions were wrested from them by force of arms. It was France who constrained England to abandon her colonies in North America; and it was England who, in a greater degree than any other nation, contributed to detach from the French territory Belgium and the Rhenish provinces; and yet France and England are at present closely united. Proud of their new destinies, they assuredly have a right to proclaim that, in making at present the sacrifice of a policy incompatible with the peace of the world, Russia cannot decline in public estimation; but that, on the contrary, she must increase in the confidence and esteem of Europe, and perhaps prepare herself for a not distant future of new and precious alliances.

"In that situation, the duty of statesmen is to seek out under what form and in what circumstances the acquiescence of Russia will best be reconciled with the dignity of a sovereign who, the day on which he will have signed peace, will find in his enemies at the day before, nothing else than bro-

thers. Since the congress of Vienna, five great powers have governed Europe with common accord. To day, three of these powers are at war, and the spontaneous intervention of the remaining two, either in an isolated manner or in conferences, fails to reconcile them. Is it, then, surprising that the ordinary proceedings are insufficient to terminate a conflict of so novel a nature? One hundred and twenty millions of men are engaged in the struggle; on one side, they are dying for their faith; on the other, for justice. Thousands of cannon are thundering after forty years' peace; four thousand millions of francs have been consumed in less than fifteen months, and Europe awaits from this last holocaust of blood and gold a peace which shall have no end. Such is the present war! When interests so noble and gigantic are at stake, can there be any chance of reconciling the belligerent parties, otherwise than by a congress? And is not that measure justified, moreover, by the incontestable fact, that at the sole announcement of the convocation of a congress, the different populations would consider peace concluded? And why is this anticipated confidence? It is because nobody is ignorant that the sole difficulty is to find a conclusion worthy of the struggle, and that after the fall of Sebastopol, and the destruction of the Black Sea fleet, peace became possible. In fact, a new position was created by this event, and it was pointed out with clearness, in the address delivered by Napoleon III. to the exhibitors, and in the official papers of his diplomacy. As long as a decisive success had not been obtained, the allies could only think of increasing their forces on the field of battle. In pursuing, at the price of enormous sacrifices, a result which would turn to the advantage of all, they could not admit that neutrality had a useful mission to fulfil. But as England, France, Turkey, and Sardinia, had sufficed for the task, and as the proposed aim was attained, the position of neutrals could be looked at in a more favourable light. It was then that the emperor, making a solemn appeal to the pressure of public opinion, with the view of terminating the war, exclaimed—'Let Europe decide and declare who is in the right and who is in the wrong, for that will be a grand step towards a solution.' He proclaimed with conviction and truth that, in the present epoch of civilisation, the success of armies



is but temporary, and that definitely it is public opinion that carries away the last victory. Thus, in the thoughts of the allied governments, the last victory will be the conclusion of a peace. And it is public opinion in Europe which will have the merit and the honour, provided it interferes in the negotiations, assists at their various phases, and officially pronounces on all the minor difficulties which may issue from the discussions.

"A congress can alone offer the opportunity of doing this.

"The readiness with which the secondary states have replied to the invitation of the Emperor of the French, proves that Europe is prepared for that great spectacle. Whilst Sweden was engaging herself by a treaty, the governments of Central Europe, of the first, second, and even of the third order, were addressing to the court of Russia friendly representations, by no means comminatory, but expressing in the clearest manner the necessity of making concessions which would guarantee to the Western Powers the fact that the object of the war was really acquired. At the same time, each of them informed France and England of the steps which it had taken, and invited them to receive with moderation the propositions that Russia might make. The majority of the sovereign courts are consequently co-operating at this moment in the negotiations. But their co-operation is isolated, non-official, and without force. Theirs are local opinions, and disjointed; it is not the general opinion of Europe which they express. In order that the general opinion be rendered useful and imposing, that it may carry away that last victory which shall definitely endow the world with peace, from the fact, that it will leave behind it neither victors nor vanquished, it must necessarily be manifested solemnly, in an assembly of the representatives of all the states, where various modes of thinking may be conformed in one idea, and where the will of all may have but one voice.

"In a congress, Europe will be represented and personified. Ambitions will be restrained, and men's minds revived; above all, over the powers will be suspended a supreme authority, which will ennoble the sacrifices, give to moderation the character of magnanimity, impose a salutary restraint on religious or national exigencies, over-excited by the contest, and render to each government a perfect liberty of action

with respect to its subjects. It would be most desirable were the idea of a congress to proceed from Russia, and if, taking into consideration as a basis of negotiations the propositions carried to St. Petersburg by Count Esterhazy, she were to propose to deliberate on them, not only in a simple conference, but in an assembly of all the sovereigns, and after solemn and sincere declarations on the origin, the character, and the results of the contest. Such an overture would be a more certain indication of the pacific dispositions of the cabinet of St. Petersburg, than a pure and simple acceptance of an ultimatum which might have no other aim than to retard the recall of the Austrian ambassador. It will be remembered, that a similar acceptance preceded the first conferences at Vienna, and did not prevent their failure. If Russia were boldly to adopt this step, her language would have a character of frankness and of grandeur, which, in freeing her diplomatists for ever from the reproach of duplicity, would materially facilitate the conclusion of peace. It is only necessary to open contemporaneous history to comprehend that Alexander II. may enter on this path without humiliating Russia; and if he considers the much greater sacrifices which the other powers have been compelled to make for the progress of civilisation, he will bless God for having reserved to his people, in a similar crisis, a privileged position. When the hour of American independence sounded, England had no idea that the annihilation of her old colonial policy was for her commerce and her navy the germ of an unlimited development. At the moment when coalesced Europe made Napoleonic France violently return within the limits of the old monarchy, no one could foresee that the resuscitated empire would find in the renunciation of her conquests the means of extending over the free states of Europe an influence more powerful than that of Louis XIV. or of Napoleon I. It has been necessary that the national honour of the two countries should suffer nearly half a century of humiliations before they could clearly see into their new destinies and frankly resign themselves, one to the loss of her North American possessions, and the other of the conquests of the republic and the empire. But Russia, after a peace of forty years which has changed the face of the world, softened manners, and brought nations together in amity, enjoyed a better fate. Immediately after the struggle she



was able to appreciate and appropriate the results of it; and at the very moment at which she renounces her old Eastern policy, she sees that that policy does not die, that it is regenerated, and that in civilising herself she triumphs!

"What idea animated Peter the Great with respect to Constantinople? An idea as generous and as holy as that which conducted the king St. Louis, Richard of England, and Leopold of Austria to the tomb of Christ. Can we feel surprise that this idea, a living tradition of all reigns, should have been enveloped in mystery, have grown in the dark, and that when it appeared in open day, fully armed, it succumbed and became transformed into a conflict of giants? No; for from the moment it was conceived it had that destiny. It was exclusive and incomplete, for it only aimed at the enfranchisement of the Greek communion; it was aggressive and encroaching, for that enfranchisement implied a territorial rearrangement of Europe. But Europe, which the creator of Russia had only seen exclusively commercial at London and Amsterdam, irreligious and dissolute at the court of the regent, and which could not comprehend his great conception, was at that time undergoing a grand transformation. Whilst Catherine and Nicholas were slowly opening the road to Constantinople for the armies of Russia, the old feudal edifice of the West was crumbling away, and on its ruins Napoleon was founding the base of a new policy and a new society. At a distance of 150 years, the ideas of Peter the Great have found before them a regenerated Europe, drawing after it already the Eastern world into its principles of order, justice, and tolerance, by the sole attraction of the wonders of civilisation, and raising aloft the cross in the metropolis of Islamism. The will of Peter the Great was from that moment accomplished. And when, in the 19th century, Russia directed her armies and fleets on Constantinople, she committed as grave an error as if England or France had recommenced the crusades. But let her admit that error, and renounce her system of isolated propagandism; let her claim her share in the collective protectorate which Christian Europe has achieved, and this claim will not be refused. Is Europe ignorant of the fact that the co-religionists of the Russian people compose three-quarters of the population of Turkey; that the ill-feeling of the cabinet of St.

Petersburg can create there enormous difficulties, and that its sincere co-operation would, on the contrary, become one of the most essential elements of the pacific regeneration of the Ottoman empire?

"Such is the truth as to the origin, the character, and the results of the struggle. Were Russia to accept these views, and the negotiations of the cabinets to adopt at once inspirations as liberal; were a congress to meet with such sentiments of frankness and honour, where the conscience of sovereigns would co-operate with the talents of diplomatists to reconstruct with solidity and justice the equilibrium of Europe, who would dare to doubt of success? No person. Prepared to agree, as in a family deliberation before their peers, the belligerent powers would be authorised to conclude an armistice as a proof of the legitimate hopes which would proceed from the new form of negotiations. Soon all the difficulties would be smoothed away; for it cannot be admitted that a congress of sovereigns, united to regulate, in the name of the common weal, not only the Eastern question, but all the other difficulties which had sprung up since the congress of Vienna, would fail in its efforts. Is there a single interest which would not derive benefit from the immediate pacification of Europe? Are not Prussia and Austria impatient to recover the share of influence which has become more and more compromised by the unsuccess of their efforts? Does not Russia aspire to resume the course of internal prosperity, and to liquidate honourably and grandly the traditions of a policy which was generous at the epoch when it was conceived, but which has been condemned as inadequate by the progress of civilisation, and which she would have been compelled to renounce sooner or later in her own interest, as in that of the world?

"The Anglo-French alliance is eternal. It will attain its object amidst the days of misfortune as in those of prosperity. But would it not be for it a stroke of fortune to triumph at that period of the war when, having nothing further to destroy than the Baltic fleet, the interests and ideas of the two nations might be brought into opposition? Finally, if the secondary powers of Europe contribute in a direct manner to re-establish peace, if Europe is indebted to them in some degree for the commencement of endless labours, for the reforms and benefits which will ensue from that







EDWARD  
JOHN GORDON, ESQ.,  
COMMANDER OF THE BRITISH ARMY  
IN THE EAST INDIES.



grand event, will not a similar service rendered prove a better guarantee for such states from the eventualities of the future than any protectorates? The assembling of a congress will therefore be for the benefit of all. The necessity for it results from the five great powers being unable to come to a precise understanding. Its for-

mation has been in embryo since the appeal made to the general opinion of Europe by Napoleon III. The wish for it inspires every breast, and the official proposition which will be made for it will neither meet with an adversary nor a person indifferent to it from the very day when a sovereign court shall have assumed the initiative."

#### CHAPTER IV.

SIR EDMUND LYONS IN ENGLAND, AND HIS SPEECH ON THE WAR; ASSEMBLING OF THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT; THE QUEEN'S SPEECH; DEBATES UPON IT; THE EARL OF DERBY'S EULOGY OF THE BRITISH OFFICERS AT KARS; REPORT OF SIR JOHN McNEILL AND COLONEL TULLOCH ON THE STATE OF THE ARMY IN THE CRIMEA; DR. SANDWICH AT HULL, AND HIS NARRATIVE OF THE SURRENDER OF KARS.

WE must here devote a chapter to what we regard as the home history of the war; that is, the chronicle of interesting events in England which had a direct relationship to it.

The war which had ruined so many military and naval reputations, had greatly enhanced that of Sir Edmund Lyons. Early in the year (1856) he returned to England, and shortly after his arrival, he was presented with an address of congratulation by the inhabitants of his native town—Christchurch in Hampshire. On the day appointed (Monday, January 28th), the ceremony took place. Admiral Walcott read the address, which congratulated Sir Edmund on revisiting the scene of his birth, after an eventful life spent chiefly abroad in the service of his country. It also related his rise, step by step, in his profession, until he succeeded to the command of the English fleet in the Black Sea; how without the loss of a single ship, or a single life, he conveyed the army from Varna, and landed it in the Crimea, where he again performed essential service to his country by the unanimity of his co-operation with the land forces. It likewise complimented him for the heroic devotion which he breathed into the officers and seamen of the fleet, whom he never led but to victory, as at Kertch and at Kinburn. After a speech from the Earl of Malmesbury, and a few words of acknowledgment from Sir Edmund, the company repaired to the King's Arms hotel, where a luncheon had been prepared. On this being done justice

to, the health of the gallant admiral was proposed and drank with enthusiasm. Sir Edmund replied in a speech of remarkable interest—one which may be termed a brief retrospect of the great struggle which preceded the fall of Sebastopol. As such we present it to our readers:—

"My Lords, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—You have done me the honour of associating my name with the names of those who have distinguished themselves in the Crimean campaign. I only wish that I felt myself deserving of the praise that you have so kindly bestowed upon me. But all I pretend to is an honest and earnest desire to do my duty to my sovereign and my country to the best of my humble ability. The nature of the present war is such as to afford but few opportunities to fleets or large ships to take any prominent or distinguished part. In the Black Sea the Russian fleet has been self-annihilated, and we had the mortification of seeing their ships of war sunk beneath the waves by their own hands instead of by our broadsides. In the Baltic, again, the enemy's fleet has lain at anchor, secure under the shadow of their own granite walls and stupendous batteries. The commanders-in-chief in the Baltic have had to report many daring and successful exploits performed by the officers and men under their command, and I, on my part, have had the satisfaction of reporting what has taken place in the Sea of Azoff, where I think I may say, without any fear of contradiction, and with perfect safety, that the exertions of the commanders-



in-chief have been seconded by as gallant a band of young officers as ever went forth in the service of their country. And here, perhaps, it may not be irrelevant to say that, in the course of our expedition there, a letter was intercepted from the emperor, in which his imperial majesty emphatically declared that he would almost as soon see the allies in his palace at St. Petersburg as in the Sea of Azoff. I should be ungrateful if I did not on this occasion acknowledge the good service of the officers and men under my command, which showed itself in nothing more than in a hearty co-operation with the army. They conveyed the troops to the shores of the Crimea; they landed them there; they supplied them with food and *matériel* to carry on the siege for eleven months; nor was their sympathy ever wanting in the hour of sickness and suffering; and thus was fostered that kindly feeling between the two services which has from time to time brought forth such good fruits during this memorable campaign. We saw from the decks of our ships the battle of the Alma. General Bosquet, with the French division, passed almost within hail of the *Agamemnon*, and anything finer than his attack on the enemy's lines could scarcely be conceived. We saw the British army ford the Alma and form on the opposite bank under cover of the artillery, which, on that occasion, as on all others, peculiarly distinguished themselves throughout the Crimean campaign. We saw them also capture the position of the enemy, which the Russians thought impossible to be carried by any troops in the world. We saw them advance to the attack; and so striking was that movement that General Canrobert, at that time second in command of the French army, told me afterwards that he could only compare it to an English red brick wall supernaturally lifted up from the ground and propelled forward—so steady, so unwavering, and so irresistible was that attack. I saw, likewise, the charge at Balaklava; and, however that may be criticised in a strategical point of view, I believe that it will go down to history as one of the finest and most brilliant cavalry charges that was ever made since the world began. No man could have seen that chivalrous action, as I did, without feeling proud of his country and grateful to the gallant band who engaged in it. At the battle of Inkermann, again, I had a still closer view of that memorable conflict. On that day great and heroic deeds were per-

formed. Each man in the French and English army fought as if the fate of the battle and the honour of the allies depended on his own individual exertions. And great and glorious were the results; and I should think of it to the end of my days with the greatest pleasure and satisfaction, did there not come with it the alloy of the battle-field; but that is the natural and inseparable concomitant of war. We saw, too, from the decks of our ships the final attack on Sebastopol, in which, however, a violent gale of wind prevented us taking part. We saw all the alternations of the struggle of three hours which terminated so triumphantly for the allies. We saw the French rush out from their trenches into the Malakhoff. We saw also their attack on the Little Redan, where, after performing prodigies of valour, they were unable to maintain a position. The attack on the Great Redan was to some extent concealed from our view by the intervening hills, but I am well acquainted with the position and the circumstances of the attack; and here I may perhaps be permitted to say in reference to it, that while our brave allies, the French, favoured by the nature of the ground, and protected by the fire of the English batteries, were enabled to carry their sap within thirty or forty yards of the Malakhoff, it was not so with our troops. Every step they took was enfiladed by the enemy's batteries, and they were unable to approach nearer than from 220 to 240 yards of the Great Redan. Nevertheless, our troops, when called upon, rushed out of the trenches to the attack, and although decimated, and more than decimated, in their passage across the intervening ground, they succeeded in effecting a lodgment in the battery, and would probably have retained it, but they found that, unlike the Malakhoff, which was enclosed all round, the Redan was open in the rear, and thus the enemy was enabled to pour in an overwhelming body of troops, and so to recover the position as often as it was wrenched from them. There is another circumstance, also, which is not generally known, but of the truth of which I assured myself by asking General Niel the other day in Paris. When the French made their unsuccessful attack on the 18th of June, it was discovered afterwards that they had only spiked the enemy's guns imperfectly, which in their retreat were unavoidably turned upon our allies. A more positive order on this subject was subsequently issued; and on the 8th of September,



the guns in the Malakhoff, which enfiladed the intervening space between Sebastopol and the Redan, were too effectually spiked, and thus rendered useless to prevent the Russians from pouring their masses into the rear of the Redan. It was utterly impossible to withstand the overpowering numbers that rushed in. But I glory in being able to say that never was British courage more conspicuously displayed than on that day. The example of the gallant Welsford, who fell gloriously in the action, and of the brave Handcock, who was killed at the head of his corps, will never be forgotten; still less that of General Windham, who amid a shower of bullets, and, as if he had a charmed life, stood unscathed on the ramparts, urging on his men to the attack. It may be said of them, as Lord St. Vincent said to Lord Nelson after his temporary want of success in his attack with gun-boats on Boulogne—'It is not in mortals to command success; but you have done more—you have deserved it.' The result of all these heroic deeds is, that the allies stand on vantage ground on the eve of negotiations. My lords and gentlemen, I have spoken hitherto of the horrors and glories of war. I would now venture to mention an episode in the last campaign of a character that will come home to the hearts of all persons residing in Hampshire and this immediate neighbourhood

with peculiar interest,—I speak of the benevolent acts of Miss Nightingale, and of the ladies with whom she has been associated in her work of mercy in the East. I speak with knowledge of the facts when I tell you that it has fallen to the lot of but few women to do the good that they have done. To dilate on those acts would be superfluous; no tongue can do justice to them; but I trust they are registered in Heaven, as I know they are engraved on the hearts of thousands of their countrymen. I hope you will do me the justice to believe that it is impossible for any man to feel more sensible than I do of the honour which has been paid to me, not only in this room but out of doors, and I shall return to my command with an increased desire, if that be possible, to do my duty."

A dinner to Sir Edmund Lyons was also given in London at the Mansion House, on the 13th of February; but it does not call for notice.

Turning in another direction, we must record an event of greater national importance. The British parliament reassembled on Thursday, the 31st of January. The House of Lords was opened shortly before twelve to those who had the privilege of admission; and until the entrance of her majesty, at twenty minutes past two, there was a continual succession of arrivals.\* A

\* From the columns of the leading journal of the day we quote the following vivacious description of the distinguished company who graced the chamber of the peers of England on this occasion:—"However jealously the theory of our constitution may debar the gentler sex from interference in political affairs, they have moments when they appear to take great reprisals, and among these may be reckoned the inauguration of a fresh session of parliament. Whether it be regarded as a graceful act of allegiance on their part towards a sovereign of their own sex, or as a demonstration against any possible attempt to introduce the Salic law into this country, or merely as an evidence that female influence is not so completely extinguished as one might fancy in high state affairs, certain it is that the British legislature when summoned together at the commencement of each year looks wonderfully like an assertion of the rights of woman. Nobody who entered the House of Lords on such an occasion without previously knowing anything of its real composition would fancy that the fifty elderly gentlemen in scarlet robes, trimmed with ermine, were the true *dramatis personæ* of that brilliant assemblage, and that the preponderating display of ladies was to be regarded as merely accessory to the spectacle. For two long hours they came trooping in, from the girl in the freshness of her teens to the mature dowager, all in full evening dress, and displaying a variety of toilette which made the house bloom like a vast flower-bed. Two old messengers in their chains and liveries had the

arduous duties assigned them of conducting the fair ones to their respective places, and there was no small amount of amusement to be derived from watching how severely their civility and ingenuity were taxed in finding room for all. At one time the space reserved for the spiritual lords appeared to be in serious danger of encroachment; the diplomatic seats also narrowly escaped invasion, and wistful eyes were even cast upon the woosack itself. The strangers' gallery was filled with ladies; so was that which runs round the house immediately beneath the stained glass windows, and the benches on either side, with the exception of the front rows and those usually occupied by the bishops. The chamber of peers did seem for a time entirely given up to petticoat government; but soon after one o'clock noble lords in their robes and the representatives of foreign powers in their official costumes began to make their appearance. First among the latter came his excellency the Haitian minister—a sable personage, whose presence caused a momentary flutter amid the fair assemblage. He was shortly followed by the Brazilian minister, in a very light blue uniform. Then the old Earl of Devon, and shortly after the judges, entered, and grouped themselves round the woosack to the number of thirteen. But for Baron Alderson's interference they would have found some difficulty in getting all seated upon the woosack, which, if it is not a bull to say so, appears to be their only *locus standi* in the house. Among the peers, as they dropped in one after the



flourish of trumpets then heralded the approach of the queen, who entered, attired in her robes of state, and wearing a magnificent tiara of diamonds. Leaning on the arm of Prince Albert she approached and ascended the throne; the whole of the brilliant assemblage standing up to receive her. After the lapse of a few minutes the members of the House of Commons, who had been summoned by the usher of the black rod to attend her majesty, came surging in, and quickly filled every corner of the vacant space. On the restoration of silence the lord chancellor approached the throne, and knelt as he presented to the queen the copy of her speech. It was read with that distinctness of utterance and pleasantness of intonation which that distinguished lady is so well known to possess. It ran thus:—

“My Lords and Gentlemen,—Since the close of the last session of parliament the arms of the allies have achieved a signal and important success. Sebastopol, the great stronghold of Russia in the Black Sea, has yielded to the persevering constancy and to the daring bravery of the allied forces. The naval and military preparations for the ensuing year have necessarily occupied my serious attention; but, while determined to omit no effort which could give vigour to the operations of the war, I have deemed it my duty not to decline any overtures which might reasonably afford a prospect of a safe

and honourable peace. Accordingly, when the Emperor of Austria lately offered to myself and to my august ally, the Emperor of the French, to employ his good offices with the Emperor of Russia,\* with a view to endeavour to bring about an amicable adjustment of the matters at issue between the contending powers, I consented, in concert with my allies, to accept the offer thus made, and I have the satisfaction to inform you that certain conditions have been agreed upon, which I hope may prove the foundation of a general treaty of peace. Negotiations for such a treaty will shortly be opened at Paris. In conducting those negotiations I shall be careful not to lose sight of the objects for which the war was undertaken; and I shall deem it right in no degree to relax my naval and military preparations until a satisfactory treaty of peace shall have been concluded. Although the war in which I am engaged was brought on by events in the south of Europe, my attention has not been withdrawn from the state of things in the north, and, in conjunction with the Emperor of the French, I have concluded with the King of Sweden and Norway a treaty containing defensive engagements applicable to his dominions, and tending to the preservation of the balance of power in that part of Europe. I have also concluded a treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation with the republic of Chili. I have

other, we noticed Lord Combermere, rendered conspicuous by portions of a military uniform showing from beneath his peer's robe. The Earl of Clarendon was the first member of the cabinet who appeared. Lord Campbell and Lord St. Leonard's were also among the early arrivals. Serjeant Manning, as senior serjeant, claimed his seat with the judges; and among the latter we observed the newly-created justices Willes and Bramwell. Immediately under the seats reserved for the diplomatic corps the right reverend prelates assembled to the number of five or six, with the Archbishop of Canterbury at their head. Among them were the bishops of Oxford and Exeter. His royal highness the Duke of Cambridge and Lord Panmure entered the house about the same time, and shortly after them the Duke of Newcastle, with a well-developed Crimean beard, as an evidence of his recent tour in the East. By this time the house had assumed a very animated appearance, the lords spiritual and temporal chatting together in groups, the ladies all settled in their places, and the doorways on either side of the throne thronged with gentlemen-at-arms in their glittering uniforms. The diplomatic corps had already mustered in considerable strength and in every variety of official costume, when his excellency the American minister ‘sloped in’ in plain evening dress. After him came the Marquis d’Azeglio; the Turkish ambassador, whose fez was no sooner observed than all eyes were directed to-

wards him; and, last of all, Count Persigny, with an imposing train of *attachés*. The moment was now at hand when her majesty might be expected, and as it approached the groups of talkers dispersed gradually to their respective places. The clerks took their seats at the table of the house, the judges subsided back to back upon the woolsack, the lord chancellor appeared with the great seal and mace, and the peers, all robed, ranged themselves, to the number of fifty, on the lowest benches to the right and left of the throne. Thus filled and prepared to receive the sovereign, the house presented a spectacle singularly imposing. There was about it that genuine and unmistakeable air of grandeur which the oldest and most powerful hereditary body in the world has not failed to preserve, and the impression of which is so deeply fixed in the social fabric of the United Kingdom, that, strange as the assertion may appear, to the very humblest classes, we are all by inclination and sentiment more or less aristocrats. Apart from its occupants the house itself looked well. Time has already done good service in toning down the first glaring effects of its internal decorations; and whatever opinion may be formed of Sir Charles Barry's success in other portions of his great work, it cannot be disputed that the House of Lords is a noble apartment, and worthy the object for which it was designed.”

\* Of this offer, which eventually led to the conclusion of the peace, we shall speak presently



given directions that these treaties shall be laid before you.

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,—The estimates for the ensuing year will be laid before you. You will find them framed in such a manner as to provide for the exigencies of war, if peace should unfortunately not be concluded.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,—It is gratifying to me to observe that, notwithstanding the pressure of the war, and the burdens and sacrifices which it has unavoidably imposed upon my people, the resources of my empire remain unimpaired. I rely with confidence on the manly spirit and enlightened patriotism of my loyal subjects for a continuance of that support which they have so nobly afforded me, and they may be assured that I shall not call upon them for exertions beyond what may be required by a due regard for the great interests, the honour, and the dignity of the empire. There are many subjects connected with internal improvement which I recommend to your attentive consideration. The difference which exists in several important particulars between the commercial laws of Scotland and those of the other parts of the United Kingdom has occasioned inconvenience to a large portion of my subjects engaged in trade. Measures will be proposed to you for remedying this evil. Measures will also be proposed to you for improving the laws relating to partnership, by simplifying those laws, and thus rendering more easy the employment of capital in commerce. The system under which merchant shipping is liable to pay local dues and passing tolls has been the subject of much complaint. Measures will be proposed to you for affording relief in regard to those matters. Other important measures for improving the law in Great Britain and in Ireland will be proposed to you, which will, I doubt not, receive your attentive consideration. Upon these and all other matters upon which you may deliberate I fervently pray that the blessing of Divine Providence may favour your councils, and guide them to the promotion of the great object of my unvarying solicitude—the welfare and the happiness of my people."

On the conclusion of this address, her majesty left the house and returned to Buckingham Palace, and the peers then adjourned until five o'clock.

According to the usual practice, debates took place in the evening in both houses of parliament upon the speech from the throne,

to which peers and commons had listened in the morning. The discussion in the Lords possessed a considerable amount of historical interest; that in the Commons was, for the most part, wordy, bombastic, tedious, and commonplace. Almost the only passage worthy of notice was one uttered by Mr. Disraeli, concerning the heroic defenders of Kars. "Let us," he said, "express our admiration of those who, although they may have been unfortunate, were not subdued. Let us express our sympathy for an energy, perhaps excessive, and for a courage which we know was unsupported. At a moment when we are called upon, and rightly called upon, to express our admiration of the great achievement which has rendered the names of the allies illustrious in the Black Sea, let us vindicate the conduct of those who, though not crowned with success, were at least crowned with glory in another place; and let us make our absent countrymen understand that it is the man who deserves, and not only the man who achieves success, that is honoured by us."

In the house of peers the Earl of Gosford moved that an address be presented to her majesty in reply to her speech. After alluding to the peace proposals, he made the following manly and humane observations:—"He must confess that he had himself looked forward with joyous anticipation to the probable result of the campaign of 1856. The scene was, however, changed, and he, with feelings strongly enlisted on the side of a vigorous prosecution of the war, found himself suddenly and, he must confess, somewhat reluctantly transformed into an advocate of peace. Every Christian man must, of necessity, feel that a state of peace was preferable to a state of war; and, indeed, the main justification of all war, and especially of the war in which the country was engaged, was the endeavour to obtain a substantial peace. At the present moment England was only beginning to shake off the rust and stiffness produced by forty years of comparative inaction. She was beginning to find herself capable of carrying on a war efficiently, and the immensity of her resources was just beginning to produce its effect. Her army had improved in efficiency, and he trusted that it would never again be neglected in time of peace. The strength of her navy had been augmented by all the modern appliances of art, and that force had been swelled by a



number of vessels suitable for the waters in which it would be required to operate. Successes had already been obtained, and there was every reasonable prospect of still greater things being achieved. Circumstances such as these rendered it only natural that there should be not only a strong disinclination for peace in the minds of many, but a strong desire to carry on the war to the utmost; yet, sympathising with that feeling, he felt bound to ask himself, and to ask their lordships, whether they were at liberty to indulge in such feelings without any limitation, and whether they were at liberty to refuse pacific overtures coming from another quarter? There might be circumstances which would tend to change the policy which had been adopted, and which would render a further perseverance in the war not merely impolitic, but actually unjustifiable. He would lay aside all considerations connected with the loss of treasure and of life which a continuance of the war would involve, but there was one main consideration which ought to weigh with their lordships and with the country. The objects for which the war was undertaken were clear and simple, and if without the intervention of another campaign those objects had been safely, substantially, and, humanly speaking, with some chance of a permanence obtained, their duty became clear. All other considerations must give way, and they were bound to use their best endeavours to obtain so desirable a result as a safe and honourable peace. But let him not be misunderstood. He had already stated that he had become, somewhat reluctantly, an advocate of peace. He would add that he was so only conditionally upon our being able to arrive at an agreement upon terms safe and honourable to ourselves and to our allies—terms calculated not only to effect the objects of the war, so far as Russian aggression on Turkey might be concerned, but to curb the aggressive policy of Russia in other quarters—terms such as our successes entitled us to require. Terms such as those, holding out a fair prospect of a permanently substantial peace, we ought not to despise. They must, however, not merely be satisfactory to this country, but they must be so explicit as to leave no loophole for evasion on the part of our antagonist; and to those terms he must assent unmistakably in our own sense. Thus far in his advocacy of peace he was willing to go, but he could go no

further; and, failing terms like these, he would at once abandon all negotiations, and would recommend that, again addressing ourselves to action, we should endeavour, by additional warlike proceedings, to accomplish the just object we had in view."

The Earl of Derby criticised the royal speech with much acuteness and humour, and not without severity. He supposed that it had been framed by the writer after an exhausting attack of gout or indigestion, under the influence of the meagre diet which is their necessary accompaniment. He observed—"The speech is redolent of water-gruel. It reminds me of nothing more than those documents which in our early school-days we were accustomed to prepare, and which went by the name of 'themes,' in the composition of which the object was to accomplish the allotted task, and fill up the six-and-thirty lines of writing, taking special care not to exceed the limit, but within it to dilute with the largest possible amount of feeble and unmeaning language the smallest modicum of sense." Referring to the frigid tone of the royal speech, in alluding to our troops, the earl observed—"One of the noble lords who either moved or seconded the address, has spoken of the glowing encomiums which were passed by her majesty's government on the gallantry and bravery of the troops; but all I can say is, that never was praise so faint for achievements so great, and never was a reception so ungracious given to heroic endurance, to unparalleled bravery, and to sufferings all but unparalleled, or to exertions that have achieved results which it was almost impossible to hope any amount of gallantry or endurance could have accomplished. A member seeing it related of an officer that, in reporting to his immediate superior the result of a great victory, he couched his despatch in these short and emphatic terms:—'Sir,—Her majesty's squadron under my command have burnt, sunk, and captured the enemy's ships as per margin.' This was a most modest and emphatic way of stating the result of a great action; but that commander was speaking of his own deeds and not of the achievements of others. He was only claiming for himself that meed of praise which the energy and gallantry of himself and of his comrades deserved. The present, however, is an occasion on which the sovereign, in the presence of her assembled parliament, ought to perform—and would have per-



formed, had she been left to the promptings of her own heart—the pleasing task of declaring her gratitude—her unbounded gratitude for the exertions, and her sympathy with the sufferings of those brave men to whom this country is indebted for the success which has been achieved. My lords, who has not watched with admiration the personal course which her majesty has pursued—the warm, kindly, and womanly sympathy she has shown for the sufferings of her wounded soldiers? Who that has beheld her decorating the survivors with her own hand, with those marks of honour which acquire a double value from being thus conferred; who that has heard of her watching by the sick beds of the wounded, speaking to them of their private and individual sufferings, and cheering them with words which from any one would carry comfort and consolation, but which, from the lips of the sovereign, must gratify the pride of those to whom they are addressed, and excite feelings of the most loyal devotion; who that has observed the language, the demeanour, and the actions of the sovereign towards her soldiers will believe that, had her majesty been left to the promptings of her own heart and to the expression of her own feelings, the language of the speech would have been thus cold, and would have been confined to a simple statement that, since the close of the last session of parliament Sebastopol, the great stronghold of Russia in the Black Sea, has yielded to the persevering constancy and to the daring bravery of the allied forces?” To the suffering and heroic endurance of the English officers who conducted the defence of Kars, the earl alluded with an amount of feeling bordering upon eloquence. He said—“My lords, I commented just now on the ungracious terms in which her majesty has been made to refer to the services of her own troops in that successful and honourable achievement—the capture of a portion of Sebastopol; and, certainly, if such ungracious terms are applied to those whose efforts have been crowned with such an important measure of success, it does not surprise me that her majesty’s ministers should have found no terms of commendation to throw away upon others, whose sufferings have been not less unparalleled, whose deeds have been not less heroic or less distinguished, although, alas! their efforts have not been attended with success—it does not surprise me that the

government should have found no language in which to record the matchless endurance and indomitable gallantry of those brave men, who in a distant and deserted Asiatic town, maintained so well and so nobly the honour of the English arms, and showed in so signal a manner what British officers can achieve when in command of foreign troops. My lords, are there not those whom a word of praise and of sympathy might have cheered in the depth of the prisons to which their gallantry has consigned them—might have given them fresh courage to support their sufferings and their misfortunes, and proved to them that their exertions and their hardships had not been undergone in the service of an ungrateful country? Such words, coming from their sovereign in the presence of her assembled parliament, would carry with them a weight which can accompany the language of no other individual. Yet, standing in this place, and feeling that my words may possibly reach the prisons to which they have been doomed, by a not ungenerous enemy, I would say to those gallant spirits—to a Williams, a Teesdale, a Lake, and a Thompson—‘You may rest assured that this house and the country deeply sympathise with you in your misfortunes’—that ‘We honour the valour and prize the fame of the brave defenders of Kars, as not below those of the more fortunate conquerors at Sebastopol.’ I am not surprised that there should rise a blush of shame on the cheek of the minister, or that he should hesitate and be paralysed, when about to inscribe in the queen’s speech the significant name of Kars!—a name of everlasting triumph and distinction to the valiant souls who, amid all the horrors of famine, and hemmed in on all sides by an overpowering force, gallantly repulsed their enemy, on whom they inflicted a loss almost exceeding the carnage of any battle of modern times; and who, despite of every discouragement, maintained their high spirit, and achieved victory after victory, until finally compelled to yield, not to the overwhelming numbers of the foe, but to the still more unconquerable force of sheer famine. The name of Kars, then, will be remembered, to the immortal honour of its defenders; and let me add, that its name also confers no slight degree of honour and credit on the conqueror of those brave men, who, in the generous terms of capitulation which he granted, showed that he knew how to appreciate an



enemy's valour and fortitude, even when unavailing. Fortunate, indeed, was it for the gallant garrison of Kars that they had to deal with a Mouravieff, and not with a Coronini. Fortunate was it for the brave Poles and Hungarians who formed part of that undaunted garrison, that the chivalrous spirit of their high-minded conqueror suffered them to go free, without incurring those additional dangers to which, as other than mere prisoners of war, they might have been exposed. Well was it for them that he was not one of those who would seek to strain the law of nations for the purpose at once of insulting an ally and trampling on the misfortunes of an exile. Yet, my lords, if on the conqueror of Kars, and still more on its heroic defenders, the name of that fortress reflects imperishable renown, I must say, with deep regret, that it is equally a name of eternal reproach and shame to those, be they who they may, by whom this devoted band was left without support and without relief, and this important town allowed to fall unsuccoured, and even unavenged. My lords, I know not to what influence we may ascribe this fatal disaster. But I have heard a rumour which I will mention, in order that the government may, if possible, meet it with the promptest, fullest, and most explicit denial. I have heard it whispered abroad that while my noble friend (Lord Ellenborough) was earnestly pressing upon the war minister the necessity of defending Turkey on her Asiatic frontier, warning him, from history and example, that that was the quarter from which Constantinople had most cause for apprehension, and reminding him that in the fatal years 1828 and 1829, the disastrous treaty of Adrianople was hardly less attributable to the advance of the Russian troops upon the European side of Turkey, than to the successes of Paskiewitch and Mouravieff at Kars and Erzeroum,—while my noble friend was urging these considerations upon the attention of the government, it is alleged, though I can hardly credit it, that this important strategical post was neglected and abandoned to its fate because of some miserable jealousy between the two great allies—some paltry fear that we should be suspected of seeking, under cover of an expedition to the coast of Asia, to promote, not the conjoint interests of Turkey and the allies, but our own isolated and exclusive interests. If this impression that has gone abroad were in any degree

well founded, I should look, my lords, upon the prospects of peace for Europe with the utmost alarm and dismay; I should see in this circumstance a convincing proof that, whatever the alliance which I deem so invaluable, and on which I set such vast store, may be in name, it is nothing in substance—that there is no real alliance, no cordial co-operation between the two great powers, the union of which is indispensable to the wellbeing and tranquillity of Europe. I should blush, my lords, for my country, if I could believe that, under the pretence of advancing the common cause, any measure could be undertaken by the British government, having for its object the separate and exclusive advantage of England only."

The Earl of Clarendon, with respect to these latter remarks, observed—"The noble earl has alluded to reports which have been widely circulated with regard to the feeling said to exist in the French government or the French nation, with respect to assistance having been withheld from Kars. I do not mean to say that the French press may not have broached the idea, that, if the war were to be carried into Asia Minor, it would be a waste of French blood and French treasure for English purposes; but I must give the most unqualified denial to the supposition that such is the opinion of the French emperor or of the French government." After some further discussion the address was agreed to without a dissentient voice, and their lordships separated shortly after eight in the evening.

We have recorded, that in the March of 1855, a committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the state of the English army before Sebastopol during the preceding winter. That committee, in its report, reflected upon the government at home, and upon the want of military organisation abroad. Ministers, however, still credulous as to the frightful sufferings the troops had undergone, sent Sir John M'Neill and Colonel Tulloch as royal commissioners, to inquire into the state of the army. Starting from London on the 23rd of February, they arrived at Constantinople on the 6th of March. After examining the officers attached to the hospitals at Scutari, where they learned that the sick soldiers were chiefly suffering from diseases brought on by improper and insufficient diet, they proceeded to Balaklava, and commenced a laborious examination of all the officers on whom the welfare of the



army depended. The report of the commissioners (accompanied by a bulky blue-book containing the evidence on which it was based) was dated June 10th, 1855; but the ministry, finding it did not serve the purpose they had trusted it would, refrained making it public until February, 1856. Its length is so considerable as entirely to exclude it from our columns—a matter which is scarcely to be regretted, as its perusal is painful, and such interest as it possesses almost exclusively of a professional character. It was a sad confirmation of the truth of the representations of the horrors endured by our poor troops during the dreadful winter of 1854-'5. A passage to this effect we are disposed to quote. "The sufferings of the army in the course of the winter, and especially during the months of December and January, must have been intense. We have not noted all the particulars related to us, many of which were unconnected with our inquiry; but we may state that it has been only by slow degrees, and after the frequent repetition of similar details, as one witness after another revealed the facts that had come under his own observation, that we have been able to form any adequate conception of the misery and distress undergone by the troops, or fully to appreciate the unparalleled courage and constancy with which they have endured their sufferings. Great Britain has often had reason to be proud of her army; but it is doubtful whether the whole range of military history furnishes an example of an army exhibiting, throughout a long campaign, qualities as high as have distinguished the forces under Lord Raglan's command. The strength of the men gave way under excessive labour, watching, exposure, and privation; but they never murmured, their spirit never failed, and the enemy, though far outnumbering them, never detected in those whom he encountered any signs of weakness. Their numbers were reduced by disease and by casualties to a handful of men, compared with the great extent of the lines which they constructed and defended; yet the army never abated its confidence in itself, and never descended from its acknowledged military pre-eminence. Both men and officers, when so reduced that they were hardly fit for the lighter duties of the camp, scorned to be excused the severe and perilous work of the trenches, lest they should throw an undue amount of duty

upon their comrades; yet they maintained every foot of ground against all the efforts of the enemy, and with numbers so small, that, perhaps, no other troops would even have made the attempt. . . . The deaths, including those at Scutari and elsewhere, appear to amount to about thirty-five per cent. (*one-third*) of the average strength of the army present in the Crimea from the 1st of October, 1854, to the 30th of April, 1855; and it seems to be clearly established, that this excessive mortality is not to be attributed to anything peculiarly unfavourable in the climate, but to overwork, exposure to wet and cold, improper food, insufficient clothing during part of the winter, and insufficient shelter from inclement weather."

Nearly all these calamities arose from the timidity, indolence, and perverseness of certain officers to whom important responsibilities were confided. Our men were suffering from scurvy in the gums, arising from a want of fresh meat and vegetable food; but they were given hard biscuits instead of bread. Yet there was plenty of flour, and a sufficiency of bakers in the army; and a proper number of ovens could have been erected to bake bread at an inconsiderable expense. Yet when these things were represented to the commissary-general, his answer was, that he understood that a floating bakery had for some months been in preparation in England, and that it was unnecessary or impossible to do anything until it arrived. All this time the most urgent craving of the sick was for a morsel of soft bread. At a period when scarcely anything but salt meat was issued to sickly men, who regarded it almost with loathing, the commissary-general admitted that he had 8,000 head of cattle in hand. The report, however, was drawn up with a caution which appears to have withheld the commissioners from laying the misfortunes of the army to the charge of any individual. The earls Lucan and Cardigan, the commissary-general (Mr. Filder), quartermaster-general (General Airey), and assistant-quartermaster-general (Colonel Gordon), were implicated, but not directly accused. It is a strange illustration of the way in which public business is done in England, that the authorities at the Horse-guards placed the earls Lucan and Cardigan, General Airey, and Colonel Gordon at the head of the very departments at home in which they had failed so fatally abroad. The



latter part of the report was devoted to recommendations, many of which, it is anticipated, will eventually be adopted.

"From this report," said a leading journal, "it now appears that, although there is no reason to suppose that our war department was administered with extraordinary talent, vigilance, or foresight, yet the principal blame and responsibility rests with crushing weight upon the military authorities on the spot, whose indolence, inertness, incompetence, and fatuity, would have baffled the vigilance of a Carnot, and overthrown the combinations of a Napoleon. The result of this report is, that allowing everything for the labours of a difficult siege; assuming it to be unavoidable that the English army should have occupied a position which required double its numbers to maintain; assuming that it was impossible to make a road which could have kept up the communication by wheeled carriages with Balaklava, still the whole blame of the destruction that ensued is to be laid, not on the ministry at home, not on that convenient impersonation, 'ill-fortune,' but wholly and solely on the wonderful and inconceivable stupidity and negligence of those to whose weak and unworthy hands this mighty trust was in an evil hour committed."

Lords Cardigan and Lucan complained, in the House of Lords, that their professional characters had been reflected upon. The Earl of Cardigan stated that he should transmit to Lord Panmure a full explanation of his conduct, which would prove that, to the last day of his command of the light brigade, he paid every attention to the welfare of the men and horses under his charge. He subsequently did so; but without affecting the general belief that he had not paid due attention to his military duties while in the Crimea. Of his defence the *Times* observed—"It is well clearly to understand what his lordship denies. That the light cavalry horses perished of hunger, cold, and exposure; that, in fact, the British cavalry had ceased to exist as an effective force, even before the winter set in; that, while in command of an important brigade at a post of danger, Lord Cardigan lived far away from his men on board his yacht in the harbour, are not, and cannot be contradicted. All that the country has to complain of—the mismanagement and the consequent ruin—stands fully confessed. All that Lord Cardigan has to say is, that the fault was not his own. In the usual style

of circuitous crimination, of which the country has lately seen so much, he endeavours to shift the blame on all around him. His commanding officer is guilty; his subordinate officers are guilty; he alone is beyond the reach of censure." The Earl of Lucan charged the report with inaccuracy so far as it reflected upon him. We shall have to refer again to this subject, as the government stated that it was the intention of the queen to appoint a board of general officers to receive explanations from the officers referred to by Sir John McNeill and Colonel Tulloch, and to form a report thereupon. On the 29th of February, Mr. Roebuck moved, in the House of Commons—"That the appointment of a commission of general officers to report upon the report of Sir John McNeill and Colonel Tulloch, is to substitute an inefficient for a very efficient mode of inquiry; and that the effect of such appointment will be to hide the misconduct of those by whom various departments of our army have been subjected to the command of officers who have been inculcated by the commissioners appointed to inquire into their conduct." After a debate of some length, Mr. Roebuck consented to withdraw the motion.

The name of Dr. Sandwith had become historical in connection with the fall of Kars, of which event he was the witness and the chronicler. We have related how that on being set at liberty by General Mouravieff, he proceeded to Constantinople. From thence he returned to England, where he was welcomed at Hull (his native town) by the principal gentry of the place, who, on the 8th of February, gave a public breakfast to do him honour. On his health being drunk by the company, Dr. Sandwith responded in a speech of peculiar interest, in which, in a very pleasing way, he recounted and commented on the terrible struggle of which he had been a pained and patient witness. We shall insert it here as a supplement to our narration of the memorable Asiatic campaign of 1855. He said—"Mr. Mayor, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—When, seven years ago, I first set out from the town of Hull to seek my fortune in a distant land, high as were my anticipations, I never dreamed of the honour which awaited me on my return home. Gentlemen, my heart is full, but my tongue is feeble and inexperienced. To you, Mr. Mayor, and those gentlemen who have planned this banquet, my thanks are chiefly



due for the high honour that has been done me, and the pleasure you have afforded me in meeting so many of my fair countrywomen, whose bright eyes and fair complexions I have but dreamed of for the last seven years, and whom at one time I never hoped to see again. It is scarcely necessary for me to notice the delicacies spread out before me, when but a few weeks ago I was taking a luncheon off a poor old cavalry horse. Gentlemen, I can do little more than repeat my thanks for the honour you have this day conferred upon me. But I cannot accept them as merely given to myself. I cannot forget my gallant old chief,—who, though he lost his city, never lost a battle,—who, although in one sense unfortunate, has crowned his honoured head with unfading laurels; and I think, therefore, you will agree with me when I say that at the top of that list of glorious heroes which this war has called forth, the name of General Williams stands pre-eminent. Only those, perhaps, who have been with him during the whole of that campaign, disastrous as it may have been in one respect, yet glorious and advantageous in this—that we may say it has saved Asia Minor: only those, I say, who have been with him, and have been enabled to follow his course step by step, and to watch him day by day, can rightly understand the difficulties he has had to encounter. When we first went to Kars we met the army at Erzeroum a mere rabble. I would not cast a slight upon a brave and long-suffering ally, but we cannot disguise the fact that the army to which we went had been beaten five times, and that the last battle had been the most disastrous of all. When General Williams joined that army, he did so simply as her majesty's commissioner, and not with any authority as general; he had not the command of a single regiment in the field; his duty was simply to report the course of events to his government. But General Williams was equal to the circumstances in which he found himself placed. He found the army dissolved, and the enemy at the very gates of the province, and peculation among the officials. He at once told the governor and the officers that they were enriching themselves at the expense of the troops, and he told them so in language as plain as that I now use to you. They crouched to him, and from that time he was the actual commander-in-chief. During the winter of 1854, and during 1855, his

work was incessant; he prepared the army for a new campaign; but unfortunately, and, indeed, unhappily, he was not backed up at Constantinople. The pashas were too busy in filling their coffers to meet General Williams's requisitions, but, nevertheless, this brought out the qualities of the hero of Kars more than ever, and he made the best of the resources he had. General Mouravieff, at the head of a well-appointed army of 40,000 men, was just then preparing to besiege Kars. We were at that time at Erzeroum. Colonel Lake had gone on a month before to Kars, and had greatly improved the insignificant fortifications which he found, and, by Captain Thompson and Major Teesdale aiding him, they made that city what it has proved to be—impregnable to all but famine. Four forced marches, over a distance of about one hundred miles, brought us to the city. We found the troops no longer what they had been—poor, neglected, destitute, ragged men—truly they were ragged men—but their eyes were filled with courage, and their hearts full of 'Veeliam's Pasha,' whom they recognised as their commander. They told us at every step that they would stand to the last, and I need not tell you how well and nobly they redeemed their word. For some few days we were menaced, but saw nothing of the Russians. On one occasion, Colonel Lake and myself did venture to go and take a peep at them. It was early one morning, and that morning introduced me to my first experience of actual warfare, although I had gone through a campaign on the Danube. We set out before daylight. We rode for five or six miles to our outposts, which consisted of about 300 miserable cavalry. While taking a peep at the formidable Russians, my eyes were attracted to a large body, looming through the gloom, which appeared to be bearing down upon us. We watched them carefully, but they appeared to disperse. Nevertheless, Colonel Lake deemed it advisable to commence a quiet retreat; and accordingly the commander gave the word 'Trot,' 'Canter.' We had not proceeded far before three whole regiments of Russian dragoons swept like a whirlwind down upon us. There was the crash of the carbines and the clash of swords, and they cut our little force to pieces, though, thank God, I am here to tell the story, but very few escaped to tell the tale. A few days after this day's incident the alarm gun from the



top of a battery was fired, and the word passed from mouth to mouth,—‘The foe, the foe—they come, they come!’ We sallied out, not from our intrenchments, but from the open camp that surrounded our breastworks, and then we saw a compact body of men—their bayonets gleaming in the morning sun, their flanks protected by cavalry and artillery—there, I say, we saw them advancing towards our breastworks. Every soldier there said, ‘Thank God, they have come at last! We are ready!’ I must tell you that at this time our total force was about 17,000, including a great number of irregulars; the enemy’s force was 40,000. As this huge body came nearer, we pushed out our irregular cavalry, who were met by the Cossack irregular cavalry of the Russians. And never did my eyes rest on a more glorious and magnificent scene. The grassy plain between the two armies was enamelled with myriads of flowers, sparkling in the morning sun; and there the two forces in their Asiatic dress and Asiatic armour met hand to hand, and chief to chief, like as in some ancient tournament. But soon this play, as it were, of warfare ceased. Their masses came on, and made a rush upon the extremity of our works, where they were met with a hailstorm of grape. Our cavalry sallied out, and met the advancing columns, and on all sides raged the tide of war. The battle lasted but a short time—three hours at the utmost—and then the Russians retreated. Unluckily, we had no effective cavalry, or that might have been the first and last affair at Kars. It were long to tell you what followed. We had work enough to do, I can assure you. Day after day, week after week, passed without any succours showing themselves, and without any assistance being forthcoming. Nevertheless, the heart of the troops was in the right place. The Turkish soldier stood out wonderfully. General Williams at that time was constantly with the Turkish marshal in command, and he said, ‘Now we are fairly and completely enclosed on all sides. You are here as commander-in-chief, not only of the army but of the town and fortress, and I am here to give you advice.’ He still remained without any nominal command, but he was actually, *bonâ fide*, and absolutely in command. We had at that time a large portion of the population disaffected towards us, namely, the Christians—and a very good reason they had, I

am sorry to say, for it—for they had undergone ages of oppression at the hands of unworthy governors and pashas. We had, besides, traitors in the camp; and all these things occupied the attention of the gallant General Williams. However, measures were instantly taken for the suppression of these. Week by week rolled on, varied only by an occasional skirmish, an occasional feint, or an occasional slight attack. Still there were craven spirits who counselled surrender; and completely surrounded as we were, many of our poor, starved, unpaid soldiers, gave way and deserted. General Williams at once adopted strong measures. Every soldier caught attempting to desert was tried by drum-head court-martial, and shot on the spot. Every man found communicating with the enemy was at once hung. These things may appear horrible to you in England, unaccustomed as you are to having the horrors of war brought home to you; and I must say, that these measures were not more painful to any individual than to General Williams. Nevertheless they were necessary; and it was these measures which caused us to hold out, and, in fact, saved Asia Minor. But, gentlemen, a brighter day was dawning for us; another glorious triumph was to be ours. On the 29th of September, when our troops were giving way under the hope deferred which maketh the heart sick,—on the 29th of September, shortly after the sun had risen, the roar of artillery was heard on the western extremity of our works, intermingled with the rattle of musketry. We knew then what had happened. We knew from the constant roll of musketry, and the incessant roar of the cannon, that the hour of assault had arrived. And we thanked God in our hearts, and each man buckled on his sword and rushed into the midst of the fray. Seven mortal hours those poor troops fought against the enemy, whilst he made assault after assault. Some of our batteries were carried, but General Williams with eagle eye saw where raged the heaviest fight, and reinforcements were sent out where they were required, and drove out at the point of the bayonet the Russians who had got into their batteries. There they fought hand to hand with clubbed rifles, with daggers, even with stones. Again, again, and again their close columns came up to be mown down by our artillery with grapeshot, and by the deadly and inces-



sant fire of our riflemen. After seven hours' mortal conflict, we saw at last the Russians retreating down the hill. They had advanced double quick time in their attack, but I cannot express to you the speed with which they retired. We then saw every shopkeeper, tailor, shoemaker, and saddler in the place issue out, armed with their muskets and guns, and firing into the retreating soldiery. The very women brought us ammunition in their aprons, and assisted us in every way, crying out, 'We pray for you,' 'We will help you,' 'May God sharpen your swords.' Some of these devoted and gallant women, I regret to say, fell; but they fell gloriously, like true heroines as they were. Unhappily at this time every grain of barley had been consumed, and we had not any cavalry force in the place, or this would have been the termination of our troubles. The Russians were able to retire to their camp, where they had 10,000 cavalry yet untouched and uninjured; so that although their infantry was torn and shattered in pieces, by means of their cavalry they were still enabled to surround us. Ladies and gentlemen, I cannot describe to you the horrors that ensued in the month or two following this attack. There you saw women and children expiring by the wayside of famine; as you passed along they turned reproachful glances at the soldiery, almost as starving as they, exclaiming, 'Why do you not go out to fight?' 'Why keep us here to perish with hunger?' 'Take the children, we can no longer support them.' Such a time as that was the time for trying the true soldier; and I am proud to say the soldiery there bore the test nobly. The Turkish soldiers have been much abused; but they stood firmly and well under sufferings and trials which could scarcely be exceeded, and which I find it impossible to describe. Many of them dropped down dead at their posts from sheer hunger and exhaustion; and in the forts, where scanty provisions for three days were laid up, there was not a single instance of a biscuit even being stolen. The hospitals were crowded with the sick and dying, and death stared us in the face daily on every hand; but those who died died like heroes, and to the last our works were maintained by that gallant band of starving soldiers. At this time a Turkish pasha, whose name I cannot mention without indignation, was constantly writing to us from Erzeroum,

whence we expected him to come with a relieving force—'Hold out, I am coming;' 'hold out two days longer;' 'hold out three days longer;' 'hold out, I am coming.' We did hold out, day after day, and week after week; but relief never came. Perhaps he had not sufficient force; but however that was, if it had not been for his delusive promises of relief, the garrison of Kars would, to a man, have shouldered their muskets and buckled on their swords, and cut their way through the Russian force, leaving a heap of ruins behind them. But this was not to be. The time came at last, the dreadful hour of capitulation. The hearts of every one swelled well nigh to bursting with grief and indignation. General Williams, one snowy morning—for the weather by that time had become nipping cold—one snowy morning General Williams rode out to the Russian camp with a flag of truce. He was met and conducted with all due politeness and respect to General Mouravieff. He said, 'I have come to arrange the terms of a capitulation. There are certain articles upon which I must insist; and if you refuse them—you must remember the garrison has not yet surrendered—if you refuse them, every gun in Kars shall be burst, every trophy destroyed. I have no wish to rob you of trophies which you have well earned; but if the terms I ask are refused, you will have nothing but a famished crowd of disarmed soldiers.' That chivalrous and noble-minded man—for it would ill become me not to render justice to the chivalry of an enemy—that noble-minded man replied, 'General Williams, you have won for yourself a name in history; posterity shall stand amazed at the courage, at the endurance, and at the lofty qualities exhibited by you in this siege. Yourself and your troops are covered with glory. I have no wish to outrage humanity by anything unbecoming me as a general; and the terms you ask I accede to.' I leave you to imagine the emotion between these two brave generals, whose hearts were swelling with the noblest feelings that ever were called forth in our nature. Ladies and gentlemen, I am unable to describe to you the melancholy day of our capitulation; our poor troops, feeble and tottering from starvation and disease, marched out to meet, not a conquering, but a conquered and defeated foe. They laid down their arms to their conquered enemy. They marched

before a well-appointed, splendid, and magnificent array of men, and yet an array whom that poor wretched body of captives had defeated. They yielded not to their formidable besiegers—they yielded only to famine. But two days' provisions were left them at the time of their capitulation, and those provisions consisted only of a handful of biscuit on each man's back. Never shall I forget the scene of the capitulation. Women and children wailed from the rooftops—old warriors wept aloud, exclaiming, 'How is it God has forsaken us!' The Turkish soldiers reproached their government for thus deserting them; and it must be admitted that their government was unworthy of such splendid troops. Time will show who was in fault; but I think you will agree with me that, upon whomsoever the blame may rest, the garrison of Kars has covered itself with glory. I had a letter the other day from a distinguished member of parliament, who said, 'I have read your work; but I am sorry to see you have abused the Turks, and have thereby pitted the fanatics of England against the fanatics of Turkey.' I deny that I have abused the Turks; I have only

abused the Turkish authorities, and if they do not deserve what I have said, I am ready to beg their pardon. You will read upon the subject yourselves, and will then judge whether they have deserved what I have said or not. The Turkish soldiers are brave, loyal, and devoted, and have proved themselves to be so; but a certain corrupt clique of Turkish pashas command these soldiers who are not worthy of them. I am unable to tell you how I admire the Turks; but I will not mix them up with those men who, by their acts, heap contempt on so noble a nation. Gentlemen, I have concluded the few words I have to say to you, and I have now only a little indulgence to ask of you, Mr. Mayor. I beg to propose a toast. I have said how much I feel honoured by the presence of the ladies, for in Turkey they shut up the ladies in the harems—a most vile practice. Allow me to propose the toast of 'The ladies of Hull.'"

Dr. Sandwith, who had been repeatedly and vehemently cheered during the delivery of his speech, sat down amidst general applause; and the company shortly afterwards separated.

## CHAPTER V.

AUSTRIA MEDIATES BETWEEN RUSSIA AND THE ALLIES; COUNT ESTERHAZY'S MISSION TO ST. PETERSBURG; THE PEACE PROPOSALS; REMARKABLE COUNCIL OF WAR AT PARIS; DISTRIBUTION AT PARIS OF ENGLISH MEDALS TO FRENCH TROOPS; REPLY OF RUSSIA TO THE AUSTRIAN PEACE PROPOSALS; REJECTION OF THE COUNTER-PROPOSALS OF RUSSIA; THAT POWER ACCEPTS THE PROPOSALS UNCONDITIONALLY; EFFECTS IN EUROPE OF A PROSPECT OF PEACE; ASSEMBLING OF THE PEACE CONGRESS AT PARIS; SPEECH OF THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON AT THE OPENING OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY; INTERNAL CONDITION OF RUSSIA.

At the close of the year 1855, rumours of a coming peace began to spread in each of the great cities of Europe. It was presumed that Russia was in an extremely embarrassed condition, if not even approaching a state of exhaustion; while it was known that a strong desire for the restoration of peace pervaded France. In these circumstances Austria, dreading that in the event of the continuance of the war it would ultimately become one for the restoration of downcast nationalities, thought that the time had arrived when she might again interpose between the belligerents as a mediator. Some politicians presumed that

the conduct of Austria was the consequence of an indirect communication from St. Petersburg that Russia was disposed to receive with favourable eyes any offer that might lead to peace. However that might be, the Austrian government dispatched Count Valentine Esterhazy to St. Petersburg, where he arrived on the 28th of December, with certain propositions for the acceptance of Russia. These propositions were first submitted to the French and English courts, and it was understood that a perfectly sincere acceptance of them on the part of Russia would be regarded by those great powers as a satisfactory basis for the



negotiation of peace. The English government was believed to be not altogether satisfied with the proposed terms; but no public statement was made to that effect, as this country was desirous that no obstacle should arise to interrupt the harmony existing between it and its illustrious ally. It was evident, that if Austria submitted certain propositions to Russia, and refrained from action in the event of Russia rejecting them, that she would render herself ridiculous in the sight of Europe. The *Times* had a strong sentence on this point. It observed—"Governments after all, even the most absolute, rest upon public opinion, and, astonishing as is the vitality of the house of Austria, we cannot suppose that it would long survive so singular and so signal an infamy." What would she do, then, in the event of Russia remaining obdurate? The cautious Austrian government did not absolutely pledge itself to draw the sword and compel Russia to adopt the terms which it, in conjunction with the allies, dictated to it, but it implied that it would do so. If, as many assumed, there was collusion between Russia and Austria, the pretended decision of the latter power was a miserable and most contemptible trick. Assuredly no great European power that had a fitting consciousness of its own dignity would consent to act so disreputable a part; but it is difficult to specify the amount of trickery or infamy to which the Austrian government would not descend.

Before Count Esterhazy arrived at St. Petersburg, Russia, it is said, had made certain peace propositions of a totally inadmissible character. Prince Gortschakoff (the statesman and Russian ambassador at Vienna) waited upon Count Buol, and said he brought a proposal which must render the further continuation of the war impossible. He proposed that the conferences of 1854 should be renewed at the point where they had been abandoned. His imperial master, he said, consented to the neutralisation of the Black Sea, and proposed that ships of war of all nations should be excluded from it *except those of Russia and Turkey*; and that it should be left to these two powers to decide upon the amount of force which each required. It is scarcely necessary to say that a proposition of so absurd a nature could not be entertained; the only difficulty is to understand how such an astute diplomatist could have made it.

The following despatch was addressed by

Count Buol to Count Esterhazy, on the departure of the latter to St. Petersburg:—

Vienna, December 16th, 1855.

The words which your excellency has had the honour to hear from the mouth of the emperor himself, our august master, must have convinced you anew of the intentions which have invariably guided the policy of his majesty in the different phases of the struggle which weighs so heavily upon Europe. Always faithful to those same principles, the emperor would have deemed it a deficiency on his part towards his own people and towards Europe to let the present moment pass, when a superior power bids a truce to the combatants without attempting a supreme effort to open new paths to a peace, which presents itself as the most urgent want of Europe. Convinced, on the one hand, of the so often reiterated declarations of the Emperor Alexander of his readiness to lend his hand to any peace that would not infringe upon his dignity or upon the honour of his country, his imperial majesty felt himself called upon to employ his best efforts to assure himself of the degree of reciprocity that those dispositions might meet with at the courts of France and Great Britain. His majesty therefore deigned to charge me to sound the cabinets of Paris and London on the subject. Although we found them imbued with the firm resolution not to lend themselves to the initiative of any overtures for peace, nevertheless, to our great satisfaction, we found such dispositions in those cabinets as to lead us to hope that they would not refuse to examine and accept conditions of a nature to offer all the guarantees of a permanent peace, and to come to a clear solution of the question which gave rise to the war. Nay, more; we think ourselves authorised to express the hope that those powers, while maintaining in full force the right of presenting such conditions of peace as they might deem suitable, would not the less be disposed to-day not to deviate from the principle established at the commencement of the struggle not to seek any advantage to themselves, and to limit their pretensions to the sacrifices necessary to re-assure Europe against the return of so deplorable a complication. Encouraged by these indications, the imperial cabinet did not shrink from the task of making itself conscientiously acquainted with the situation of the moment, and to formulate a basis upon which, in its opinion, the edifice



of a solid peace might rest. The four points already accepted by Russia appeared to us still to be the best ground to go upon. To assure the work of peace, however, and to avoid especially the reefs upon which the last conferences were shipwrecked, we deemed it indispensable to develop the four points (*principes*) in such guise as to make them conformable to the general interests of Europe, and to facilitate the final arrangement by a more precise definition. The fruit of that labour is in the annexed document,\* which, when accepted by the belligerent powers, will acquire the value of preliminaries of peace. The signing of these preliminaries would be immediately followed by a general armistice and by final negotiations. This labour having been honoured by the approbation of his majesty the emperor, you are charged, M. le Comte, to present it for acceptance to the court of Russia, and to urge it most pressingly to consider its contents, and to let us know its determination, to which we attach the highest importance, as soon as possible. If, as we hope, our propositions should be favourably received, we shall lose no time in warmly recommending their acceptance to the courts of Paris and London, expressing the confidence which animates us that they will not exercise the right of presenting eventually to the negotiations special conditions, except in a European interest, and in such measure as not to offer serious obstacles to the re-establishment of peace. We entreat the court of Russia to examine calmly the propositions which we submit to it. We will not dwell upon the grave consequences which would ensue from a refusal to enter into the paths which we open a second time to effect an honourable reconciliation, a refusal which would entail upon itself the weight of an immense responsibility. We prefer leaving it to its wisdom to estimate all the chances. We think that we are in this instance the interpreter of the wishes and of the real wants of Europe. It remains for us to make an appeal to the elevated sentiments of the Emperor Alexander, whose supreme determination will decide the fate of so many thousands of existences. His imperial majesty will take, we entertain the confident hope, that decision which appears to us alone of a nature to respond to the real interests of his people and to the wants of humanity.—I am, &c.,

COUNT BUOL.

\* The propositions.

Many reports were spread abroad as to the probable result of Count Esterhazy's mission to St. Petersburg; but the general impression was, that it would not lead to the restoration of peace. Other politicians were more sanguine in their expectations; and the following anecdote was related, illustrative of the pacific desire of the Emperor Alexander:—Three French officers, while out on a shooting excursion at Kertch, were made prisoners by the Russians and taken to Nicholaieff, but kept outside the town—probably to prevent their seeing the state of the fortifications. This was at the time when the czar visited Nicholaieff; and on learning that some French officers had been captured, he ordered one of them to be presented to him. On the approach of the officer, Alexander spoke to him with familiarity and kindness, and asked him many questions relating to the war; at the same time avoiding all embarrassing subjects. On dismissing the Frenchman, the czar shook him by the hand, and said—"I give you a hand which will soon, I hope, be a friendly one."

We now lay before our readers a copy of the peace proposals which Count Esterhazy conveyed to St. Petersburg for the consideration of the Russian government. They were certainly not as definite and rigid as could be desired. The third point was particularly loosely expressed. As the Black Sea was to be closed to ships of war, it *inferred* that naval arsenals would neither be created nor preserved. Assuming a greater moderation on the part of Russia than most men would feel inclined to admit, this proposition made no provision for the destruction of the north side of Sebastopol, or the dismantling of Nicholaieff. Neither was there any prohibition against the rebuilding of Bomarsund. If the men-of-war of Russia were to be excluded from the Black Sea, so also were those of Turkey, which was as much a penalty on her for resisting violence, as it was a punishment of Russia for attempting it. Truly was it observed that this was a *compromise*, and not a victory on the part of France and England; for that the proposed terms neither destroyed the naval power of Russia nor secured the safety of Turkey. The fourth point bound Turkey, and not Russia. Indeed, it even proposed to give the czar, in conjunction with the other great potentates of Europe, that right of protecting the Christian subjects of the sultan which was one of the



original causes of the war. The fifth point was strongly indefinite, and opened a field for interminable negotiations, provided the diplomatists desired to engage in them. It amounted plainly to this—that Austria and the allies having demanded the four points as essential to peace, also reserved a right to demand anything else that might subsequently occur to them. If, however, the fifth point was to be regarded as a merely formal expression which was not intended to be acted upon, then the terms must be regarded as reasonable and moderate, and expressed in such measured language as would be least likely to offend the susceptibilities of Russian statesmen. The propositions, translated into English, ran as follows :—

“1. *The Danubian Principalities.*—Complete abolition of the Russian protectorate. The Danubian principalities shall receive an organisation conformed to their wishes, their necessities, and their interests; and this new organisation, respecting which the population itself shall be consulted, shall be recognised by the contracting powers and sanctioned by the sultan as emanating from his sovereign initiative. No state shall have power under any pretext whatsoever, under any form of protectorate, to intermeddle in questions of the internal administration of the principalities. The latter will adopt a definite permanent system called for by their geographical position, and no obstacle shall be interposed to prevent them from fortifying their territory for their own security as they see fit against all foreign aggression.

“In exchange for the fortified positions and territory occupied by the allied armies, Russia consents to a rectification of her frontiers with European Turkey. The frontier will leave the environs of Chotym [in Bessarabia], follow the line of the heights stretching in a south-east direction, and terminate at Lake Salyzk. The line of this rectification shall be definitively regulated by general treaty, and the conceded territory shall return to the principalities and the suzerainty of the Porte.

“2. *The Danube.*—The freedom of the Danube and of the mouths of the river shall be efficaciously assured by the institutions of European international law, in which the contracting powers shall be equally represented; excepting the particular positions of owners of the soil on the banks, which will be regulated upon the principles estab-

lished respecting river navigation by the treaty of the congress of Vienna. Each of the contracting powers shall have the right to station one or two light vessels at the mouths of the river, in order to insure the observance of the regulations relative to the freedom of the Danube.

“3. *Neutralisation of the Black Sea.*—This sea shall be opened to merchant vessels; closed to ships of war. Consequently naval arsenals will neither be created nor preserved. The protection of the commercial and maritime interests of all nations shall be assured in the respective ports in the Black Sea by the establishment of institutions conformed to international law and ancient usages in this matter. The two coast-bordered powers mutually engage to keep up only the number of light vessels, of a stipulated strength, necessary for the coasting service. This convention, concluded separately between the two powers, shall form a part of the general treaty as an annex after having been approved of by the contracting parties. This separate convention shall neither be annulled nor modified without the assent of the subscribers to the general treaty. The closing of the Straits shall admit an exception in favour of the stationary vessels mentioned in the preceding article.

“4. *Christian Subjects of the Porte.*—The immunities of the Rayah subjects of the Porte will be established without injury to the independence or the dignity of the sultan's crown. As deliberations are taking place between Austria, France, Great Britain, and the Sublime Porte, in order to assure the Christian subjects of the sultan their religious and political rights, Russia shall be invited, on the conclusion of peace, to associate herself with them.

“5. The belligerent powers reserve the right which belongs to them to produce, in the interest of Europe, some special conditions besides the four guarantees.”

Before the peace proposals were forwarded to St. Petersburg, arrangement had been made for a remarkable council of war to assemble at the Tuileries, under the presidency of the French emperor. It met on the 10th of January (1856), and was composed of the following distinguished individuals; some of whom came from the Crimea for the express purpose of attending it:—The Emperor, the Prince Napoleon, the Duke of Cambridge, Prince Jerome Napoleon, Lord Cowley, Sir Edmund Lyons,



Admiral Dundas, Sir Richard Airey, Sir Harry Jones, General della Marmora, Marshal Vaillant, Count Walewski, General Canrobert, General Bosquet, General Niel, General Martimprey, Admiral Hamelin, Admiral de la Gravière, and Admiral Penaud. Of this remarkable assembly the *Moniteur* observed—"The council is not commissioned to arrange the plan of the next campaign, nor to deliberate on the political considerations which might cause one plan to be preferred to another. Its object is to enlighten the allied governments as to the various military combinations which can be adopted, to foresee all eventualities, and to determine their exigencies. Formed for the greater part of experienced generals who have almost all taken a glorious part in the operations accomplished in the East and in the Baltic, the council of war can only give advice, which will have been deeply weighed, and furnish proposals, eminently useful for the best employment of the land and sea forces which the Western Powers are preparing." The pacific course of events rendered the proceedings of this council unnecessary, and it eventually dissolved without having adopted any course of action.

At St. Petersburg another great council of war was held, and presided over by another emperor. Had the campaign of 1856 taken place, there is every reason to believe it would have been a terrible and desperate one. The Russian authorities, it was said, anticipated a change in the theatre of the war, and made vigorous preparations for the defence of their line of coast in the Baltic. The Grand-duke Constantine, high-admiral of the empire, issued a circular to the naval departments, commanding those in authority not to suppress the truth in

official returns, nor endeavour to conceal defects and mismanagement.\* It was not, however, anticipated that the latter command would be attended with any practically beneficial result. While the Russian government expected officers of high responsibility to live on a salary sometimes not exceeding a hundred a year, it was certain that speculation and fraud would exist among them.

While the Duke of Cambridge was residing at Paris for the sake of attending the council of war, he became the chief actor in a very interesting ceremony. Her majesty Queen Victoria had resolved to express her admiration of the bravery of the French troops, by presenting each of the soldiers, who had so recently entered Paris in triumph, on their return from the Crimea, with an appropriate silver medal. The presentation took place on the morning of Tuesday, the 15th of January, when great excitement prevailed; for such a recognition, by the sovereign of a great and once rival power, of the gallant services of the French soldiers, excited in them an enthusiasm probably beyond what Englishmen can conceive. Unfortunately, the day was raw and foggy; while a thaw had rendered the streets muddy and offensive to foot-passengers. The crowd, therefore, was not great; but from the windows of the Tuileries the sight was extremely beautiful. The different corps marched into the square of the Carrousel with much animation. By a quarter to one o'clock the courtyard of the Tuileries, and the vast square beyond, were occupied by serried masses of troops. The various uniforms of the Chasseurs, Voltigeurs, Zouaves, and grenadiers of the imperial guard, produced an exceedingly picturesque effect. A spectator describes the regiments

\* We append this document, as revealing something of official corruption in Russia:—"The immense variety of forms with us paralyses the elasticity of administrative action, and serves as a cloak of impunity for the official lie so common with us. Cast a glance at the annual reports and accounts, and you will find that everywhere the greatest possible amount of work has been executed, in every direction progress has been made, everywhere have the prescribed works advanced, if not with excessive haste, yet at least in due relation to the exigencies of the case. But when you come to look closer at the actual state of things, to examine into them, to divest them of all false colouring, to separate what really is from what only appears to be, to distinguish the true from the false, or the only half true, there will seldom be left any positive and beneficial result,—on the surface speciousness; beneath it, corruption. Among the products of our official phraseology truth finds no place; it is concealed and

stified under diction; and where is the official reader who knows how to extract it? I beg your excellency to communicate these truthful words to all the bureaux and all the *employés* of the ministry of marine, from whom we have to expect at the beginning of the new year their annual reports of what has taken place in the past, and repeat to them that in the aforesaid reports I do not look for encomiums, but the truth, and, above all, a frank statement that goes to the pith of the matter, both as regards what may be inadequate in any branch of the administration, and of the errors that may have been committed in it. Tell them further, that all the reports in which I shall have to read between the lines [this phrase implies the necessity of inferring the truth from what is not written rather than of learning it from what is] I shall most certainly return. I request your excellency to communicate copies of this letter to all the bureaux and before-mentioned *employés*.  
CONSTANTINE, High Admiral."







THE QUEEN OF CAMBODIA  
 RECEIVING THE CIGMEAN MEDAL  
 FROM THE FRENCH TROOPS  
 IN THE PLACE DE CARLOTTA, LAOS, JANUARY 1896

W. & A. G. S.



as resembling vast beds of rich flowers stirred by some playful breeze.

At one the emperor and the Duke of Cambridge made their appearance, accompanied by some of the most distinguished French generals and the customary military staff, and followed by a detachment of the cent-gardes. At the same time the empress, attended by her ladies, and accompanied by Marshal Prince Jerome, appeared in the balcony of the Pavilion d'Horloge. Her majesty was warmly wrapped up in velvet and furs, and frequently held her white muff to her mouth to keep out the raw air; but many spectators considered that, in her delicate condition (on the eve of becoming a mother), it was scarcely prudent for her to remain long in the balcony. The emperor and the duke having galloped up to the head of the first regiment, Napoleon motioned to his guest to take the place of honour; and the duke, after acknowledging the great courtesy by taking off his plumed cap, somewhat hesitatingly did so. By every regiment the emperor and the duke were received with loud cheers; while many of the bands played "God save the Queen" and "Rule Britannia."

The review over, his majesty and his royal highness galloped back to the door of the Pavilion d'Horloge, where they took up their position, with their staffs, in the rear. In a few moments the colonels and lieutenant-colonels of the different regiments, and a captain, lieutenant, sub-lieutenant, sergeant-major, corporal, and one soldier from every regiment advanced, and ranged themselves in five lines in front of the emperor and the duke. The latter then advanced, and read with much energy the following speech:—

"Her majesty the Queen of England has deigned to charge me with the office of presenting to the generals, officers, and rank and file of the French army, my brave and worthy comrades, these medals, as a token of the cordial esteem and friendship which exist between the two nations, and of the admiration which her majesty and the

English nation have felt in seeing the glorious feats of arms performed by the army of the East. It was in the great combats of the Alma, Inkermann, and Sebastopol, that the alliance of the two nations was ratified by the two armies. God grant that this great alliance may always continue, for the advantage and glory of both nations! As for myself, my dear comrades, the honour which has been conferred on me is the greater that I have served with you, and have seen with my own eyes your bravery, your great military qualities, and the devotedness with which you have supported so many fatigues and so many dangers. I sincerely thank the emperor for his kindness in allowing me to have the honour of distributing these medals in his presence."

The speech over, the duke dismounted and distributed the queen's medal to the colonels and deputations from the different regiments. As to the troops, their medals had been distributed to them in the morning, as a matter of necessity, to save time, and at a given signal they took them from their pockets and fastened them on their uniforms. Then was to be seen, for the first time in history, 15,000 French soldiers bearing upon their breasts medals which bore the impress of the sovereign of England. "It was," said an enthusiastic journalist, "a gorgeous visible expression of the brotherhood in arms which henceforth exists between the armies of France and England; the formal consummation of an indissoluble union contracted amid the clang of arms, in the hour of death and danger." On the front of the medal was the portrait of Queen Victoria; on the reverse a figure of Victory crowning a French soldier; with the motto—"Victoria Regina à l'armée Française." The actual cost of each medal—and no distinction was made between those given to the officers and the private soldiers—amounted to fourteen francs, and thus formed a present possessed of some intrinsic value.\* The *vivandières* were

\* The Paris correspondent of the *Daily News* observed—"It is stated in the papers that the Crimean medal given by the queen to the French army is so heavy that in many cases it slips from the pin by which it is fastened to the soldier's breast, and that no less than a dozen, picked up in the streets, have been brought by the finders to the prefecture of police. Inasmuch as all finders are not honest, the inference is that many more must have been lost. I hope, and indeed fully believe, that this must be the explanation of a paragraph in some

English journals stating that several of the soldiers pawned or sold their medals the day after they were given to them. I cannot but regard this statement as libellous, nay absurd. Not only are French soldiers the least likely of any in the world to sell an honourable decoration for money, but supposing any man so degraded as to brave the severe military punishment for such an offence, he would have great difficulty in finding a purchaser in Paris, and certainly no pawnbroking establishment would dare to receive such a pledge."



decorated as well as the soldiers, and very proud these ladies were of the honour bestowed upon them. After the distribution the troops filed rapidly past, and the ceremony was over.

A supplement to this event took place at the British embassy on the evening of January 23rd. On that occasion, Lord Cowley distributed to a number of French naval and military officers the order of the Bath, which her majesty thought proper to bestow upon them for their distinguished services in the field and on the sea. Sir Colin Campbell, Sir A. Woodford, and Colonel Claremont (her majesty's military commissioner), were present on the occasion. The whole party, together with all the knights of the Bath who happened to be in Paris, afterwards dined together at the embassy. At dessert the English ambassador proposed the health of the Emperor of the French—a toast which Prince Napoleon thus acknowledged:—"My Lords and Gentlemen,—I propose to you the health of her majesty the Queen of England. In the name of my comrades of the army of the East, I thank her majesty for the high distinction which she has deigned to confer upon us: if, in our devotion to the most just of causes, for which we have fought and triumphed, we stood in need of an encouragement and a recompense, we should find them in the striking proof of the favour of an august sovereign, and of the gratitude of a great people our ally. 'In the name of the army, to the Queen of England.'" After several other toasts, the English ambassador proposed a final one, which was regarded as most opportune and important in the existing state of affairs: it was, to the speedy conclusion of peace, and the final termination of the evils of war—evils (he added), the full extent of which the illustrious soldiers here present are able to appreciate, as they were spectators of them, and beheld many of their glorious comrades perish beneath their sad effects. "This *fête*," observed the *Moniteur*, "so complete, is another link between the two armies and the two people; it is of a nature, from the recollections it will leave among eminent men who have received such high marks of the favour of Queen Victoria, to cement the alliance of the two great Western Powers, upon which the future destiny of the civilised world rests."

On the 14th of January, the reply of Russia to the proposals made to her govern-

ment, through the medium of Count Esterhazy, was made known. When that ambassador presented a copy of the *ultimatum* to Count Nesselrode, he informed the Russian chancellor that his instructions did not authorise him to accept any discussion of the *ultimatum*, or any modification of its contents. He added, that if by the 8th of January he received any other reply than a pure and simple acceptance, he should be under the necessity of leaving St. Petersburg with all the members of his embassy. The Russian government hesitated, and in order to postpone the departure of the Austrian legation, sent its reply to Vienna direct. The Russian government accepted the proposals in principle, but required certain modifications. Russia rejected the second clause of the first proposal, viz., the "rectification of her frontier with Turkey." She also rejected the fifth proposal, by which a right of reproducing special conditions was reserved to the belligerent powers; and in virtue of which, it was presumed, they would demand the engagement not to rebuild Bomarsund. She accepted the rest of the *ultimatum*, including the neutralisation of the Black Sea, though with some modifications. In exchange for the strong places and territories occupied by the allies, she proposed to restore to Turkey Kars and the territories she had won in Asia during the last campaign there.

For the satisfaction of the industrious student of history, we will, however, insert the reply of Russia (contained in a despatch from Count Nesselrode to Prince Gortschakoff) at full:—

"Since his return to St. Petersburg, the envoy of Austria has hastened to communicate to me the despatch addressed to him by Count Buol, dated December 16th, and a copy of which I have the honour to subjoin. In delivering this communication, Count Esterhazy had handed me at the same time a document containing the indication of some principles which, according to the cabinet of Vienna, would acquire by the fact of the acceptance of the belligerent powers the value of preliminaries of peace, and once signed, might be followed by an armistice and definite negotiations. I have not failed to submit these documents to our august master the emperor.

"His imperial majesty has been pleased to examine them with the sincere desire to equitably solve the question which keeps Europe under arms, and covers it with



mourning. He hesitates the less to lend the hand to the efforts by which the Emperor of Austria seeks to prove his attachment to the work of peace, from the fact that, very recently, consulting only the interests of his peoples and his sentiments of humanity, he did not hesitate to spontaneously anticipate the pacific desires of Europe. Encouraged, like the cabinet of Vienna, by signs that the negotiations might be resumed upon the basis of the four points as they had been formulated in the conferences of Vienna, his majesty the emperor adopted a resolution which he believed calculated to give a clear solution to that one of the four points which caused the rupture of the conferences of Vienna. By this resolution the imperial cabinet completed the guarantees necessary to a durable and effective (*serieuse*) peace, and completely assured Europe against the return of the existing deplorable complications. He then hoped that the cabinet of Vienna, to which he hastened to communicate this resolution, would use it to simplify the preliminary questions intended to precede the definite negotiations. This hope has not been completely realised. The emperor, our august master, has seen this with regret; however, he wishes to give a new proof of his pacific intentions by entering into the path which the Austrian cabinet has believed it its duty to open to a reconciliation. After having maturely weighed the communications which have been made to it, and after having sought to harmonise them with the necessities of the situation of the moment, the imperial cabinet hastens to make known its determination to your excellency, while inviting you to bring it without delay to the knowledge of the Austrian government. We beg the court of Vienna to well convince itself that the considerations which we are about to develop are inspired by the sincere desire to avoid the rocks upon which the last conferences split. We have nothing more at heart than to see our observations received in the sentiment of equity which dictated them, and a concurrence with us to bring about the desired end. Before entering into the examination of the details of the document of the cabinet of Vienna, we have two general observations to make; the one relates to the contents of the fifth point. In reading it, we asked ourselves if a principle so vaguely conceived, and which opens the door to a negotiation altogether new, if even a complete agreement was made upon

the four points, the hopes of peace could be realised? M. le Ministre of Foreign Affairs has, it is true, anticipated this apprehension, in stating in his despatch, 'that he will not delay to express to the courts of Paris and London the confidence which animates him, that they will not use the right of presenting special conditions but in a European interest, and in such a manner as not to offer serious obstacles to the re-establishment of peace.'

"These assurances, however, are themselves not precise enough to destroy our objections in circumstances so grave as those in which Europe is now placed. The uncertainty which the reserve in question inspires cannot have but a vexatious influence in depriving the preliminaries, even when accepted and signed, of the character of definite stipulations. It is, then, in the well-understood interest of peace that we insist upon the striking out of the fifth clause, and this so much more that the European interest, which it seems to have in view, uselessly complicates a question already thorny, and belonging by its nature to the decision not of the parties engaged in the actual contest only, but to that of a European congress, sole arbitrator of existing transactions. The cabinet of Vienna will doubtless know how to appreciate these considerations, and give them effect in the interest of peace with the allies. The second general objection which the *ensemble* of the document of the Austrian cabinet presents is that—contrary to the original idea which was dominant in the programme of the four points, and which was to establish the political system of the East upon the basis of a perfect parity between the two frontier powers—the principles laid down by the Austrian cabinet demand material guarantees from Russia only, and require none of the Ottoman Porte. Is it not to be feared, in thus multiplying the obligations which fall upon one of the parties, germs of future complications will, contrary to the end which we have in view, be created? This is a question which we leave to the impartial mediation of the cabinet of Vienna and to its long experience in Eastern affairs. Nevertheless, in raising the general objections against the predominating idea of the document which has been presented to us, we neither wish to prejudice it nor bespeak a reserve, nor to evade the discussion of details. Our determinations are taken. We record them here, in examining



successively the different articles of the Austrian document.

"The first article, does not excite in its first four paragraphs any objection, but the imperial cabinet is not able to adopt the fifth paragraph. While admitting as applicable to the existing situation of the belligerent parties that the evacuation of the strong places occupied by the allies upon the Russian soil can be effected by means of an exchange of territories with Russia, we cannot accept the mode in which it is proposed to carry out this exchange. The important territorial concession demanded, under the title of 'Rectification of the Frontier,' appears to be so much the less justified from the fact that Russia has in its hands a territory and a conquered fortress in Turkey, which, by their position and importance, are calculated to serve as the subjects of exchange. Consequently, we have entirely suppressed the paragraph in question, and have substituted for it another, conceived in the sense indicated above. At the same time, a final agreement upon this subject might be reserved to the plenipotentiaries entrusted with the definitive negotiation. The second article, relating to the Danube, has not occasioned any objection. The imperial cabinet is ready to concur in the development of the principles there enunciated. In fact, the second article only reproduces in substance the proposition laid down in advance by the imperial cabinet, and which your excellency was charged to communicate to the Austrian government. We adopt it, and are willing that the convention agreed to, to this effect, between Russia and the Porte be previously approved of by the signing powers. As to the rest, we have introduced but two variations. The one has no other end than to render the reading (*réduction*) clearer, in order to avoid all misunderstanding. The other adds but a word which relates more especially to the means of surveillance which are indispensable upon the eastern coasts of the Black Sea, in order to prevent the slave-trade, which we have, up to the present time, succeeded in repressing. As to the fourth point, the emperor only aspires to raise his voice in common with the other European powers in favour of his co-religionists, and to join in the deliberations which take place to assure to the Christian subjects of the sultan their religious and political rights. Such, my prince, is our mode of viewing the Austrian document. The *ensemble* of the

considerations which we have developed will, I doubt not, convey the conviction that our reply, far from amounting to a refusal, is a frank and sincere essay to enter into the path which Austria believes is open to the re-establishment of peace. Further, we are pleased to think that if our pacific dispositions are shared by the allies, the variations which we have introduced into the ideas emitted by the cabinet of Vienna will essentially contribute to convert its preparatory document into practical preliminaries of a serious and efficacious peace.

"Whatever may happen, the imperial cabinet, after having thus conscientiously fulfilled its parts in the immense task which belongs to the powers engaged in the contest, will not have to recoil upon itself the responsibility of the grave consequences which would result from the failure of the work of peace. It repels it beforehand, with all the energy which the consciousness of integrity imparts.

"Be so good as to receive, &c.

#### RUSSIAN READING.

"1. In exchange for the strong places and territories occupied by the allied armies, Russia consents to restore to the Ottoman Porte the strong places and territories occupied by its armies in Asia.

"2. Accepted.

"3. Consequently there will neither be erected nor preserved military maritime arsenals upon the shores of the Black Sea. The two coasting powers mutually engage to keep up only the number of vessels of a fixed force necessary to the service and protection of the coast.

"4. Accepted.

"5. Struck out.

#### AUSTRIAN READING.

"In exchange for the strong places and territories occupied by the allied armies, Russia consents to a rectification of its frontiers, &c.

"Consequently military arsenals will neither be created nor preserved.

"For the service of their coasts the belligerent powers reserve their right, which belongs to them, to produce in a European interest some special conditions besides the four guarantees."

As a matter of form, these counter-proposals were communicated by Count Buol to the ambassadors of France and England, who immediately forwarded them to their respective governments. It may be assumed that they were not satisfactory to those two warlike powers; and the reply of Russia not being the "pure and simple" acceptance demanded, Austria could not take it into consideration without the sanction of her allies. Still the Austrian court extended the period allowed to Russia for consideration, and informed Prince Gortschakoff (the Russian ambassador at Vienna) that if by



the 18th of January, Russia did not send her pure and simple acceptance of the *ultimatum*, Count Esterhazy and his legation would receive orders to leave St. Petersburg.

Such was the attitude of affairs when successive sensations of surprise, excitement, and distrust were created by Count Esterhazy writing from St. Petersburg, on the 16th of January, that Count Nesselrode had notified to him the *unconditional* acceptance, by the Russian government, of the Austrian proposals which were to serve as preliminaries of peace. The suddenness of this acceptance took all men by surprise. England was unprepared for it; and the news was scarcely welcome. Our preparations for the next campaign were enormous, and our anticipations that we should restore our somewhat sullied *prestige* were unalloyed. A twelvemonth ago peace had been longed for; but now news of it came with an abruptness that jarred upon the self-esteem of the nation. But France was jubilant. She had won glory in the war, but her resources had been drawn upon so heavily, that but for that glory the struggle would have been unpopular. The Emperor Napoleon, also, was satisfied with the result of the war, and anxious for the return of peace.\* Not only had Russia been severely smitten, but Napoleon had employed the army and the popular mind of France, and purged her of her restless spirits. Truly was it observed that the war was undertaken

by the emperor for a dynastic effect, and it was to be concluded for the consolidation of the same dynasty. The German states were delighted; for the war had drained the resources of those whom they regarded with jealousy, and peace would bring them the repose which seemed so agreeable to them. Austria had so steadfastly set its face against the continuance of the war, that its government ordered all the newspapers to express their confidence that the negotiations would lead to a peace. One paper, for expressing doubts on this point, was seized and confiscated.

However much the affairs of England had been mismanaged during the war, she least felt the severity of the struggle. Though her blood and her treasure had been shamefully squandered through incompetent aristocrats and red-tape formulists, yet the great bulk of her resources were uninjured; her warlike spirit was aroused rather than satiated; and instead of being on the eve of exhaustion, at no time during the contest had she been so well prepared to continue it. Had she shown at the first the vigour she exhibited then, it is probable that the struggle would have been a very brief one. Then her procrastination, her forced politeness, her indecision, and the incomprehensible movement of her troops from England to Malta, and from Malta to Gallipoli, in which place it was not possible for them to do any good to the Turks or any harm to the Russians, led

\* The Paris correspondent of *Le Nord* (a journal of Russian sympathies) said, when Prince Jerome went to communicate the news of the Russian acceptance of the peace proposals to his daughter, the Princess Mathilde, that lady threw herself upon his neck and wept for joy. Also that when the emperor read the despatch to the council of war, Admiral Lyons observed, "Sire, I don't exactly understand it; there must be some mistake." Napoleon smiled and read it again. Then the English began whispering among themselves, and the Duke of Cambridge rose, saying that his mission at Paris was at an end, and that he had only to take leave of the emperor, and start that evening for London. The latter insisted that his grace should remain three or four days. As to Prince Napoleon, after the despatch was read, his royal highness's remark was, "Then Italy and Poland are sacrificed." While speaking of circumstances that were reported, but the truth of which was not actually confirmed, we will relate the following anecdote concerning the Russian emperor. M. Seebach had been sent from the court of Saxony to St. Petersburg, to solicit Alexander to accept the peace proposals of Austria. M. Seebach had been extremely intimate with the Emperor Nicholas; and Alexander, when very young, had witnessed the friendship his father entertained

for that statesman. The latter was received at the palace immediately after his arrival at St. Petersburg, which city he had not visited for many years. On seeing him, the emperor exclaimed, "What grave events have passed since we last saw each other!" and threw himself into his visitor's arms. He then showed much emotion while he spoke of his father, his childhood, and of the calmer times when he had known M. Seebach. In speaking of his father tears ran down his cheeks. But recovering himself with imperial dignity, he observed, "But we have come to speak of more serious matters. Ah! you are not come hoping to weaken me?" The emperor then expressed himself with great clearness upon the reasons which rendered the establishment of peace desirable, and also upon his duties as the sovereign of Russia, and the difficulties and exigencies of the situation. "My *noblesse*," said he "are not prepared to bow the head. I do not deceive you upon the gravity of events in the Crimea, nor upon the possible results of an attack in the Baltic; but, believe me, whatever may be the situation, and whatever may be likely to arrive, it is much more difficult for me at this moment to make peace than to continue the war. I encounter, in deciding for war, ten times less resistance among my *noblesse* and my people."



the czar Nicholas to the belief that they feared his power and would never proceed beyond demonstrations and expostulations. Now the feeling in the minds of most Englishmen was, if Russia sincerely sought a peace by the abandonment of her aggressive policy, that she might have it; but that if she was not content with the propositions made to her, then let the war proceed; for that the allies could eventually dictate a peace which would be far more satisfactory.

Sardinia was much less satisfied than England with the news of coming peace. Victor Emmanuel and his people could scarcely be pleased with a result brought about by Austrian diplomacy. They had ventured boldly in the struggle, and had naturally looked for their reward. They anticipated that, in the course of the great changes which the war threatened to bring about—that, amid the uprooting of ancient systems and the overthrow of worn-out dynasties, she might become the protectress of Italian freedom, and increase her narrow territories to a magnitude more commensurate with the liberality of her principles and the justice and moderation of her government. These hopes were suddenly arrested by rumours of approaching peace; and the Piedmontese felt chagrined at the sudden dissipation of so many well-founded hopes, and the disappointment of many plans of future aggrandisement. With reference to this subject, a political writer observed—"There is no reason for Piedmont to abate one jot of heart or hope, or to despond and turn back in the noble career which she has set before her. She has not, indeed, been destined to achieve success in a moment, as a reward of the wise and liberal policy she has adopted; and the opening which the war seemed to offer to her aspirations has failed to present the occasion for which she sought. But such is ever the course of human affairs. There is a strong and irresistible tendency in right to triumph over wrong—in wisdom and moderation to assert their superiority over folly and violence. But the course of these compensating and redressing operations is slow and gradual, and neither nations nor men must expect to reap altogether as they have sown. Of this the Sardinian nation may be satisfied—that, if it has not gained all that it hoped, its participation in this war has been neither inglorious nor unfruitful. At the present day, when the most powerful nations are compelled to sub-

mit to governments on sufferance, because they can find nothing on which they can anchor their confidence—no man and no institution worthy of their affection or esteem—Sardinia has shown to the world how liberty and order may be conciliated, the freedom of conscience, of speech, and of writing may be vindicated, with an entire avoidance of tumult or anarchy. Sardinia has deserved well both of England and France by the moral as well as the material support she has afforded them; and England and France would act both unworthily and ungratefully, if they forgot for a moment the benefits they have received from her. She has won the esteem and the confidence of Italy, and annihilated, by the force of her example and the attractions of her institutions, the miserable factions that have so long been seeking to plunge the Peninsula into anarchy, merely, as it should seem, that, exhausted by her own violence, she might fall back into the arms of despotism. Rome is no longer the holy city of Italy; it is towards Turin that the aspirations of the good, the wise, and the free among her people, are directed: she is the city of refuge to the oppressed, the pattern and archetype of what a regenerated Italy should, and may one day become."

On the 19th of January, the Russian government, in the following circular to its diplomatic agents, announced its acceptance of the Austrian proposals:—

"Public opinion in Europe has been strongly excited by the intelligence that propositions of peace concerted between the allied powers and Austria had been transmitted to St. Petersburg through the intervention of the cabinet of Vienna. Already the imperial cabinet, upon its side, had made a step in the path of conciliation, by pointing out, in a despatch bearing date the 11th (23rd) of December, published in all the foreign journals, the sacrifices which it was prepared to make, with a view to the restoration of peace. This twofold proceeding proved the existence on either side of a desire to profit by the compulsory cessation imposed by the rigour of the season on the military operations, in order to respond to the unanimous wishes which were everywhere manifested in favour of a speedy peace. In the despatch cited above the imperial government had taken for basis the four points of guarantee admitted by the conferences at Vienna, and had proposed, with regard to the third point—



which had alone led to the rupture of the conferences—a solution which differed rather in form than in substance from the one put forward at that epoch by the allied powers.

“The propositions transmitted to-day by the Austrian government speak of the same fundamental proposition—that is to say, the neutralisation of the Black Sea by a direct treaty between Russia and the Porte, to regulate by common agreement the number of ships of war which each of the adjacent powers reserves the right of maintaining for the security of its coasts. They only differ appreciably from those contained in the despatch of the 11th (23rd) of December by the proposal for rectifying the frontier between Moldavia and Bessarabia, in exchange for the places on the Russian territory in the actual occupation of the enemy. This is not the place to inquire if these propositions unite the conditions necessary for insuring the repose of the East and the security of Europe, rather than those of the Russian government. It is sufficient here to establish the point, that at last an agreement has been actually arrived at on many of the fundamental bases for peace.

“Due regard being had to this agreement, to the wishes manifested by the whole of Europe, and to the existence of a coalition the tendency of which was every day to assume larger proportions, and considering the sacrifices which a protraction of the war imposes upon Russia, the imperial government has deemed it its duty not to delay by accessory discussions a work the success of which would respond to its heartfelt wishes. It has, in consequence, just given its adhesion to the propositions transmitted by the Austrian government as a project of preliminaries for negotiations for peace.

“By the energy of its attitude in the face of a formidable coalition, Russia has given a measure of the sacrifices which she is pre-

pared to make to defend her honour and dignity; by this act of moderation the imperial government gives at the same time a new proof of its sincere desire to arrest the effusion of blood, to conclude a struggle so grievous to civilisation and humanity, and to restore to Russia and to Europe the blessings of peace. It has a right to expect that the opinion of all civilised nations will appreciate the act.”

The acceptance of the peace proposals by Russia was attributed largely to the pacific temper and resolution, on that point, of the emperor himself. It is said, that when the acceptance of the Austrian proposals was declared, that Alexander called none of the chief men of the empire to his council; that he sent for no one except Count de Nesselrode, M. de Seniawine, and M. de Fonton; and for them only to hear his irrevocable decision, and to order them to transmit it to Vienna and to Count Esterhazy. There was no advice and no discussion. The sovereign gave the order; the great dignitaries of his empire obeyed; and that was all they had to do. The members of the imperial family knew nothing of the affair before the personages just mentioned. One alone, the Empress Maria, was acquainted with the decision of her husband; since it was greatly through her influence that it was arrived at. In addition to her entreaties, it was added that Prince Gortschakoff was constantly sending despatches of the most alarming character, which invariably terminated with such phrases as this:—“I foresee the most serious complications for us if we continue the war; I entreat your majesty to adhere to the conditions proposed; the whole of Europe declares against Russia.” The emperor engaged one of his younger brothers, to impart the news of the acceptance of the peace proposals to the fire-eating Archduke Constantine.\*

\* From an able leader in the columns of the *Daily News* we extract the following reflections on this point:—“An Alexander of Russia, and his next brother, Constantine—representatives of the opposite policies of peace and war—were on a journey one day, above forty years ago, when the man of peace attracted the attention of the man of war by his deep and frequent sighs. His face was worn with care—his eye troubled—his manner languid and depressed. ‘I am tired out,’ he said; ‘I am sick at heart. Peace has brought me no repose; and I must have it. I shall abdicate.’ Constantine, in amazement, opposed the wild notion; a notion not only wild, but impious in Russia, where the czar, once on the throne, is the expressed representative of Deity. Alexander was immovable; and Con-

stantine chafed his own mood into vehemence when he found that he made no way. At last he said that if Alexander abdicated, he would not reign. ‘Write me that,’ said Alexander, ‘if you really mean it.’ ‘Why,’ said Constantine, ‘I would, but that I cannot write Russ.’ ‘Write to me in French, and I will translate it,’ replied Alexander. The letter, thus obtained, written and translated, and furnished with a postscript by Alexander, appointing Nicholas to succeed him, was known to only two or three persons during many years that it lay among the archives of the state. That the fierce Constantine should have been put out of the path to the throne by the mild Alexander, was the wonder of all Russians, and many other people, for a long course of years. The commonest explanation was that Con-



The first official announcement of the adhesion of Russia to the Austrian proposals, appeared in the columns of the *Moniteur*, from which we extract a translation of it :—

“Russia has adhered to the five propositions which are to serve as the preliminaries of peace, and which were presented for her acceptance by Austria, with the assent of France and England. This unreserved adhesion was announced in a note addressed by Count Nesselrode, the Russian chancellor, to Count Esterhazy, the Austrian minister at St. Petersburg, and in a despatch communicated to Count Buol by Prince Gortschakoff, the Russian minister at Vienna. The Russian government, in consequence, proposed the signature of a protocol at Vienna, to enregister the adhesion of the contracting courts to the propositions intended to serve as the bases of negotiation, and to declare that plenipotentiaries shall meet at Paris within three weeks (or sooner, if possible), in order to proceed successively to the signature of preliminaries, to the conclusion of an armistice, and to the opening of general negotiations.

“The British government had already expressed a desire that the conferences should be held at Paris, and the Austrian

Constantine had married a Polish lady for his second wife; but his letter of renunciation was lodged in the archives of the council, and a copy of it in one of the cathedrals at Moscow; and there was a popular rumour afloat that he would not reign even before he married the Princess Lowitz. There has been no little speculation, in Russia and out of it, as to how the present Alexander would manage the present Constantine on an occasion perhaps no less difficult. Sooner or later (people have been saying) something must be done about peace. Before the death of the provoker of the war everybody must have given up all idea of Russia going forth to conquer, and treading on the necks of the allies; and, if peace was not to be made in that triumphant way, how would it be possible to reconcile Constantine and his old Russian party to peace? We have seen how the czar got the ice broken. He is either not so deep an actor as his uncle, or not so lofty a sentimentalist. He did not undertake the critical task of dealing with Constantine, but deputed it to his brother Michael, who is said to have sustained a tremendous storm.”

\* Count Orloff, encountering Marshal Baraguay d'Hilliers in the *salons* of the Tuileries, is said to have observed smilingly, “Ah! M. le Marshal, it is you, I think, who lately visited our country.” “Yes, count,” replied the marshal, “it is I who had the pleasure of leaving a card at Bomarsund.”

† From *Le Nord*, a continental paper in the Russian interest, we extract the following biographical notice of the two plenipotentiaries of the czar :—“Count Orloff, aide-de-camp general, general of cavalry, commander of the military household of the

government having, on its side, eagerly acceded to that suggestion, it is therefore in the capital of the empire that the plenipotentiaries who may be appointed to deliberate on the conditions of peace will assemble. The protocol setting forth the acceptance of all the parties was signed yesterday (Friday, the 1st of February), at Vienna, at noon, and it was decided that the plenipotentiaries of the powers who are to take part in the negotiations, shall assemble at Paris before the 20th of February.”

The names of the plenipotentiaries were as follows :—France was to be represented by Count Colonna Walewski, minister of foreign affairs to the emperor; and Baron de Bourqueney, his envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at Vienna. England by the Earl of Clarendon and Lord Cowley. Austria by Count Buol Schauenstein, minister of foreign affairs of the Emperor of Austria; and Baron de Hubner, his envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at Paris. Russia by Count Orloff,\* member of the council of the empire, and aide-de-camp general of the Emperor of Russia; and Baron de Brunow, his envoy-extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the Germanic confederation.† For Sardinia, the Chevalier Massimo d'Azeglio, senator of

king, and member of the council of the empire, belongs to one of the most illustrious families of his country. He is about seventy years of age, but still brisk, active, and healthy. He took part in almost all the wars which signalled the commencement of our century. Wounded first at Austerlitz, he was also seven different times wounded upon the field of Borodino, and was afterwards made aide-de-camp of the Emperor Alexander I. In 1825 he was a general, and commanded in that capacity the regiment of horse-guards which in December, 1826, first hurried to suppress the *émeute*. Count Orloff gave tokens that day of boundless courage and devotion, and from that moment dates his intimacy with the Emperor Nicholas, of whom he was one of the first advisers, and whose personal friend he was. In 1828 he commanded in Turkey the division of horse chasseurs. In 1829 he was named plenipotentiary, and signed at Adrianople, with Marshal Diebitch and Count Frederick Pahlen, the treaty of Adrianople. After the peace he remained some time at Constantinople as ambassador. Recalled to the companionship of the emperor, he accompanied his imperial majesty in his various travels. We next find him on a mission in Holland and at London, where the affairs of Belgium were arranged. The year 1833 found him also at the head of the expedition which saved Constantinople from the victorious army of Ibrahim Pasha, and he signed the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi. Since 1845 he has replaced Count de Benckendorff, deceased, as chief of the third section of the private chancellery of the emperor, and of the *gendarmérie* of the empire, the colonels of which, distributed over all the governments, have



the kingdom of Sardinia, was first appointed; but on his declining the honour, Count Cavour and the Marquis de Villamarina were appointed: while Turkey was represented by Aali Pasha, grand vizier of his majesty the sultan, and Mehemed Djemil Bey, the Turkish ambassador at Paris.

less a mission of police, properly so called, than a general inspection of all the administrations of the country, and also of control over the governors as well as the governed. This post, full of trust, gave to Count Orloff free access at all hours of the day to the emperor, and the right to speak to him of all and everything. It has been remarked, and justly, that the two persons who have filled these important functions near the Emperor Nicholas (Count Bencikendorff and Count Orloff) were precisely the men renowned for their loyalty, their spirit of justice, and moderation. These functions Count Orloff still fulfils with the Emperor Alexander II. We cannot give a better idea of the sentiments which this sovereign entertains towards him than by reproducing the conclusion of the rescript addressed to him on the 22nd of August last, on the occasion of the anniversary of his fifty years of service:—"At his last hour, in a final and sacred interview with me, my father enjoined me to thank you as a friend who had always been faithful and devoted." This is the personage chosen by the Emperor Alexander to represent Russia at the peace conferences at Paris. Baron Brunow (privy councillor) comes from a noble family of Courland. He has passed nearly forty years in a diplomatic career, in which he has acquired an European reputation. He was with Count Orloff at the negotiations of Adrianople. He then accompanied him to Constantinople as counsellor of the ambassador, then to Holland and England, and to Constantinople in 1833. These two statesmen have been accustomed to work together for nearly thirty years, and, if we may judge of the success of the negotiations about to be held by the success of those in which they have already taken part, we cannot but entertain most favourable hopes of an early re-establishment of peace. On returning from Turkey, in 1830, Baron Brunow remained attached to the ministry of foreign affairs as chief *redacteur*. He then accompanied Count Nesselrode to several congresses and diplomatic conferences. After remaining one year as minister at Stuttgart, he was sent on an extraordinary mission to London, where he signed the treaties of 1840 and 1841. He remained there as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary until the rupture of diplomatic relations between England and Russia. Since the autumn of the past year he has been minister to the Germanic confederation."

\* The *Zeit*, the organ of the Berlin government, thus treated the question of Prussia's participation in the conferences:—"An important question is now occupying the foreign more than the German press: it is that of Prussia's participation or non-participation in the approaching conferences of peace. We do not think that the question itself, or the solution sought to be given to it, affects the honour of Prussia. Prussia has not judged it incumbent on her honour to co-operate actively with the efforts of the allied powers, or even to make a demonstration in their favour; still less will she see a question of honour attached to her participation in the negotiations

At the signing of the protocol, Prince Gortschakoff proposed that Prussia should be invited to participate in the conferences. This proposition (regarded with repugnance by the people in France and England) was supported by Count Buol, and referred for consideration by the other powers.\* It

opened by these powers. A great power possessing a political value like that of Prussia will not stop to solicit her entrance into the conferences, and she owes it to her dignity not to take any step for obtaining what they affect to call her admission to the European council. We shall abstain, therefore, from enforcing the right Prussia has acquired of having a seat at the congress, while employing the influence she possesses at St. Petersburg to decide the pure and simple acceptance of the Austrian propositions. We repeat it, we shall not insist upon this incontestable right, for the reason that such insisting would look like that of pleading in favour of the participation by Prussia, whose dignity is opposed to any solicitation of this sort. On the other hand, two grave reasons militate in favour of the supposition that the contracting powers will invite Prussia to take part in the conferences and to mediate in the conclusion of the definite treaty. The first of these reasons is a point of law, the second is a political motive. Everybody knows that the treaty of July 13th, 1841, which contains stipulations relating to Turkey's relations with the maritime powers, and to the navigation of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, was concluded and signed by the five great powers, and placed under their collective guarantee. Now Prussia was one of the contracting and guaranteeing parties to that treaty, which, in consequence of the approaching conferences, will undergo profound alterations and modifications. In accordance with the most elementary principles of international law, these modifications cannot be concluded nor receive a legal sanction, save with the consent of all the contracting and guaranteeing parties. It results therefrom that if the new treaty is to be received into the political code of international law and receive a legal consecration, the presence of Prussia is necessary in the congress, which is summoned to concert the bases thereof. So much for the question of right. The political motive that imperiously requires the concurrence of Prussia in the future treaty arises naturally from the object of the war and of the treaty that is to put an end to it. This object is neither more nor less than to place the political equilibrium of Europe on more solid bases, and to ensure it against the preponderance of Russia. Should Prussia not be invited to take her seat at the conferences, she could neither sign nor guarantee the treaty that is to issue from them. Now this treaty, which would not bear the signature of Prussia, would not in any way bind this power. In case of the treaty being broken by Russia, for instance, she would be under no obligation to interfere for the purpose of upholding it. In the eventuality of a conflict she would preserve all her independence of action and her free arbitrament, and the rigorous consequences of this would be, that the political equilibrium of Europe would be quite as little protected from disturbance as it was before the war. All these reasons induce us to believe that Prussia has a right to expect an invitation from the contracting powers. If Prussia decides on



was not until the preliminaries of peace were signed that Prussia was admitted, or, in diplomatic language, invited, to send her representative to the conference. She appointed Baron Manteuffel and Count Hatzfeldt, the Prussian minister then at Paris, to represent her. It will be observed that they were admitted only to sign, not to discuss the terms of peace. Notwithstanding the equivocal conduct of Prussia, it was felt that the contemplated peace was more likely to be durable if that state was admitted to the conferences, than it would be if she, one of the great powers of Europe, were excluded. On this subject Mr. Disraeli observed—"The presence of Prussia at the conferences is, as it appears to me, the only means by which the sentiments and opinions of Germany can be represented and expressed on this memorable occasion. It is very true that there is another German power which, from the first, has participated in the deliberations of the conferences—a power of which I wish to speak with all due respect; but, on this point, I remember the saying of a great statesman, whose views I may quote with great propriety, as they are not likely to be prejudiced, being those not of an Austrian merely, but of a most eminent Austrian minister. I recollect that Prince Metternich once observed that Austria was the true type of an empire, and therefore that all her interests must be imperial. Austria has many kingdoms and many races dependent upon her, and constantly demanding her solicitude; but Prussia is homogeneous—Prussia is German—Prussia, one might almost say, is Germany."

The peace congress at Paris assembled for the first time at one o'clock on the 25th of February, in the Hotel of Foreign Affairs. The conferences were conducted with the strictest secrecy, and every care taken that nothing should transpire until it was intended to be made known. On the conclusion of the sitting, however, it was announced that an armistice should be concluded between the belligerent armies, and continue in force until the 31st of March. The formal signature of the pre-

liminaries of peace which followed, was a ratification by the plenipotentiaries of what had been done at Vienna.

On the 3rd of March, a few days after the first sitting of the peace conferences, the Emperor Napoleon opened the French legislative assembly with one of those clear summaries of the state of events, that has rendered his addresses on these occasions documents of European interest. We append a translation:—

"The last time I convoked you our minds were occupied with matters of grave import; the allied armies were exhausting themselves at a siege where the obstinacy of the defence made success doubtful. Europe, hesitating, seemed to await the end of the struggle before pronouncing itself; to carry on the war I asked of you a loan, which you granted unanimously, although it may have appeared excessive. The high price of provisions threatened to cause general distress among the labouring classes, and a perturbation in the monetary system gave rise to fears of a slackening of commercial transactions and of labour. Well, thanks to your support, as well as to the energy displayed in France and in England—thanks, above all things, to the support of Providence, those dangers, if they have not entirely disappeared, have, most of them at least, been averted.

"A great feat of arms has decided a desperate struggle, unexampled in history, in favour of the allied armies. Since that moment the opinion of Europe has pronounced itself more openly. On all sides our alliances have been extended and strengthened.

"The third loan was subscribed without difficulty. The country has given me a new proof of its confidence by subscribing a sum five times the amount I demanded; it has supported with admirable resignation the sufferings inseparable from a dearness of provisions—sufferings alleviated, however, by private charity, by the zeal of the municipal authorities, and by the 10,000,000 francs distributed in the departments. At the present moment the arrivals of foreign corn have caused a sensible fall; the fears arising from the scarcity of gold have diminished, and labour was never more active,

taking a step further, if she finds a plausible pretext for offering her hand, she will only take this step with the view of consolidating the new order of things about to spring up from the peace, and of securing to the world the benefits held out to it by this new situation. Prussia wishes to spare the

allied powers the fault of leaving her shut out from the pacific relations of Europe, because she wishes to keep herself aloof from the complications of war. This fault could only entail serious results with respect to the consolidation and stability of the new order of things it is now in contemplation to create."



nor the revenues more considerable. The chances of war have aroused the military spirit of the nation; at no time were voluntary enlistments so frequent, or so much ardour displayed by the recruits designated by lot. To this brief statement of the situation, facts of a high political signification must be added. The Queen of Great Britain, desirous of giving a proof of her confidence, of her esteem for our country, to render our relations more intimate, visited France. The enthusiastic welcome she met with must have convinced her how deep were the sentiments inspired by her presence, and that they were of a nature to strengthen the alliance of the two nations. The King of Piedmont, who, without looking behind him, had embraced our cause with that courageous impetuosity which he had already shown on the battle-field, also came to France, to consecrate a union already cemented by the bravery of his soldiers. Those sovereigns were enabled to see a country formerly so agitated and disinherited of its rank in the councils of Europe, now prosperous, peaceful, and respected, waging war, not with the momentary delirium of passion, but with the calmness, justice, and energy of duty. They beheld France, while sending 200,000 men beyond the seas, at the same time convoke all the arts of peace at Paris, as if she wished to say to Europe, 'The present war is only an episode for me; my ideas and my strength are in part always directed towards the arts of peace; let us neglect nothing to understand each other, and do not compel me to throw all the resources and all the energy of a great nation into the lists of battle.'

"That appeal seems to have been heard, and winter, by suspending hostilities, favoured the intervention of diplomacy. Aus-

\* The day following, Count de Morny, president of the legislative body, made the following address to the assembly in reference to the emperor's speech:—"Gentlemen,—The simple and dignified account of the exalted position of France which you heard yesterday must have flattered your patriotism. Your feelings of national pride and affection for your country must have been highly gratified. In no virtue has the French nation been deficient. It has proved itself a firm and loyal ally; it has carried on the war with vigour, patience, disinterestedness, and humanity. It has been at the same time calm, industrious, hospitable, and generous. Thus has France obtained a moral triumph more valuable than that acquired by conquests, and gained for herself the sympathies and confidence of the entire world. This result, it must be admitted, is particularly attributable to the union on the throne of the two most opposite qualities—energy and

trials resolved upon taking a decisive step, which brought into the deliberations all the influence of the sovereign of a vast empire. Sweden entered into closer connexion with England and France by a treaty which guaranteed the integrity of her territory; finally, advice or entreaties were sent to St. Petersburg from all the cabinets. The Emperor of Russia, who had inherited a position he had not created, appeared animated with a sincere desire to put an end to the causes which had occasioned this sanguinary conflict. He resolutely accepted the propositions transmitted by Austria. The honour of his arms once satisfied, he did honour to himself also by complying with the distinctly expressed wishes of Europe.

"To-day the plenipotentiaries of the beligerent and allied powers are assembled at Paris to decide upon the conditions of peace. The spirit of moderation and equity which animates them all must make us hope for a favourable result; nevertheless, let us await the end of the conferences with dignity, and let us be equally prepared, if it should be necessary, either again to draw the sword or to extend the hand to those we have honourably fought. Whatever may happen, let us occupy ourselves with all the means proper to increase the power and wealth of France; let us draw still closer, if possible, the alliance formed by a participation of glory and of sacrifices, the reciprocal advantages of which will be brought into still stronger relief by peace. Let us, finally, at this solemn moment for the destinies of the world, place our trust in God, that He may guide our efforts in the sense most conformable to the interests of humanity and of civilisation."\*

Russia welcomed peace, for she found it a necessity. The power of that vast empire had been strangely overrated; and though

moderation. Those short and glorious years which have restored France to the first rank among nations will fill an important place in history. You mainly contribute to that result, gentlemen; for you granted the emperor an unreserved co-operation under the most critical circumstances. Let us now hope that the sound judgment and humane feelings of the eminent men charged with the negotiations will succeed in removing all the difficulties and putting an end to the evils of Europe. Nevertheless, confiding implicitly in the affection and solicitude of the emperor for his people, and in his care for its dignity and interests, we promise him beforehand, come what will, that he may rely upon us." This speech was repeatedly interrupted by the warmest applause, and most of the deputies left their seats to go and congratulate Count de Morny on his having so well interpreted the sentiments of the chamber.



she could have continued the struggle, yet she was staggering forward to the verge of exhaustion. We shall close this chapter with an account of the actual condition of Russia, collected from the conversations of an intelligent and distinguished citizen of the United States of America, who had spent two years in that country, and only recently returned to the land of his birth. The account was forwarded to the *Daily News* by a special correspondent of that journal, from the columns of which we extract it. The editor observed—"For the state of economical and financial depression to which Russia has been reduced, previous accounts from other sources had prepared us. But we confess we have been taken by surprise by the opinion expressed in the notes to which we refer, as to the exhaustion of her military resources. The splendid army, to the formation of which the life of the late Emperor Nicholas was devoted, would appear to be annihilated. One *corps d'armée* after another has been thrown into Sebastopol, and there the choicest soldiers of them all have found their graves."

"I am enabled to communicate to you by this steamer what I am fully persuaded is an entirely reliable account of Russian affairs. I received it a day or two since from a most intelligent American gentleman who resided for two years in Russia. In consequence of his well-known reputation he was invited to go to St. Petersburg, where the representations which had been made in regard to his character and accomplishments were so fully realised that he remained in Russia until a considerable time after the death of Nicholas. By descent he comes from one of the first families in America, and he is hardly second in his profession to any other man in this country, while his well-known moral qualities entitle him to the entire confidence of all who know him. For the present it is not necessary to give his name, although he makes no statement that he is not prepared to sustain, nor does he deem that he is himself in this communication betraying any confidence, or making any statements that will not meet with the approbation and respect of the most enlightened classes of the Russian empire. He holds that the truth not only may, but should be spoken, since some atrocious attempts have been made on the part of several base Americans, who have volunteered their services, to misrepresent the

actual condition of Russia, and the facts regarding the progress of the war. Much as he has lived in Russia, and treated as he has been with the most courteous hospitality, he feels that he has parted with none of his personal liberty or independence as an American citizen; but he believes it will be of service to all parties to correct some misstatements, and many more misrepresentations, in regard to Russia, that have gone currently, and been too widely adopted, throughout the world. I give his own language, in nearly every instance, word for word; and in every instance in the full spirit with which it was communicated. He says—"Being in Russia, any one will be struck with the fact that the government of the country is a man, and one man only. Everything is controlled solely by the emperor. You may be taken from your bed at night, and your fate settled without trial, hearing, judge, or jury. The police have full power to take any man, and do with him what they are ordered to do; and the man is helpless. No such thing as a trial by jury is known in Russia. I have known instances of persons taken from their houses in the night, without resource, and their history ended: the world ceased to know anything of them after they were arrested. The emperor is all power, in any and all cases. No Russian, be he nobleman or serf, can leave the soil without the emperor's permission. Jokoloff, the great sheet-iron man, wished to leave the empire. He had ninety million roubles deposited in the government bank, and other millions in iron. But he could not leave the country, for he would take with him, or spend, too much money abroad. A man can no more leave Russia than an American can leave a state prison. At one of the dépôts on the railway between St. Petersburg and Moscow, I found a Russian gentleman who was in *quasi* exile, his crime having been that on a visit to the United States he overstayed his time a month or two, and when he returned he discovered that his property had been confiscated; nor was he allowed to live in any one of the capitals, but he was compelled to live in that out-of-the-way place—such vengeance being the penalty for disregarding in the slightest degree the emperor's will. The emperor is the chief business man of the empire. He does everything. Every man who has any authority whatever in the empire gets it from the emperor direct, and is accountable to him alone. In



Russia no man moves without a passport, and every Russian's name is registered in his police district; if he steps beyond that line, it must be by the emperor's authority. Once a year every Russian has to swear before heaven that whatever the emperor does, or may do, is right. The privilege is paid for every twelve months. If a Russian wishes to change his residence, even to the next door, he must have permission from the police, wait three days before he moves, and pay for the privilege of locomotion, as he pays for every official paper he takes out; all of which makes it expensive to breathe, much more to move, in Russia. No contract is binding, no title to real estate can be transferred, except on stamped paper. The per centage that goes to the government as a tax for the sheet depends on the value of the property. Some of these sheets of paper bring the government from five hundred to two thousand dollars. Every Russian is a creature of the emperor. Everything that belongs to a Russian belongs to the emperor. The great estates are held by the nobles; but their titles exist at the will of the emperor. He can confiscate their property at any instant; and they are absolutely his slaves as are the meanest of his serfs.

"Only one great railway is finished in Russia: this is from St. Petersburg to Moscow. The Warsaw road is completed only thirty miles—from St. Petersburg to Gatchen. A portion of the rest of the road is graded, but nothing more has been done to it since the war began. They have no large canals in Russia; those which exist being only short sluices between the rivers to promote internal navigation. Among the public works of the empire, for fortification or defence, the strongest are those of Cronstadt, embracing the fortifications in the Baltic, all of which are built with an eye to the protection of this place. Cronstadt is the sheet-anchor of the capital. It is the chief stronghold of the empire. If Peter the Great could come from his tomb, he would compliment his successors for having carried out his original idea of protecting all approaches to the capital by sea. And yet Cronstadt came very near being taken last year. And it should have been taken. It was only a series of blunders that prevented it. If an American engineer who comprehended English naval affairs could have directed the fleet of Admiral Dundas last year, he would have taken Cronstadt.

But the admiral was afraid of infernal submarine machines; and on the day that everybody expected Cronstadt would be taken he retired! The English fleet threw shells into the town, which exploded and set the place on fire in several places. The fleet could have come up near enough to have supported their advanced gun batteries; and if a bold and well-directed movement had been made on that day, the town would have been carried or burned to ashes. Such was the opinion of the engineers of the Russian empire, who stood on the ramparts and looked on the scene. They expected it. Thus Russia was saved, for Cronstadt was spared.

"Cronstadt is about two miles in length by half a mile wide. It is strongly fortified on the south side, while it is open on the north. The channel being on the southern side, most of the guns are planted to command it. But with the light draft of boats which the allies are now building they could pass to the north side and open a deadly fire, where they would be little exposed. When they should once have passed Cronstadt they would be at the gates of St. Petersburg.

"But Sebastopol has been the scene of the deepest interest; and it is strange how little the world comprehends the enormous losses that Russia has suffered in that place. When the clouds of war began to blacken over Europe, and it was ascertained that Sebastopol was the point where the allies would strike their chief blow, preparations were made by Nicholas to concentrate his power in that direction; and he drained the empire of its best troops. When the war began, a large portion of the best trained divisions of the Russian empire were marched towards Sebastopol, numbering not less than 200,000. Their terrific losses, which were always greater than the allies supposed, were constantly supplied by new drains upon the best departments of the Russian army. It is not only probable, but certain, that up to the 1st of August, last year, the Russians had lost 300,000 picked men; and after the southern side of Sebastopol was taken, and the losses were accurately ascertained, the official report sent to St. Petersburg and the reports made in person by the commanders to the emperor settled it beyond a doubt, that from the 1st of August till the retreat to the north side of Sebastopol, the losses must have amounted to 75,000 more. Such were the private reports



of Prince Gortschakoff that were laid before the emperor.

“ ‘When the allies met the Russians at Sebastopol it was very nearly an even game. Europe had passed through an almost unbroken peace for a generation. Nicholas came to the throne when the revolutions of the Napoleon era were subsiding. He had begun life by studying the laws, the languages, the people, of all the European states. Nothing was left undone to make him the completest prince that ever sat upon a throne. Whatever the science, the arts, the experience of other civilised states had produced, became his by inheritance, by study, by combination, or by purchase. He had brought into his empire and clustered around his throne the finest minds and the most flexible resources of the civilised world. When the allies met him at Sebastopol, they had no surprises in store for him. His Gortschakoffs, Mentschikoffs, and other koffs, comprehended the whole system of warfare, from the point where Napoleon left it when he started for St. Helena, better than any other men in Europe. He had, in imitation of Peter the Great, served a long noviciate, and mastered the whole business of empire. It may be fairly asserted by an impartial American that Nicholas and his agents understood their business better than any general among the allies. The whole science of warfare was exhausted before Sebastopol was taken. Russia was not surprised at a single step; she was nowhere taken unawares. They said she could not fight in the open field; but at Balaklava and Inkermann the rolls of English chivalry were wreathed in crape. Americans don't like to hear the allies say that the Russians cannot fight. We all know that Englishmen and Frenchmen can fight; and with the terrific sacrifices the allies made in those open field battles, it is no compliment to their heroism to say that they did not have a formidable foe to deal with. From the battlements of Sebastopol gleamed the best chivalry of the Russian empire—there was witnessed the highest culmination of the military art in modern times.

“ ‘But Russia, in that heroic Iliad which blots out the heroism of whole ages, wasted her life, sacrificed the fruits of her long culture and science, and she has nothing left now but a few millions of serfs to come to the rescue if you refuse to make peace. She has buried her generals, her heroes,

the trained men of her empire. Their ashes are smouldering among the ashes of Sebastopol. Besides, her old emperor, who created that army and that system of defence and of warfare, is dead. He was the soul of every battalion, the commander of every division, present or absent. What is Russia now? We come to the question. Nicholas is dead, and in his grave is buried that *prestige* of Russian invincibility that it will take a lifetime to create, even under another man like him.

“ ‘But Alexander II. was not born a Nicholas. What has he got to work with?—The serfs of Russia. They are the negroes of our southern plantations, with not half their capacity—with none of their flexible ability or native instincts that give success to the movements of muscles. While an American engineer can go to the southern states and draft his labourers from the nearest plantations, to construct a great bridge or viaduct, or any other public work, they move in flexible masses entirely at the bidding of his will: the Russian serf touches his musket with little more intelligence than it would be held by a Panama monkey. The African, however inferior he may be by nature, cannot live under a republican government, in intercourse with his Anglo-Saxon master, without imbibing a higher idea of mind, and matter, and muscle, than the social and political system of Russia ever admits the serf to attain. If Russia continues the present war, or maintains her position towards the rest of Europe as she has taken it, she must draw and train a new army from her serfs. Her great army, that was the flower of her empire, the fruit of her science, the glory of her imperial system, has melted away before the assaults of the invincible allies. It is gone. She has no army now. But she is looking forward, for Russia is the longest-sighted empire that has existed since the time of the Cæsars.

“ ‘Let me tell you how the emperor recruits his men. He sends out an order, addressed to all the nobles of the empire, to draft and equip for a three years' campaign, or through the war, no matter how long it lasts, from one to four per cent of all their serfs. On the day appointed, at each central depôt of conscription the serfs blacken the towns. A much larger proportion of them is brought together than will be required. The military official of the empire passes down the lines where they are ranged for inspection. Every man he touches on the



shoulder steps out from the ranks and stands under the colours of the empire. The process is finished; the requisite number of serfs are in line of march. No reasons *pro* or *con.* are urged: the men have been touched by that imperial wand, and they march—where they know not. Let me repeat—for the words are the ‘Open Sesame’ to the Russian system—there is no will in Russia but the emperor’s. Individual subjectship, not to say citizenship, is unknown, while individuality there is treason. This taps the Russian butt. It shows an element of weakness there, which is entirely unable to cope with the enlightened intelligence of the individual man who comes from the Atlantic shore of Europe. The soldiers of Russia, that stood behind the ramparts of Sebastopol, were finished artists and mechanics; they were created by the sovereign will of the sublime genius of Nicholas. When that army faded away, the empire needed at least twenty years of discipline to fill their places. Now, the allies have Russia at a disadvantage. To go back for an instant—to hear some of the groans, and cries, and screams of widowed serf mothers, and serf wives, and serf mistresses, when those poor brutes move into the marching line to the battle of death, and certain death too, has made the stout heart of many a man give way, when that heart had stood for twelve months on the battlements of Sebastopol, and shot from every lightning glance of the eye defiance upon the hosts of Western Europe.

“Where, then, are the advantages, if the struggle is to be renewed next year? In answering this question we must look at the moral effect which has been produced upon Russia by the past history of this bloody war. In 1853 and 1854, although no war existed, the merchants or commercial agents of great European houses, whether Russian or not, as was their custom, went to the great commercial marts and centres of commerce all through Russia, and made their bargains as they were accustomed to do, for all the surplus products of the soil, which the noblemen depended upon for their revenue. The modes and means of communication in Russia are so slow, that all calculations of commerce in the line we have spoken of have to be made a year or two in advance; consequently those who raise hemp or who produce tallow make their contracts to take effect the next year, August being the month when these con-

tracts mature, and when this surplus of products is delivered and paid for, and from those points are distributed to different quarters. No matter if a war intervenes, the contracts must hold good on both sides; and now, as we shall see in a moment, Russia is suffering in a vital point, because it takes two years of war to make her feel the wound, all calculations of profits from the soil being made twelve months ahead. But when the next year comes, then, although peace may be proclaimed soon after that month of August, still the consequences of the war are felt. The nobleman who furnishes these products of the soil does not feel the pressure of a war or any interruption of commerce until the second year—the first year he is perfectly easy; but at this moment the revenue of every nobleman in the Russian empire is decimated, diminished, cut off.

“In the case of iron—for the sheet-iron of Russia is made in Siberia—there is even a longer retinue of evil consequences. It requires twelve months to get iron that is made in Siberia down to the markets of the frontier. Okaloff, Demidoff, and other Russian princes are the chiefs of this trade in Siberian iron. The amount of iron which they had received, that they would have contracted for during the second year of the war, but which was stowed away last August in their magazines, literally by the ten thousand cubic yards, would be enough to show any European merchant how vitally Russia must be suffering under the trammels and incubus of this engagement. The moral result of this conflict, with its attending circumstances, has left all classes in Russia (except a small circle that flutters about the court) deeply anxious for peace. The merchants want it, because their business is interrupted, and ruin will attend all their enterprises, unless they can once more, through the Baltic, reach their means of intercourse through the world. The nobles are cut off from their usual revenues, because these channels are stopped. The serfs are deeply discontented, because they are dragged away by hundreds of thousands from their homes to go into the army, and shoot down men they never saw, and of whom they know nothing. What must be the *esprit de corps* of a body of troops impressed into the service by the knout, and forced by the emperor, without knowing the reason why they are to fire off a gun? What can such men do against French-



men, every one of whom may live in old age as a marshal of the empire, if he is touched in the moment of victory by the commanding general, and reaches the palace of Napoleon III.? What can such men do against the sturdy unyielding troops of the British army, who will follow their flag if it goes through a sea of blood? The English troops have been in the habit of doing this thing for a thousand years. This illustrates the chivalry of the men who have fought, and will fight for ever, for Old England.

“Nicholas is dead. He was the soul of the empire. When his great soul left Russia the big bell cracked. Russia exhausted the fervour of her heroism and the flower of her chivalry at Sebastopol. She cannot during a lifetime reconstruct the fallen defences of her skill, and she has ceased to be formidable to the enlightened governments of Europe for the next generation. She has achieved more within the last year or two than she can achieve again for twenty years. Now is the time for the Western Powers to assert their authority. Russian diplomacy may overreach you in this coming peace conference, and while you go to sleep the savage may stand by his guns. As time goes on, civilisation may enervate your powers; vitality will flow into the heart of Russia, and your

children may wake up the slaves of the Cossacks.

“A good many people have been scattering themselves round over the civilised world, pretending to represent the facts in regard to Russia. Among others I might allude to a Colonel Schaffner.\* I have branded him as a pretender—a bloated eulogist of Russia. He never was able to inspire any respect for himself in America, and he has returned to his country to publish fabulous accounts of Russia, which are publicly denounced in New York by Russian gentlemen as base fabrications. They say that when Russia requires the aid and advocacy of such characters she will cease to be worthy of the name she bears. On the whole, Russia must halt. She has gone on so long in an undisputed career of conquest that the western nations had good grounds for jealousy, and perhaps alarm. She felt her strength—she did not know her weakness. Her people are suffering, and suffering deeply. All classes of her subjects are discontented. She cannot continue the war, for ‘her foes will become those of her own household.’ She is driven to make peace. Her solid walls of untrained serfs can offer no effectual barriers to the enlightened men who go from the civilised homes of Western Europe.”

## CHAPTER VI.

DESTRUCTION OF RUSSIAN DOCKS; SEVERE PUNISHMENT OF AN OFFICER OF A TRANSPORT VESSEL; ENTERTAINMENTS IN THE CAMP; MORE EXPLOSIONS AT THE DOCKS; NEWS ARRIVES THAT RUSSIA HAS ACCEPTED THE AUSTRIAN ULTIMATUM; ATROCIOUS MURDER OF A WOUNDED ARTILLERYMAN; A RUSSIAN CANNONADE; RELIGIOUS PROSELYTISM IN THE CAMPS; FINAL DESTRUCTION OF THE DOCKS, AND BLOWING UP OF FORT NICHOLAS; EXECUTION OF DAY, THE MURDERER OF THE ARTILLERYMAN; DESTRUCTION OF FORT ALEXANDER; RIFLE-SHOOTING MATCH; GRAND REVIEW IN THE CRIMEA; GENERAL CODRINGTON'S CENSURE OF NEWSPAPER CORRESPONDENTS; HEALTHY CONDITION OF THE TROOPS.

SWIFT as the summer's lightning, “which has ceased to be ere we can say it lightens,” the mind speeds on gossamer pinions to the Crimea, and once again, in imagination, we gaze upon the allied camps, the inmates of which are weary of looking upon the ruins of southern Sebastopol, and of won-

dering when the dreary struggle will terminate; military operations being for the time abandoned in consequence of the deep winter, which renders them almost impracticable.

We mentioned (page 40) that the first of the famous docks of Sebastopol was blown up by the French on the 22nd of December. On the last day of the year (1855) these destructive efforts were renewed; that is, the

\* An American who had been five or six months in Russia, and then gave a bombastic and untruthful account of the state of the country and people.



explosions were, for the mining operations had not been discontinued. On this occasion, both French and English were employed; the English having engaged to blow up a portion of their half of the docks, and the French to destroy the east docks, the entrance pier of the west dock, and their half of the left side of the basin which joined the English portion of the works. A few minutes before one, the drum was beaten for the thirty-nine French and four English engineers to light their port-fires. A few seconds passed in silence and expectation, when two taps on the drum gave the signal for all to be ready: another brief pause, and the drum beat one more tap to fire. Some minutes elapsed, and then there was a convulsion of the earth, a rumbling, and an explosion. Such was the violence of the charges, that large stones were hurled perpendicularly into the air, even, it is said, to the height of 900 feet. The English charges did not explode until nine-and-a-half minutes after the signal had been given. When the smoke cleared away, it was ascertained that four of the French charges and one of the English had not gone off. Still the demolition of the French east dock was complete; and the explosions of the English had demolished half the side wall of the basin. The French appear to have used too much powder, and the right floodgate being blown in against the left, had the effect of making the destruction of the left entrance pier look less complete than that of the rest of the dock. The quantity of powder expended in blowing up this dock alone was 10,000lbs; the twelve side charges each containing 500lbs.

After the explosion, the Russians fired a few shells across the harbour, but without doing any mischief. The French and English engineers then examined the ruins, and the charges that had not gone off were again fired. This time they exploded, and then the west and east docks of the French half, together with the left side of the large basin, even to the gates, were completely destroyed. General Codrington then asked Colonel Lloyd how long it would be before our engineers would be ready to blow up the bottom of their east dock? He was informed that Mr. Deane, usually known as the "infernal diver," who had charge of the voltaic batteries, would not be ready for two hours. Our three docks, on account of their being about four

feet lower than the two French docks and entrance, had about half a foot of water in each of them. The consequence was, that great difficulties had to be contended with; and, owing to the severity of the weather, the sappers suffered terribly, both by night and day. However, about five, the wires and cables were almost ready. In the bottom of the dock were ten charges, each of 162lbs., communicating with as many voltaic batteries, which were on the other side of the dockyard high white wall. At twenty minutes past five everything was prepared—the signal was given, and eight of the ten charges blew up, completely destroying the bottom of the dock. The French were much pleased at the success with which our engineers had worked under water.

Early in January the weather became very severe, though the hard and frosty ground was infinitely preferable to the wet and slushy state to which it was reduced when the cold gave way. It is said that water actually froze in the basins while the officers washed; the towels at the same time being as stiff as boards, and requiring thawing before they could be used. The men engaged in the land transport corps suffered the most severely, as, from the nature of their duties, their hands were subject to frost-bite. At this time a good deal of excitement prevailed among the masters and officers of transports in Balaklava harbour. The second officer of the *Star of the South*, a large steam transport of 18,000 tons, was subjected to the indignity of flogging, at the order of the provost-marshal. He had been taken to the guard-house on a charge of drunkenness, and as he denied being in that condition, he resisted capture. The next morning, Captain Frayne, of the *Star of the South*, and Captain Champion, of another of her majesty's steam transports, went to the guard-house to request the assumed offender might have a hearing, as he stated that he could produce witnesses to prove his sobriety when taken up. But the provost-marshal was peremptory, and the officer received eighteen lashes. Nor was this all; for one of the transport captains, being overheard by a soldier to remark to his companion that this was brutal treatment, was threatened with the like if he did not go on board his ship. Captains Champion and Frayne very naturally felt insulted by the threat of a disgraceful punishment, and laid a com-



plaint before Admiral Freemantle, but without obtaining any redress. The case of the second mate, the officer who was flogged, was a very hard one. He and his friends denied that he was intoxicated; and yet he not only suffered a shameful punishment, but lost his situation, which he at once gave up; feeling that after the disgrace to which he had been subjected, he could not expect respect from the crew. The poor man was afflicted with an impediment in his speech, which may have led to an error with respect to his condition. Such an instance of severity and superciliousness was calculated to create a bad feeling on the part of the transport service towards the officers of the army. It was, at the least, an instance of bad feeling and bad taste; and we record it here in the hope that, by keeping such events before the notice of the public at home, they may be the less likely to occur in the future. Those whose vice it is to abuse authority, must remember that these matters are always likely to be recorded against them.

With reference to the threat made use of to the captains, the writer of a private letter from the camp observed—"If the provost-marshal did cause a captain of a vessel to be flogged, you may expect that every one will instantly resign. Such, indeed, is said to be their determination; therefore it will be well to reflect before such harsh and very unnecessary measures are resorted to. In fact, our army cannot but feel grateful for the uniform kindness they have received from the naval department. At the same time, the provost-marshal is no doubt anxious to keep the Crimea from being another California; and the independent manner and firm speaking of our brave seamen, is likely to be very unpalatable to him, who is considered such an awful personage that no one dare even look awry at him: but he must learn to discriminate between the riffraff of Kadikoi and gentlemen holding the situation of captains of transports—gentlemen in every way his equal in birth, education, and rank; and he should not be permitted to stigmatise their free mode of speaking as 'cheeky';—cheeky being, in fact, a mere excuse for flogging any one. A provost-marshal should have great power; but it is not given him for tyrannical purposes; and a little inquiry, and sifting of evidence, before a fellow-creature is condemned to be flogged, it is not unreasonable to expect. Fancy—what is really true—the provost-marshal

bawling out to his subordinates, at four P.M., because the streets were not instantly cleared —'Seize hold of the first person you meet: it don't signify a — who; and flog him at once!'"

The weather was singularly variable, and passed rapidly from intense cold to a mild and pleasant temperature, with of course the usual amount of clayey mud. Before the middle of January young grass began to spring up, but much bitter weather was yet to come. During this long period of inaction the officers sought amusement, sometimes by a ball, at which the attendants were mostly of the masculine gender, for the ladies were limited to a few *vivandières* and shopkeepers; and at others by a dramatic performance. The following description of one of these latter entertainments we quote from the correspondent of the *Times* :—

"The fourth division of her Britannic majesty's army in the Crimea is rapidly acquiring the name of the 'fast division,' on account of the energy and vivacity of its efforts to be jolly under difficulties, and to dispel the tedium of winter in camp. Its greatest and most successful attempt in this way has unquestionably been the establishment of a theatre royal, with dresses, scenery, properties, orchestra, and all other requisites. Towards eight in the evening, from various points of the camp, the audience may be seen converging towards the edifice in which the performances take place. It needs a strong love of the drama or a great aversion to evenings at home to take a man from his hut at night in this season, and to send him floundering through the slough of despond, intersected with ditches and dotted with holes, on which stands the British camp before Sebastopol. In the absence of hackney coaches lanterns are in request, and there is never a complaint of empty benches, but, on the contrary, tickets are greatly in demand. The theatre (which is soon to be exchanged for a larger one, about to be constructed) is half hut half tent, wooden sides, and a framework roof filled up with alternate breadths of canvas and chintz; small shelves, fixed round the walls, support candles; the orchestra, including three violins, enlivens the audience in the intervals of the performance with waltzes and polkas, interspersed with such popular airs as 'Sir Roger de Coverley,' 'Pop goes the Weasel,' &c. Boxes and gallery there are none, but one large pit, with rows of benches, not very solid, and which occasionally give way, depositing



their occupants upon the floor, which, in such weather as we have lately had (and thanks to Crimean accumulations on the boots of comers-in), is unpleasantly apt to assume the appearance of a muddy road. But such small *desagrégements* as these are trifles in Crim Tartary, where mud and broken benches are too common to excite attention or cause annoyance. The curtain, neatly constructed out of an old tent, draws aside, and the play begins. The first pieces performed were *To Paris and Back for Five Pounds*, and *Box and Cox Married and Settled*. These had a very satisfactory run. A week ago they were replaced by two other farces. Here is the printed bill of the play—not sold at the doors:—

“THEATRE ROYAL.—FOURTH DIVISION.

“This evening Her Majesty’s Servants will perform  
“*A Phenomenon in a Smock Frock.*

“CHARACTERS.

Mr. Sowerberry . . . Captain Earle, 57th Regt.  
John Buttercup (a Milkman) . . . Major Lord A. G. Russell, Rifle Brigade.  
Mr. Barker . . . Captain Hamilton, 68th Regt.  
James (Mr. S.’s Servant) Major Garrett, 46th Regt.  
Mrs. Barker . . . Mr. Stuart, 68th Regt.  
Betsy Chirrup (Mr. S.’s Housekeeper) . . . Mr. Lacy, 63rd Regt.  
“After which,

“*The Moustache Movement.*

Mr. Simon Swosser (in the Law) . . . Major Garrett, 46th Regt.  
Captain Altamont Kidd (in the Army) . . . Major Lord A. G. Russell, Rifle Brigade.  
Lieut. Cornelius O’Pake (formerly in the same, Swosser’s nephew) . . . Dr. Shelton, 48th Regt.  
Anthony Soskins (a Lawyer’s Clerk) . . . Captain Earle, 57th Regt.  
John (a Waiter, as may be anticipated) . . . Mr. Light, 68th Regt.  
Butcher (with a Moustache) Mr. Shaw, 21st Regt.  
Baker (with ditto) . . . Mr. Harrington, Rifle Brigade.  
Two Individuals in the Police . . . Messrs. ———  
Louisa Fitzjohnson (a Milliner) . . . Mr. Lacy, 63rd Regt.  
Eliza Swosser (Swosser’s daughter) . . . Mr. Saunderson, 68th Regt.  
Sally (a Housemaid, as will be naturally expected) . . . Mr. Hamond, 46th Regt.

“Doors open at half-past 7 o’clock.

“Performance to commence at 8 o’clock precisely.”

“From the preceding you perceive that the fourth division *corps dramatique* is entirely of the masculine gender. You must not on that account imagine that we have not highly fascinating *jeunes premières* and most seduc-

tive *soubrettes*. Notwithstanding the absence of stays Mr. Lacy was a charming Betsy Chirrup, and his agonies of apprehension and jealousy, as Louisa Fitzjohnson, drew tears (of laughter) from the audience; Mr. Stuart was highly correct as Mrs. Barker, and Mr. Saunderson cast down his eyes with becoming modesty in the character of the attorney’s daughter. Of course, the ladies were got up with an ample amount of buckram and padding, and, although they all looked rather solid armfuls, one could not feel at all surprised at their power over the hearts of their respective admirers. Of the male characters, the most perfect was that of John Buttercup, extremely well acted by Lord Alexander Russell, who showed considerable experience of the stage. Captain Earle was very comic and Buckstonian as the moustached attorney’s clerk; Dr. Shelton was ferociously Hibernian as Cornelius O’Pake, every hair of his whisker hinting at slugs in a sawpit, and his demeanour, when arrested by the two policemen, was that of a lion, overpowered but untamed. The said policemen, be it observed (they were very correctly attired in blue, with the due allowance of letters and numbers on their collars), were handboys of the rifles, each about three feet high. Their heads barely reached to Lieutenant O’Pake’s elbow, and their desperate efforts not to grin, as they hung on by his wrists, resulted in a series of physiognomical contortions quite painful to contemplate. The minor characters were all respectably filled, and the scenery (painted by that distinguished artist Mr. Shaw, of the 21st fusiliers), although not quite equal to Grieve or Beverley, passed muster very well in a Crimean hut. The performance over, the curtain was again lifted, and there was a dance upon the stage, in which the actresses displayed infinite grace, although they rather detracted from the feminine effect by exchanging their bonnets for hats and forage-caps, and by placing cigars between their beautiful lips. The first two performances, on Saturday and Monday last, were for the men, the two succeeding ones for the officers of the fourth division, and those of last night and to-night for officers of the army generally.”

In another direction instruction took the place of amusement, and some large huts were converted into educational rooms, where lectures were given, and probably produced good results. The following is a list of lectures delivered in the third division,



at a period somewhat later than the one to which we are referring:—

“The library and reading-hut of this division is now open for the use of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers, between the hours of eleven and seven o’clock, when books can be taken out or exchanged, by application to the librarian in attendance, on soldiers giving their name, regiment, and company. Soldiers taking out books will be held responsible for them.

“The following educational lectures have been announced, and which will be followed by others on each succeeding Wednesday evening (as long as practicable), commencing at six o’clock:—

“On Wednesday, Feb. 6, ‘The Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties,’ by the Rev. B. Harris, LL.B., officiating chaplain.

“On Wednesday, Feb. 13, ‘Places of Interest in Old Testament History,’ by the Rev. H. Wheeler, B.A., assistant officiating-chaplain.

“On Wednesday, Feb. 20, on ‘Temperance,’ by Sir James Alexander, colonel of the 14th.

“On Wednesday, Feb. 27, ‘Mohammedanism,’ by the Rev. Henry W. M. Egan, M.A., principal chaplain.”

It must not, however, be supposed that the soldiers had nothing to do but to amuse or improve themselves. They had a good deal of work in road-making, bringing up huts from Balaklava, and conveying rations. Much time also was spent in drill and parade, rifle practice, and military promenades.

On the 18th of January a further advance was made in the destruction of the docks at Sebastopol. In the evening our engineers succeeded in blowing up the bottom of the west dock, which was one foot under water. To accomplish this they used no less than eight charges of powder, each of which consisted of 161 lbs. The following day they endeavoured to destroy the east pier between the entrances to the east and centre docks. In this they were not so successful, as the electrical wires had been disarranged, and out of seven charges of powder only four exploded. Of the charges that missed, two consisted of 400 lbs. of powder each, and the third of 800 lbs. Several explosions were made by the French with various success. In one instance they fired a charge of 2,000 lbs of powder, under eighteen feet of water. By this explosion a volume of water was hurled thirty feet into the air, and fish were scattered about, but the operation did

not altogether fulfil the intention of the projectors.

On the 24th of January, the mails from England brought to the camp the news that Russia had accepted the Austrian *ultimatum*, and that it was highly probable that peace would speedily be concluded. “There may,” said the *Times*’ correspondent, “be a few carpet warriors to whom the intelligence is welcome; but war is the soldier’s harvest. ‘A bloody war and a sickly season’ is an old though hardly a philanthropic toast among hungerers after promotion; and although many now here would doubtless have been glad to escape, whether on the plea of ill-health, or the pretext of ‘urgent private affairs,’ from the wearisome routine of an eventless winter, few contemplate with satisfaction the prospect of a cessation of hostilities. There has been much malediction and strong language going on among all ranks, from generals high in command to junior ensigns. . . . I am assured that sundry captains in line regiments, who will be twenty years of age come Midsummer or Michaelmas, have been heard to inveigh against the hard fate which leaves them on the eve of peace, and, at their advanced period of life, to vegetate in so humble a rank. Among the better class of non-commissioned officers, I should think there would be nearly as many malcontents as among their commissioned superiors, since promotion from the ranks has of late greatly increased, and the re-formation of the land transport corps is giving commissions to many. The changes that this war will have worked in the British service are numerous and important. The character of the army will, to a certain extent, be altered by the promotion of non-commissioned officers, by which its aristocracy may suffer; but I doubt whether its efficiency will be impaired. Great care, of course, should be, and I presume is taken, to promote none but steady, trustworthy, and especially sober men. The sad mortality of the last eighteen months has filled the army with boy subalterns and captains, the greater part of them without military education, and with nothing extraordinary to recommend them beyond gentle breeding, and the spirit and courage innate in most Englishmen. An admixture of experienced and practical soldiers, raised from the ranks, is certainly advisable, and, indeed, is hardly avoidable, consistently with the safety and efficiency of our army, how-



ever much it may be calculated to impair the polish and refinement of a mess-table, and to shock the feelings of rosewater *militaires*, who shudder at the misapplication of an aspirate, and swoon on beholding fish eaten with a knife. But this campaign has done much to rub off the coxcombrity of the service, without, as I believe, impairing its gentlemanly character and tone, which it is hoped will not materially suffer by the considerable promotion lately given to sergeants."

The same letter from the camp from which we extract the preceding, contains also the following interesting incident:—"A flag of truce went across in a boat a few days ago to within a short distance of Fort Constantine, to give up a Greek colonel in the Russian service, named Mento, who commanded a battalion at Balaklava when the allies arrived in the Crimea, and has been a prisoner ever since. He is a man of advanced age, and it was resolved to let him rejoin his family, which was sent over to the Russian lines some time ago. On the occasion of his liberation, a touching incident occurred. Conversing with the English officers who accompanied him, the old colonel expressed his hope that he should find the greater part of his family alive and well, though he had heard from them but once since their separation. His son, he said, he had no expectation of seeing again. He was a naval officer serving in Sebastopol during the siege, and he knew too well how dreadfully the Russian navy had suffered, to cherish a hope that his child had been spared. The British flag of truce approached the shore, and was met by a Russian boat, when those with whom the colonel had just been conversing, were surprised and affected to see him clasped in the arms of the lieutenant commanding. The son, already mourned as dead, had been sent, either accidentally, or more probably from delicate kindness on the part of our brave antagonists, to receive his father from captivity."

We must draw still further on the correspondent of our leading journal for some particulars concerning the destruction of the docks, to which we have already referred. Writing on the 28th of January, he said—"Although to most persons, the aspect of these docks has probably become well known, from descriptions and drawings, I will briefly explain their position and arrangement. They extend nearly due

north and south (a little to the east of north and west of south), and consist of three inner docks, a basin, and two outer docks, with a lock between them. The French undertook the destruction of the outer docks, the lock, and the northern half of the basin; the English that of the inner docks and the southern half of the basin. The lock, although capacious, was easier to destroy than a dock, its circumference being a plain stone wall, instead of heavy stone steps fit for a giant's staircase. The French have done their share of the work very effectually, and I see nothing that remains for them to destroy. For various reasons the English works were more gradual in their progress, but have not been less thoroughly carried out; and, if a non-professional, but highly interested observer may express an opinion, they do great credit to the scientific skill of the engineers to whom they were intrusted. I believe the first idea was to blow up the whole at once, which would probably have given a more picturesque and, to appearance, more thorough ruin. But this plan was abandoned by reason of the dampness of the ground. Water flowed in from the ravine in rear of the docks, and rose in the shafts of the mines. It is probable that, had the engineers waited to explode the numerous mines until all of them were complete, the powder would have become damp in many of them, and would not have ignited; so it was resolved to blow up a little at a time. It is difficult for any one who has not seen these docks, both before and since their destruction, fully to appreciate the magnitude of the operations, and the force that must have been applied to root up and utterly overthrow such massive constructions, such huge blocks of granite so firmly cemented, such mighty timbers, which lie snapped asunder like reeds, or rent into huge splinters. A stroll about the environs of Sebastopol, and the sight of the enormous cannon-balls and fragments of monster shells that strew the ground in all directions, impress one with a respectful idea of the power of powder; but the respect is vastly increased by a view of the havoc it has played in such stupendous works as the docks—structures formed to last for ages, and to the duration of which no limit could be assigned. The difficulty of destruction was enhanced in the case of the docks allotted to the English by the fact that these were in part hewn out of



solid rock. The basin thus formed was lined with huge masses of stone, and between rock and stone earth was filled in. The engineers availed themselves of the soft interval for their mines, and blew the walls and the counter-forts inwards; but the rock remains, marking in places the outline of the docks. The counter-forts were of prodigious strength and thickness. Then there was a deep covered drain outside the docks, for the purpose of emptying them when desired, of which the engineers, of course, made use. Greatly incommoded at first by the water that flowed down the ravine in their rear, they overcame this difficulty at no small expense of labour. Their mode of operating against the docks varied according to circumstances, but seems to have consisted in great measure of regular mines, with shaft and gallery. Two of these shafts, down which I yesterday looked, are about thirty feet deep. They are situated one on each side of the western dock, and in one of them, which is about fifty feet from its entrance (between it and the centre dock), an unfortunate accident occurred on Saturday last. The engineers had blown up the eastern pier, or extremity of that side of the dock, to which a gate is attached—one of the jaws of the dock, as I may say, which are closed by the gates; and this explosion seems to have been as complete in its effect as any that have taken place. The huge mass was lifted up and dislocated, and the enormous transverse beams, masses of black timber of incalculable strength, were torn from their fastenings, snapped in twain, and remained with their splintered ends resting against each other, in the shape of a house-roof. Below the pointed arch thus formed is a black chasm, and heaped around are piles of displaced stone and dusty ruins. Everything is removed and riven without being scattered; and this is the object at which our engineers have constantly aimed. They have sought all along, and generally with much success, so to proportion the charges of their mines that, while everything should be overturned, rooted out, and thrown into the utmost confusion (literally topsyturvy), as little as possible should be thrown out of the crater. And, accordingly, most of their explosions have not had the appearance which would popularly be anticipated from the letting off of two, three, or more thousand pounds of powder. There was no diverging gush of stones, but a sort of rumbling convulsion of the ground; a

few blocks and fragments were cast up to a moderate height; but the effect upon the spectator was that of some gigantic subterranean hand just pushing the masses a short distance out of their places, turning them upside down, and rolling them over each other in a cloud of smoke and dust. There were probably two reasons for the care with which the engineers measured their charges. One may be that by leaving the docks encumbered and filled up with their own ruins, they bequeath a harder task to any future rebuilder than if they scattered the stone linings far and wide, and left the chasms comparatively clear. The second reason may be, that by more violent explosions they would probably have shaken down buildings, overthrown the dockyard wall (which already totters and loses stones from its summit when a mine is let off), and perhaps have caused accidents. As it is, these operations have been the occasion of extremely little loss of life or injury to limb. The Russians have fired a great deal at times, but their shots have not told; and, although their fire has been occasionally accurate enough, shell after shell falling into the docks, at others they have made very bad practice, shells intended for the inner docks falling near the shears, or in other directions wide of the mark. A couple of men of the 18th regiment were killed, a sapper was wounded a few days ago, not very severely, and I think there have been one or two other men hurt. Of accidents occurring from the explosions I have heard of none, except the one on Saturday last, referred to above, and which was of a peculiar nature. The explosion by the dock gate had taken place, and some sappers were busy at the bottom of a shaft forty or fifty feet off, when a noxious gas, generated by the explosion, entered the gallery, filtering through the intervening earth. The effect was gradual—one after another the men became giddy, and some of them insensible. With infinite alacrity and courage, non-commissioned officers and soldiers descended the shaft, braving a danger which seemed the greater because its extent and nature were unknown, to succour their comrades, and as they got down they in turn were overpowered by the offensive gas. Major Nicholson and Lieutenant Graham also went down, and suffered in consequence. The former was insensible, when, supported by his men, he reached the top of the shaft, and it was some time before he



recovered. To sum up the accident; one man perished, and seven or eight were seriously affected, but have since recovered. A man went down into the mine, after the accident, holding in his mouth the extremity of a tube, down which air was pumped to him, and he walked about with perfect impunity, and collected the men's caps and things they had left behind. The man who died was a soldier of the 48th regiment. Two surgeons were on the spot, and tried every means to recover him, but in vain.

"The destruction of the far-famed docks of Sebastopol, which has been for some weeks in progress, and is now on the point of termination, is an event in the annals of military engineering. A regular diary of the operations has been kept by the officers engaged, and this, should it ever be published, cannot fail to be most interesting. War has stern necessities; but there is something lamentable in seeing such great and magnificent works as these docks were thus pitilessly destroyed. All that yesterday afternoon remained (worthy of mention) was the walls of the western dock, and their fragments; before the week is out, these will be added to the mass of rubbish. It may give some idea of the labour necessary to reconstruct these docks, to say, that after clearing away the ponderous ruins, it would be necessary to dig down some twenty feet below the original bottom—so much has the earth been disturbed by the successive explosions—to drive piles and use concrete, and form an entirely new foundation. The French explosion I mentioned in a recent letter, as having been effected by sinking in the water a huge iron vessel full of powder, was intended to destroy the bottom at one of the entrances, and appears to have succeeded better than was supposed, a chasm eight feet deep having been ascertained by sounding. The works of our engineers have been very successful and creditable to their skill and foresight. Few mines out of the large number that have been fired, failed to explode. The strong report of immediate peace that prevailed the other day, caused the works to be accelerated by every possible means, and I understand that there was then a failure or two. The operations must have been replete with valuable experience to the officers engaged in them."

Our camp had been singularly free from crime. Petty offences, such as theft and

drunkenness, existed, as they always will, among great bodies of men; but serious offences had been very rare. However, on the 25th of January, a murder of peculiar atrocity was committed by a miscreant who wore the British uniform. A young soldier of the 77th regiment, named Day, under nineteen years of age, but of bad character, was placed in the hospital of his regiment for wounds inflicted by himself on his hand, with the view of escaping from his military duties. The contemptible fellow had drawn a razor across his fingers, with the intention of mutilating himself in such a manner that he might not be able to handle a musket. In the same hospital was an artilleryman, who had been severely wounded in the chest at the great explosion of the 15th of November, by the bursting of a shell. The poor fellow was said to be slowly recovering, and had been placed in a hut by himself for the advantage of better air and special treatment. The soldier of the 77th, whose injury to his hand did not prevent him from walking about, occasionally went into this hospital hut, and rendered little services to the artillerymen. One evening (Friday the 25th of January) he went to request the loan of a few shillings, which his sick comrade readily consented to grant. Taking from beneath his pillow a purse to get the required sum, he showed twelve sovereigns which were contained in it. The applicant had been a London thief before he became a soldier, and the sight of this money instigated him to a fiendish act. Waiting until the following morning, he took an opportunity when all the hospital attendants were away from the hut, and entering it he seized a bar of iron, and aimed a blow at the head of the artilleryman, whom he supposed to be asleep. The latter, roused by the approach of the villain, raised his arm to protect himself, and called out "Murder!" The arm was broken, and a second blow stunned the unhappy man; but the alarm brought the hospital sergeant to the hut before the criminal could effect his escape. He resisted, but was soon captured, and committed to prison to take his trial for the murder. The unfortunate artilleryman lingered until the afternoon of the next day, and then expired. The murderer, who had not long enlisted in the 77th, confessed that he had done so to escape the consequences of a robbery he had committed in England.

On the night of the 29th of January, the Russians on the north side of Sebastopol



opened a very heavy fire against the town and its suburbs. So startling a cannonade had not been heard since the famous capture of the south side. It commenced at about half-past nine, with a rapid fire from a battery towards the head of the harbour, and soon extended to a furious cannonade from all the forts and batteries on the north side. The fire was principally directed against that part of the Karabelnaia suburb where the docks were lying in ruins, and the part of Sebastopol immediately behind Fort Nicholas. Many of the projectiles fell into the water at the entrance of the south harbour, and into the Karabelnaia port. So frequently was the "plump" of solid shot, and the loud splash from fragments of shells heard in this direction, that many surmised that the Russians anticipated our being on the start to make an attack on the other side, or that we were engaged in operations for the purpose of blowing up some of the sunken ships off the entrance to the south harbour. When the Russians first opened fire, an English sentinel near the ruins of Fort Paul gave the alarm, and stated that he saw a number of boats crossing the harbour. Other soldiers on guard corroborated his assertion, and a musketry fire was poured in the direction along which the boats were supposed to be advancing. The night was dark and starless: no Russian boats were discovered; and it was doubted whether the men had not been deceived by their imaginations. The solitary sentinel, straining his eyes into the gloom, and watching with a painful rigidity, might easily have fancied that he saw the form of boats on the black water, and even that he heard the stealthy dip of oars into its silent bosom; and what one thought he saw, others might have felt satisfied that they saw too. If there were

\* In a subsequent letter, the *Times'* correspondent spoke thus on this point:—"I am informed, however, by French officers who were in Sebastopol on the night in question, that two boats put off from their side with the intention of setting fire to the last-remaining Russian steamer moored at the entrance of Soukhaya Creek. They were provided with the requisite combustibles, *cordons, incendiaries*, &c.; but as they were pulling over they crossed seven Russian boats, bound on no one knows what errand. The Russians did not meddle with them, and of what ensued accounts differ, but the steamer was not set on fire, and one of the French boats returned to shore with a hole through her bottom and sank by the side of the quay. A man whose arm was taken off by the same shell that damaged the boat, is since dead. The Muscovite shot and shell fell thick into both the English and French parts of the town, and there were several narrow escapes, but little real

any Russian boats, it is probable that they retired on finding the garrison of the Karabelnaia on the alert. This was probably the case, as it is known that sometimes on dark nights Russian boats moved about the harbour, and approached the south side, for the purpose of making observations.\* It is supposed that the heavy fire from the north side was elicited by the probability that the Russians had observed lights, and perhaps heard sounds of working parties, about Fort Nicholas, as the French were busily employed in undermining that formidable fort with the intention of destroying it. Notwithstanding the fury of the bombardment, which continued for about an hour, it was almost harmless. Beyond a few trifling casualties, nothing resulted except the battering some of the shattered ruins into still more complete destruction. "The heavy fire of this cannonade," said a spectator, "attracted many from the camps to the ridges above, overlooking the harbour and north side. The spectacle from these points of view was very fine. Each gun, as it was fired, threw a momentary glare over its immediate neighbourhood, and lit up the surface of the roadstead. The prominent buildings of the town, the surrounding hills, the assembled groups, appeared and disappeared each instant. Flash followed flash in rapid succession, more rapidly than the eye could turn from one end of the north heights to the other, to observe the work from which it proceeded. Shells from the summit of Fort Constantine, and from all the forts and batteries close up to Inkermann, hurried through the air. Occasionally, as many as eight or ten of these fiery meteors were flying forward at the same instant, all converging towards the same focus. No sooner did a bright flash appear, than the moment damage. As to the tale of the Russians having intended to land, that appears to me absurd. They are doubtless well aware of the strength of the garrisons of Sebastopol and Karabelnaia; and if they intended to try anything, it would hardly be with seven boatloads of men. To land without an instant alarm being given would be impossible, for the French sentries are at ten paces from each other. I recently saw, by-the-by, in an extract from a St. Petersburg paper, an account of a landing effected by a small party of Russians, who wandered about for some time, and before returning to their boats killed or severely wounded an English sentinel. The result of all the inquiries I have made is to induce me to think this story a mere fabrication, intended doubtless to redound to the honour and glory of the attacking party. At any rate, I am positively assured that no English sentry has been missed, or found killed or wounded at his post."



after, the spot from whence it issued, lapsed into complete darkness, and so it remained until another flash, equally vivid, illuminated the spot. The distance caused the sounds of the successive discharges to reach the ear, long after the flames which had accompanied them had passed from the sight. To the usual uproar of the artillery, and the ordinary whizzing rush of the shot, increasing in force the nearer they approached, there were added the peculiar crashing noises of falling masonry, echoing through the empty streets of the town and suburb; and every now and then the dull, heavy thump of the shot as they struck the water in the harbour. Turning from the scene of the bombardment, everything around was in impenetrable darkness and obscurity, one spot alone excepted. This was in the direction of the Balaklava valley, where either a burning hut, or a watchfire larger than usual, cast a red glare into the sky."

The chaplains present with our army in the Crimea represented the three forms of Christianity most predominant in Great Britain; namely, that of the church of England, that of the Presbyterian church, and that of the Roman catholic church. Eventually Wesleyanism also found its representative; and an injudicious desire for proselytism forced its way into the camp. A person who was said to be the authorised agent of a religious society in England, addressed himself to the indiscreet labour of distributing Italian bibles among the Sardinian soldiers, and of endeavouring to convert them to protestantism. The result was, that General de la Marmora complained to General Codrington, who desired him to deal with the person in question according to the Sardinian law, if he should be caught repeating the offence. "The missionary in question," observed a Crimean correspondent, "notwithstanding that his labours are facilitated by a perfect acquaintance with the Italian language, has not been very fortunate in his results. I am assured that he has not effected a single conversion. The Sardinians take the books just as the Spanish smugglers, and muleteers, and gipsies took the tracts which a more celebrated missionary, Bible Borrow, pressed upon their acceptance: but it is much to be doubted whether they read them; and it is quite clear that they do not profit by them to the extent of embracing protestantism. The good understanding between the Sardinians and the English is too perfect to be affected

by trifles; but intermeddlings of the kind referred to are strongly to be condemned."

The last operations with regard to the docks took place on the 1st of February, and, on the following day, General Codrington forwarded the following despatch and enclosure to Lord Panmure. The enclosure contains a summary of the proceedings of the engineers, related by Colonel Lloyd, who was in command of that body:—

My Lord,—The destruction of the docks of Sebastopol is now completed; the sides of the last dock were blown in yesterday morning, small parts of the wall here and there only remaining. Thus the whole of the canal of entrance and north docks in charge of the French, the basin in our mutual charge, and the south docks in English charge, are separate but shapeless masses of dirt; heavy broken stones, split beams of timber, and shattered gates protruding from the heap of confusion.

The labour of destruction has been difficult; these fine works were formed in the middle ravine at its outlet in an inner and sheltered part of the harbour, one of the natural watercourses from the plateau on which we are encamped. This end of the ravine, about 700 yards from its mouth, seems to have been filled in so as to create a great artificial dam of earth, which, with the steep banks on each side, form three sides of a raised enclosure looking down upon the docks. A solid stone wall, much struck by shot, crowns this sort of natural square; the fine but shattered barracks standing still higher on the left, with the sheds and dock-yard buildings, the masting sheers, and a long quay to Fort Paul in front jutting into the harbour, show how well adapted all was for its purpose. It is now a picture of destruction, desolation, and silence; there lies against the quay the half-sunken hull of a vessel, and in the harbour beyond the only things breaking the surface of the water are the lower masts of sunken ships of war.

The drainage of the water of the middle ravine must, however, pass through to the harbour somewhere, and it was this that so much impeded the shafts; for the water from rains often stood two feet high over the floor of the docks, and thus of course filled the shafts themselves. Some details of the execution of these are given in the enclosed summary from Colonel Lloyd, commanding the royal engineers, the immediate executive officers being Colonel Gordon and Major Nicholson.



Amid great difficulties of cold and wet, very severe frost at one time, and perpetually recurring pressure at another, the work went steadily on; and great praise is due to all those concerned—the engineers and sappers, parties of the royal artillery, the 18th regiment, and latterly of the 48th regiment. These parties return to their duty to-morrow, after constant and laborious work. The casualties have been but six, of which two only have been fatal, and one man of the 48th regiment was lost by foul air in a shaft; after several vain attempts by Major Nicholson, other officers, and men—themselves descending at great risk—the poor fellow's body was brought up, but life was gone. Your lordship will see that Colonel Lloyd expresses his obligation to Mr. Deane and the chief engineer of her majesty's ship *Royal Albert*, for their assistance. The voltaic battery, we must confess, did not always succeed; it seems to require great nicety in preparation; but in those cases in which I saw it succeed the effect was perfect—ignition and its result, the shake of the ground, the heaving up of the mass, seemed to be instantaneous.

The destruction of other things will continue.

I have, &c.,

W. J. CODRINGTON, General commanding.  
The Lord Panmure, &c.

(Enclosure.)

Head-quarters, Camp, Sebastopol, Feb. 1.

Sir,—After a period of three months' unceasing labour in the dockyard, for the destruction of the docks, in compliance with Lord Panmure's orders, it affords me very great satisfaction to report, for your excellency's information, the termination of our exertions in the demolition of that portion allotted to the English, which consisted of the three docks on the south side, and one half of the east and west sides of the basin.

The result of our operations has been the perfect destruction of the whole, the foundations being completely torn up. The length of time occupied in effecting the above object has, I regret, far exceeded what had been anticipated, owing to many circumstances over which no human being could have any control. Your excellency, I believe, is aware that on the morning of the 16th of December, 1855, after a very heavy and continuous fall of rain, all the shafts which had been sunk behind the revetment walls of the docks were found to

have twenty feet of water in them, the shafts being thirty feet deep; and the shafts along the bottoms of the docks, which had been sunk to the depth of twelve feet, were not only quite full of water, but had two feet six inches of water above the floors of the docks themselves. A very large party was employed day and night endeavouring to reduce the water, and effected this object but slowly, as the water continued to find its way in by percolation. At this stage of the work the wet weather was suddenly succeeded by intense frost, which for some days rendered our pumps useless, thus causing a further delay, and obliging us to bale the water out of the shafts, resuming the pumping as soon as the pumps would work again, which has been continued to the very last.

It was the intention to have destroyed one entire dock at a time; but owing to the influx of water, such an arrangement was obliged to be abandoned, and such charges only as could from time to time be prepared were fired, the pumping in very many cases being kept up day and night until the last moment. The bottoms and sites were blown up before the sides were destroyed, which enabled us to be satisfied that the former were thoroughly demolished. I must observe that, as the demolition of the northern portion was carried out by the French, it is incumbent on me to explain why their operations were not subjected to as many difficulties as fell to our lot. Their docks were four feet higher in level than ours, and in no instance had they, I understand, any water to contend against, or, at least, so small a quantity as to be scarcely appreciable. Their charges in the bottoms were not more than six feet deep, whereas ours averaged ten feet six inches in depth.

Though the external effect of some of our explosions may not appear great, I am happy to say that every portion of the masonry is either absolutely torn down or left in so dangerous a condition that it will add very much to the difficulties of rebuilding. I was extremely anxious that the facilities afforded by her majesty's government for the employment of voltaic batteries on a large scale, as sent out by the admiralty under Mr. Deane, should be fairly tested under the most favourable circumstances. I applied to Vice-admiral Sir E. Lyons, who kindly offered the services of Mr. Deane, submarine engineer, to carry



out the voltaic operations; and this gentleman had every assistance in skilled labour afforded him from the royal sappers and miners. Many failures having taken place in firing the charges by electricity, owing to different causes, I am inclined to doubt its advantages as applicable generally to military purposes. The pair of dock gates ordered to be taken down and sent as trophies to England, were removed with considerable difficulty, being very massive and strongly put together with bolts, nuts, &c., which had become rusty.

I cannot say too much in praise of the exertions both of officers and men, including a party of 350 of the 18th and 48th regiments, in addition to the royal sappers and miners, amounting to eighty-five, in the destruction of the docks, though they had to work, for the greater part of the time, day and night, during the severest weather; and in having brought this service to a successful issue, after so many drawbacks, which, instead of causing despair and dispiriting those employed, only stimulated them to renewed exertions. I should be remiss in my duty were I to omit acknowledging the very valuable assistance I have received throughout from Colonel Gordon, C.B., the executive officer Major Nicholson, who was the resident engineer, and Lieutenants Cumberland, Graham, and C. Gordon, royal engineers; their unremitting zeal, attention, and devotion to the work, in accomplishing this troublesome task, under difficulties of no ordinary nature, claim my warmest thanks. I am also much indebted to Mr. Deane, submarine engineer, whose valuable services in preparing and firing most of the mines by voltaic action, were kindly placed at my disposal by his excellency Vice-admiral Sir E. Lyons. I must not omit to acknowledge the professional aid received from the chief and assistant engineers of her majesty's ship *Royal Albert* (until that ship sailed for Malta), in the taking to pieces of the dock gates. In connexion with this service, the assistance afforded by a large party of the royal artillery, placed at my disposal by Lieutenant-general Sir Richard Dacres, and under the superintendence and direction of Lieutenant-colonel Bent, royal engineers, I cannot but greatly appreciate.—I have, &c.,

E. T. LLOYD,

Lieutenant-colonel Royal Engineers.

His Excellency General Sir W. Codrington,  
K.C.B., Commander of the Forces.

On the 4th of February the famed Russian Fort Nicholas was utterly destroyed by the French engineers. This important building was originally armed with 192 guns in three tiers, and the powder used in blowing it up amounted to 54,000 kilogrammes, or nearly 119,000 lbs.\* Fort Nicholas occupied nearly the whole of the promontory of land dividing the south harbour from Artillery Bay, commanded the entrance to the roadstead, and swept with its guns the whole surface of the water. Next to Fort Constantine it was perhaps the most celebrated of the fortifications in the Russian territory on the Black Sea. Looking toward the sea, it exhibited a plain stone front, with two lines of embrasures at regular intervals, one above the other; the monotonous appearance of the long lines being broken only by a central projection and observatory above. To the east of the central projection the guns were in three tiers, the uppermost tier being on the roof; but in the western half there were only two tiers, and none on the roof. Seen in reverse, the appearance was that of two long galleries, one above the other; the side towards the spectator being built so as to show a succession of arched openings with balustrades. These arches corresponded with the bombproof casemates, each of which was prepared to receive one gun. Its general form was that of a horseshoe, the east end being the most curved; and the part of the plain solid masonry of the front which was thus brought into view near the opening of the south harbour, formed a striking contrast to the view of a person looking from the heights above the town, with the light and elegant series of arcades which characterised the remainder of the structure. It was always one of the first buildings which was noticed by a stranger going towards Sebastopol by the Woronzoff-road; and one reason was, besides those already named, that it bounded the view of the town for a considerable space towards the sea. Its outline was thus strongly marked by the surface of water beyond. On account of its strength and distance from the approaches, the women and children who remained in Sebastopol at the commencement of the siege, were removed to this fort for protection. Subsequently, it was for some months the residence of General Osten-Sacken, General Todtleben, and other officers of distinction.

\* General Codrington says 106,000 lbs. of powder were in the mines.



It was known to a certain number of English officers that the destruction of this formidable fortress was to take place on the 4th, and about noon they bent their steps towards Sebastopol. At daybreak the snow that lay upon the ground was crisp with frost; but a bright winter's sun was turning the snow into mud. At about half-past twelve Marshal Pelissier and General Codrington made their appearance. The latter was accompanied by his staff, and a number of Sardinian officers of rank; the former (who had grown very stout, and seldom mounted a horse) rode in a low phaeton drawn by four greys, with soldiers in uniform, *en postillon*, and followed by an escort of cavalry. The marshal took up his station in front of Picket-house-hill, while General Codrington passed on to the town. The hour appointed was one o'clock, and the French engineers were punctual to the time. By means of a telescope, the Russians on the north side could be observed gathering about their batteries, standing in the embrasures by their guns, and collected in small groups on the heights. They fired a few shells, but without effect.

The two extremities of the fort were first destroyed. On the given signal there was a slight sensation of trembling of the ground, and a dull sound like a distant peal of thunder. Great columns of smoke and dust rose in the direction of the fort, and rolled majestically away. This effect was finely, though rather fancifully, described by the *Times'* correspondent. He wrote—"The day was extremely fine, the sky nearly cloudless; the white masonry of Sebastopol, beautiful even in those ruins with which the well-preserved but doomed fort conspicuously contrasted, lay silent and seemingly abandoned in the embrace of the bright green sea. Suddenly, forth gushed the smoke, not rapidly, but in heavy billows, rising and rolling one above the other, as if the vapour were so dense that it had a struggle to ascend. Slowly it rose; so slowly that it was easy to imagine fantastical forms, melting away but gradually. Immediately over the eastern explosion there hung for some seconds what seemed a mighty gray lion, with head, mane, and body perfectly defined in shadowy delineation. Others besides myself recognised the fanciful image, acceptable as the emblem of dissolving Russian strength; and presently replaced by other vague shapes."

As the smoke cleared away, a scene of ruin was revealed to the gaze of the spec-

tators. But they had no time to observe the extent of the destruction; when the third explosion took place. This was followed by another and another, until all the mines, seven in number, had been fired. The heavy clouds of smoke were then driven gently by the breeze over the ruins of the town, enveloping it for a time in fog, and throwing it into a deep shadow. When the smoke had all cleared off, then it was seen how completely the French engineers had done their work. The aspect of Sebastopol was changed—the fort had disappeared, and a low, flat bank of gray and still smoking ruins occupied the place where it had stood. Scarcely one stone was left above another to show the nature or form of the demolished building. The Russians ceased firing during the explosions, and remained silent some time, as if struck with astonishment: subsequently they kept up a dropping fire for the remainder of the day, seemingly directing their shots at random through the town and suburb.

General Codrington conveyed the particulars of this work of destruction to Lord Panmure, in the following despatch:—

Sebastopol, Feb. 4th.

My Lord,—Marshal Pelissier informed me a few days ago, that this day Fort Nicholas would be destroyed; and he sent again to say that at one o'clock P.M., the mines for this purpose would be fired. The view over the whole harbour is well obtained from the interior slope of the Redan-hill, and from other points within the Russian lines. The day was magnificently clear; every sentry on the opposite side could be seen, every working party watched, every soldier that was lounging in the sun; occasional shot and shell were sent from the enemy to the Karabelnaia and the town, but otherwise nothing disturbed the usual appearance of quiet, almost of desolation. On our (the south) side, we looked down on the large ruined barracks in front, on the inner creek of the dockyard, the quay, and the remains of Fort Paul, the spacious inlet from the harbour on our left, beyond which stand the roofless buildings of Sebastopol itself. There, also, is the well-remembered long line of pointed arches, the casemates of the interior of Fort Nicholas, of which the embrasures in double tier pointed to seaward and away from us. It juts out into the harbour, built on an inner tongue of land; Fort Constantine forming a similar but more outward defence for the sea ap-



proach on the north. The scene and feeling of expectation were of great interest, for another tangible proof of power and success was to take place, and 106,000lbs. of powder were in the several mines.

At the hour named, a burst of smoke, dark and thick, rolled from our left of the building; it was followed by another; the heavy sound arrived, the stones were shot into the air and to the sea; the explosions of the extreme right and the centre mingled at little intervals into one drifting cloud, which veiled the destruction below. The light of the sun played beautifully on the mass of smoke, of which the lower part lay long and heavily on its victim. The breeze passing it away over the remains of the town showed that a low line of ruin was all that remained of the pride of Fort Nicholas, and one standing menace of the harbour lay buried under its waters.

The state of the docks has been given in detail in my letters. They are all destroyed,\* while the earth surrounding them is shaken into cracks; basin, docks, masses of broken granite, capstans, gates, beams of iron and of timber are tumbled into one mass of destruction.

I have, &c.,

W. J. CODRINGTON, Gen. commanding.  
The Lord Panmure, &c.

It deserves to be mentioned, that a number of the original plans, sectional and otherwise, used by the constructor of the docks, were found in Sebastopol, and proved to be of great use to the engineers in their work of destruction.

Day, the brutal murderer of the wounded artilleryman, was tried by court-martial and sentenced to be hanged—a fate the ruffian thoroughly deserved, for his crime was one of revolting savageness. He asserted that he was instigated to commit it solely by a strange fascination with which he was seized, and was unable to account for. With the money he had borrowed of his victim the evening before the murder, he purchased a bottle of *raki*, the whole of which he drank himself. It is therefore probable that he was in a state of partial intoxication when he perpetrated the crime. The officers and men of the 77th felt much distress of mind that such a ruffian should have belonged to their regiment, which was one

of the most distinguished and orderly in her majesty's service. The fellow's antecedents had been wretched enough; and if his offence had not been of so ungrateful and cold-blooded a character, might have entitled him to be regarded with a sense of pity. His mother, he said, died when he was a child; and his father, an abandoned character, sent him into the streets to pick up anything he could steal, as a means of living. His father and brother had both been transported, and were then undergoing penal servitude. Since Day had joined the head-quarters of his regiment in the field, he had constantly brought trouble on all around him. It was discovered that he had caused many of his comrades to be undeservedly punished, by stealing boots and other articles of government property in their possession, which they were supposed to have made away with and sold themselves. His last offence prior to the murder, was the selling of a fur coat which had been issued to him. While undergoing punishment for this offence, he cut his hand in the way which led to his being received into the hospital. It is supposed that Thomas Kirkley, his unfortunate victim, would not have ultimately recovered from his severe injuries, from which he was suffering at the time of the attack upon him. That, however, was but slender consolation.

Some difficulty occurred in finding a hangman; but at length a butcher of the first division offered his services. He was promised fifteen pounds, his discharge, and a passage home to England, as payment for the performance of his revolting duty. He refused his discharge, and said he only wanted the money; but it was not deemed proper to retain him in the service after the performance of so odious a task. The execution took place on the morning of the 23rd of February. The gallows was erected on the drill ground of the light division, close to Cathcart's-hill. Two upright posts, united by a cross-beam, from which a rope descended, indicated the spot where the execution was to take place. Close by yawned a newly dug grave. Before seven o'clock, a hundred men from each infantry regiment, thirty from each battery of artillery, and twenty from each division of the land transport corps, were formed into a hollow square around the scene of

\* That is, the docks, not the letters. Severe comments have been made on the careless and sometimes ungrammatical language of General Codrington.

There has, indeed, been a good deal of hypercriticism on the subject; but the sentence to which we refer is very carelessly written.



punishment. It had been raining, and the men wore their black waterproofs, which added to the dismal aspect of the scene. "I looked at the soldiers," said a spectator, "and never have I seen troops wearing so serious an air as the men did this morning. They stood like statues, with pale, anxious faces, and eyes all directed to one spot." Outside the square the ground was kept by the 77th regiment—that to which the murdered belonged; and spectators were not allowed to pass that line. Behind it were many officers on horseback; and on the high ground, at the upper angle of the square, were gathered a large number of pedestrians. The solemn notes of the "Dead March in Saul," gave notice of the approach of the culprit. He walked steadily towards the gallows, and ascended the steps without assistance. The music ceased. The hangman placed the sufferer beneath the beam, adjusted the rope round his neck, took off his red jacket, and placed a white nightcap over his face. The plank was then hastily drawn away; the wretch fell, and expired almost instantly. The head of the deceased fell on his shoulder, and the body swayed to and fro in the wind.

The destructive operations of the allies did not terminate with the blowing up of Fort Nicholas. On the 11th of February, Fort Alexander was also laid in ruins by the French engineers. This work mounted ninety guns, commanded the approach and entrance to the roadstead, and was only second in importance, on the south side of Sebastopol, to Fort Nicholas. The day was not a favourable one for viewing the operations; it was raw, dull, and heavy: a stiff breeze blew from the westward, and masses of dark gray clouds rose from the horizon and swept rapidly over the plateau. The sun was not to be seen, and a thin mist rose from the roadstead and the sea, as far as the eye could reach. Perhaps the dullness of the day, and the coldness of the wind, kept the would-be spectators from the scene; for the number assembled to witness the explosions was not great. It may, however, have been that exhibitions of this nature, like the occasional bombardments of the siege days, had become so frequent as to lose their attractiveness. The blowing up a Russian fort with Russian gunpowder, within sight of a Russian army, by the enemies of the czar, had become quite a matter of course.

A general observation of Fort Alexander

could not be obtained from any part of the English position. Even in clear weather, only a spectator familiar with the appearance of Sebastopol could distinguish part of its outline. This arose partly from its low position on the sea-shore, and partly from the number of buildings which interposed in the higher part of the town. The trains were fired at the hour of one, and immediately afterwards two columns of gray-white smoke rushed upwards and told the fate of the building. Then followed the report of the explosions, which, unlike those on the occasion of the destruction of Fort Nicholas, were startlingly loud. The air was so violently agitated, that a strong concussion was produced against the huts in the camps, followed by a roll of echoes like a peal of distant thunder. There were three explosions, and then the fort was left a ruin. At a later hour of the same day the English engineers destroyed, by a succession of explosions, all the group of buildings—some of them rather massive in character—which occupied the area comprehended within the enclosure formed by the Barrack or White Buildings.

While the French were employed in the destruction of Fort Alexander, an interesting match in rifle-shooting took place among the English, at the practice-ground in the Karabelnaia ravine. Lieutenant-colonel Blane, military secretary, and Captain A. Pousonby, aide-de-camp to General Codrington, had challenged the whole army. The weapon to be used was the Minié rifle, with bayonet fixed as in actual service, and the target was to be placed at a distance of 200 yards. The men who were to compete with the challengers were selected by Lieutenant-colonel Kennedy. One man was to be chosen to represent each division of the army. This marksman was thus selected. The best shot in each regiment having been ascertained, these picked soldiers were then to be pitted against each other; the most skilful remaining the representative of the division. Only four divisions, however, were represented in the contest—the guards, second, fourth, and light; it being understood that the men selected from these were so superior to all others, as to distance them beyond a chance of success. The match commenced with a trial shot by each candidate, to enable him to see that his weapon was in order. Four rounds were then fired, and the victory fell to the soldiers. The best shot was a sergent of the 20th regi-



ment; after him a corporal of the 77th regiment gained the greatest number of points; the guards' candidate followed, and then Colonel Blane. Captain Ponsonby, though a good shot, was singularly unfortunate on this occasion. The match was witnessed by General Codrington, a numerous assembly of staff and regimental officers, and a large body of soldiers.

The brave Sir Colin Campbell, who had returned to the Crimea, rejoined the army on the 14th of February; but he was not to win any more laurels during this struggle, for all the great incidents of the war were over; but such a man needed no addition to his fame: his brilliant courage and soldierlike qualities had covered him with glory already, and made his name familiar as a household word on the lips of the troops.

A review, on a grand scale, of the British infantry had been for some time expected in the Crimea. The severity of the weather had caused the ceremony to be postponed once or twice, but it eventually took place on Sunday, the 24th of February. On that occasion, though the morning was bitterly cold, the ground, fortunately, was dry and hard. The site chosen was the brow of a hill behind the guards' camp, and there 25,000 British infantry were assembled for inspection and review by the commander-in-chief. Such a number of British troops had not been reviewed at once for a period of forty years. English officers of all arms and departments of the service were present in hundreds; and foreigners, in every variety of French and Sardinian military costume, were there in great numbers. The dresses were varied by the presence of four Spanish officers, attached to the French head-quarters. Marshal Pelissier attended in his carriage—a rough, almost paintless, and very Crimean-looking affair; and was, as usual, attended by an escort of chasseurs. General Codrington arrived about one o'clock, followed by a very numerous staff and a body of English hussars. As the troops were forming, a Russian shell burst high in the air above the valley of the Tchernaya—an intimation from the enemy that they were spectators of the scene.

We shall borrow the account of the review, given by a witness of it, and told with the pleasantness and vivacity which distinguished all the communications of the *Times'* own correspondent:—

"The line was formed of continuous

columns of companies; that is to say, it was eight companies or sixteen rank and file deep, with intervals of six paces between each regiment. Its face was towards the Russian positions beyond the valley. On the right were the guards and the other regiments forming the first division; then came the highlanders; then the second, third, and fourth; and finally the light division. Down this imposing and massive line, brilliant with scarlet and fringed with steel, General Codrington rode, followed by his staff and by a large number of English and foreign officers. Hussar sentries at first attempted to keep mere spectators at a certain distance from the front of the army; but, amidst the perplexing variety of costumes, it was impossible for them to tell who had or who had not a right to join the general's *cortège*; and soon the whole mass of horsemen swept after him down the line. The inspection completed, he took up his station in front, and to the right of the knoll where Marshal Pelissier was posted, and the troops marched past in open column, each general of division posting himself beside General Codrington during its passage. As soon as the band of each brigade arrived opposite the general, it faced to the left, cleared the line of march, fronted, and played until its brigade had completely gone by, when it followed in rear, and its place was taken by the next band. These bands were formed by an amalgamation of the regimental bands, and some of them played very well, but generally speaking their music was ill chosen and bad. The guards came by, of course with their own favourite tune, the 'British Grenadiers;' the pipes of the highlanders squeaked, squealed, and droned forth that strange combination of sounds so dear to Scottish ears, and so discordant to those of Saxon or Gaul; and one brigade played 'Partant pour la Syrie,' in compliment to Marshal Pelissier and the French present. The 2nd brigade of the fourth division had one of the best bands, and played a spirited march; but, generally speaking, the music of this army has not recovered the losses of the war. The troops marched past in front of the ground on which they had just stood in line, and its nature was highly favourable to the effect of the movement, for there was a slight slope downwards, commencing at the spot where the head of the column wheeled to the left and began its direct march towards the generals, in whose im-



mediate vicinity were to be seen Sir Colin Campbell, Admiral Fremantle, General Windham, and a large number of officers of rank—French, Sardinian, and English—the staff of all these composing a numerous and brilliant throng. The morning had been gray and dull up to the commencement of the review, but the clouds then grew thinner and dispersed a little, and a few fitful gleams of sunshine shown upon Britain's legions as they descended the slope in most perfect order—a broad steady torrent of bayonets, not rapid, but irresistible. A finer military sight could hardly be seen in peace time than was presented by that matchless infantry. The healthy appearance of the men testified to good keep and much care taken of them; their soldierly carriage and perfect dressing proved that their officers had profited by the unusually fine and open winter to hasten the military education of the numerous recruits. Where all were worthy of praise, it were invidious to point out any as particularly deserving it. Of course there were differences and degrees; and some regiments which have suffered much in the war, and consequently have very few old soldiers left, cannot be expected to look as well or to be as good as others that either came out when the campaign was nearly over, or have had little fighting and no hardship since their arrival. The guards looked as usual, military and imposing in their lofty bearskins; the highlanders were magnificently picturesque, and reminded one, by their statue-like immobility in the ranks, by their stern veteran aspect and lofty stature, of Vernet's pictures of the *Vieille Garde* on parade. They were the admiration of the foreigners present, and well they might be; for assuredly no finer troops ever fixed bayonet. The battalions of rifles were also much praised by the foreign officers, their fashion of carrying their arms trailed instead of shouldered giving a graceful ease and suppleness to their march. Many were the tattered and shot-rent banners yesterday borne by. The colours of the 23rd fusileers were like a sieve, pierced with countless bullets, and telling the eloquent and bloody tale of the Alma and of Inkermann. Those of the 77th and 97th were much riddled, and so were those of many other brave regiments, some of which were fain to keep their banners furled, their torn condition not allowing their display to the breeze. The whole of the troops having marched

past in open column, formed up at some distance to the north of Telegraph-hill, on lower ground, nearer to the camp; and thither General Codrington now proceeded, followed, of course, by everybody present. People were chilled with sitting still on their horses, and delighted to get a canter; the ground was good, the air fresh, the opportunity tempting, and away went high-mettled English chargers, fleet Arabs, and tough Turkish and Tartar ponies at a smart pace. The field was a large one; and two or three small ditches towards the end of the course gave animation to the chase, until at last the general was run to earth, hard by where sat the French marshal in his carriage; and all pulled up to witness the second *défilé*, which was in close column. After this the divisions marched straight away to their various camps, and the country on all sides was seen thickly sprinkled with horsemen cantering homewards, bent in most cases, I suspect, on taking to themselves something of a warming nature; for the cold had really been sharp, and no speculative canteenman had thought of sending emissaries with well-lined baskets to the scene of the review. When all was over (and also after the march past in open column), Marshal Pelissier went up to General Codrington, and, as I am informed, complimented him in the highest terms on the appearance of his troops. It is impossible but that he should be greatly struck by it. The numbers on parade would have been considerably larger had the whole of our effective infantry turned out; but General Warren's brigade, stationed at Balaklava, was not ordered up, neither were the 72nd highlanders and the two battalions of the 1st royals, which are encamped some way beyond Kamara; and then there was the garrison of Sebastopol, and the Redan picket, camp guards, &c.; so that, altogether, there were many battalions and parts of battalions still absent. It was purely an infantry review—no artillery was there, nor any cavalry, save the handful of hussars employed in escorting the general and keeping the ground. The whole affair went off in a most satisfactory and soldier-like way. I did not remark nor have I heard of a single blunder; and General Codrington had every reason to be proud of the army he has the honour to command.

"I have just been informed that an officer was shot this morning by Russian riflemen in the valley of Inkermann. I have not



heard either his name or his regiment, and the intelligence may possibly be unfounded, but it is also likely enough to be true. Officers not unfrequently ride and shoot in the vicinity of the French advanced posts, and I have been told of instances of their borrowing a rifle from a French soldier to have what is here called a 'pot' at the Ruskies. This last practice, which I trust is not frequent, is surely much to be condemned. On the other hand, it must be admitted that the wanton fire kept up by the Russians, from time to time, on every point of our line, which is, or which they believe to be, attainable by their shell and cannon-ball, entitles them to no consideration of forbearance on our part. They are naturally exasperated at seeing us destroying, at our leisure and with comparatively little trouble, the docks, barracks, buildings, and fortifications, which cost them such enormous labour and so vast an amount of gold. Silent observation would be more dignified; they prefer to vent their fury and waste their ammunition. Wherever they see a little movement or a group of persons, they do their utmost to pitch a shell among them. For the last two or three days fatigue parties have been down in the Redan bringing up the beams of ship timber of which the bomb-proofs were made, to be used as fuel. So the Russians have been doing their utmost to shell the Redan, and to-day they actually succeeded in lodging a 13-inch shell in or near it, but hurt nobody."

The day after the review, General Codrington caused the following order of the day to be issued to the troops. It censures newspaper correspondents and the public press of England; and, as may be supposed, the press replied to it with interest. It was certainly rather late in the struggle—when peace was talked of in the camp, and an armistice had been actually concluded at Paris—to begin to lecture the press for indiscretion. Either newspaper correspondents should not have been permitted to reside in the camp from the first, and to report every incident of the prolonged and doubtful struggle, or, having been suffered to do so while the war was at its height, they should have been allowed to exercise their discretion on the eve of the return of peace. It is doubtful whether the enemy learnt from our newspapers anything of which their active and daring spies had not informed them long before. On the other

hand, it is certain that the army was rescued from the terrible results of a gigantic and complicated mismanagement, in consequence of the representations of the newspaper correspondents. The horrors that a drowsy and incompetent government averted its eyes from—that even the people of this country received with a sceptical astonishment,—were *proved* by the agents of the press, and finally remedied, in consequence of the aroused anger of the whole people of the British empire. General Codrington, in common with every other military man, had some cause to be thankful to the public press of this country. Prudence on the part of those who reported the proceedings of our army, was certainly necessary; but it must be confessed, that no great want of caution had been exhibited by them. "We may as well state," said a leader in the *Times*, "that we have no notion to what communication the general refers. It may have appeared in our columns, or in those of any one of our contemporaries. If in ours, it was written by a military officer; and it is probable that the writer, too technical in his details, did not imitate the caution which is always practised by professional correspondents." It was supposed General Codrington wrote from a sense of irritation produced by the criticisms of the press. But, without further introduction, we will append the order.

Head-quarters, Sebastopol, Feb. 25th.

No. 1. The commander of the forces congratulates the army on the appearance of a large portion of its infantry yesterday.

The winter is hardly past, yet the efficiency and good health of the men were apparent to all. This result is due to the exertions of the general and regimental officers, to the attention, obedience, and discipline of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers, and must be as gratifying to them as the commander of the forces is sure it must be to their country.

This order will be read to the troops.

No. 2. The notice of the commander of the forces has been brought to the publication in a newspaper, by a correspondent at Kertch, of minute details of lines and works, strength of garrisons, and various military arrangements—all, however old and incorrect they may be, published for our enemies, under the supposition that such things are necessary for the interest or amusement of the people of England.

The people of England have more com-



mon sense. They do not want to see the interests of the army betrayed by the thoughtless activity of a correspondent, or by the wish of any one else to see himself in print.

The commander of the forces has referred General Vivian to the details published from the district he commands. He authorises him to arrest the individual and send him away at once, unless he has reason to believe that such folly will not be repeated.

The commander of the forces has occasionally seen similar things from this camp. Strength of regiments, sickness, batteries, guns, quantity of ammunition, the state of preparation, means of transport, the very situation of concealed batteries, the strength of pickets, the best means of attacking them—all recklessly detailed as if on purpose to instruct an enemy.

Common precaution, for the sake of the army, requires that this should cease.

The commander of the forces appeals to the right sense of duty in the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates of this army. He is sure that to them the appeal will not be in vain. It is our pride as Englishmen to feel that we may write everything to our friends. It need not be that we should publish everything about our strength or our weakness, of ditches and guns, of resources and disadvantages; for to print all such things is simply to make our enemy wise by our own folly. The commander of the forces trusts, therefore, that private friends in England will imitate the caution he asks in the camp.

There are also known correspondents of newspapers, not belonging to the army, permitted by passport to reside in several of the camps here. Generals of division will, by means of their assistant-adjutant-general, bring the tenour of this order to their notice; for a course dictated by common feelings of patriotism must be followed by all, who, being under the protection of the army, are equally liable to the observances necessary for its safety.

No. 3. The following appointments are made, until her majesty's pleasure is known:—

Acting Quartermaster-sergeant W. Cooke, grenadier guards, to act as adjutant of the 7th regiment.

Quartermaster-sergeant J. Dwyer, 46th regiment, to act as adjutant of his regiment,

*vice* Lieutenant Cross, who resigns the adjutancy.

No. 4. Leave of absence is granted, at the recommendation of a medical board, to Lieutenant G. H. Waller, 7th regiment, and, until his retirement from the service, to Captain Armit, 47th regiment, to proceed to England. On arrival they will report themselves to the adjutant-general.

By order,

C. A. WINDHAM, Chief of the Staff.

The brief despatch of General Codrington, describing the review, was enclosed in a report concerning the health of the army from Dr. J. Hall, inspector-general of hospitals. As will be seen, it was of the most satisfactory character. It observed—"I have the honour to enclose the weekly state of the sick to the 23rd instant; and it affords me great satisfaction to be able to report not only a continuance of the excellent health which the army has enjoyed for some time past, but that no death from disease has occurred during the week. I believe one or two deaths from accidents took place out of hospital; but for an army of this strength, on service in the field, to have lost no man by disease for a whole week, is a remarkable circumstance: and when it is taken into consideration that only fourteen men have died in three weeks, little need be said about the character of the diseases that have been prevalent in camp; and as the ratio of sick to well is only  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., the sanitary condition of the army may fairly, I think, be pronounced satisfactory. Some of the divisions of the army have enjoyed unusually good health of late: for instance, the highland division at Kamara has had only one death for five weeks, out of a strength of 4,860 men. In the third division camp no man has died for twenty-eight days, out of a strength of 6,450; and in the light division no death has occurred for a fortnight, out of a strength of 6,460. This favourable state of things does not, I am sorry to say, apply to the land transport, in which there is still a considerable amount of sickness among the young lads who have been sent out of late." It is a pleasant thing to be able to say that this was the usual tone concerning the health of the army at this period. A happy contrast to the horrors of the winter of 1854-'5.



## CHAPTER VII.

REFLECTIONS; PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS; "TAKE CARE OF DOWB;" LORD C. HAMILTON'S CHARGE AGAINST GENERAL EVANS; ADMIRAL NAPIER'S PARLIAMENTARY TOURNAMENT WITH SIR JAMES GRAHAM RESPECTING THE BALTIC FLEET, AND OVERTHROW OF THE ADMIRAL.

NECESSARILY, a great deal of discussion in reference to the war, took place in our houses of parliament; just as necessarily, it may be concluded, that a great deal of this discussion was but dreary talking, with but little claim to be remembered; but yet some of it has a broad historical interest, and cannot well be omitted in a work that professes to give a full reflex of the war abroad, and the events connected with it at home. Much that is really interesting is buried in the columns of the daily journals, hemmed in and lost amidst formidable pages of type. Important statements often make but little impression on the public mind, because they are mingled and interlaced by so much that is trivial or evanescent. It is not every man who cares to search for the few grains of wheat that may be found in a bushel of chaff; and people fear that the labour would not be profitably expended. Long speech-making is the vice of public men. Statesmen, members of parliament, and barristers, aim at arresting the attention of society by the enormous amount of matter they pour out before it. We have our three, four, six, or even eight-hour men. The result is, that listeners are chafed into irritation, worried into exhaustion, and at length numbed into drowsy apathy, while would-be readers give the thing up in despair; and the long speech, the labour of many days and nights, often brilliant in parts, though painfully tedious as a whole, has by no means the effect that one of moderate length would possess. True art in eloquence is something different from this persevering wordiness, that "like a wounded snake drags its slow length along;" and the grandest efforts of our great orators were almost invariably brief ones. It is the passing storm that astonishes us: to the little pelting shower we pay small heed. Who reads or cares to remember the long speeches of Edmund Burke? They are in effect obsolete—dead, embalmed, and buried on solemn bookshelves. Authors who read for a special purpose, and have by long practice got

used to being bored; parliament-men and speech-makers on the look-out for a good idea or graceful sentence, which they can paraphrase and get credit for as their own;—these men read the speeches of Burke and similar efforts, much in the same way as the gouty gourmand takes his dinner pill. One has no pleasure in the speech, nor the other in the pill; each takes it with a wry face or a sigh, and with a view to the result. A good thing is soon said, and is usually weakened by amplification. We have an acquaintance who has a great ambition to be recognised by the world as an orator, and he really might become one if he would finish most of his speeches when he gets into the middle of them. He has stated and made out his case by that time; "the rest is all but leather and prunella."

We are ourselves digressing from our subject; but a digression (always provided that it is a short one) is an allowable thing at the beginning of a chapter; a little exordium sanctioned, curiously enough, both by precedent and common sense. Our old dramatists and novelists could never have got on without this license. It was very useful to them too; for the world would certainly never have found out that Ben Jonson was a great dramatist and poet, if he had not insisted upon it in a preface to every play he wrote. His contemporaries would hardly have regarded Dryden as a man of genius, if he had not constantly assured them of it in his prefaces; which, by the way, were often better than the productions they heralded into the world. Again, strip Fielding the novelist of the introductory reflections at the head of his chapters, and he would resemble a gay bird that had lost half its plumage. But we have no business to be talking about literature and oratory here; and probably our momentary gossip on these topics may have been more pleasant to ourselves than to our readers. Well, we do not often break away from our subject, and shall perhaps be pardoned on the ground of not being a frequent offender. The mind loves to throw off

the fetters of circumstances now and then, and stray for awhile in that mental Paradise where the scenes are created by memory and imagination,—where the warm and rosy tint of an eternal sunshine throws its genial radiance upon the half-closed heart,—where the fairy flowers of pleasing and fugitive thoughts charm us with their luscious beauty,—where we are ever young, and it is pleasant only to be alive,—where the memories of early loves, and cheering words, and pleasant low-toned murmuring voices, enfold us in a joy which moistens the eyes with tears,—where, in the tangible existence of wakefulness, we stand on the wild verge of dream-land, with its chaotic romances and mad impossibilities dissolving one into the other, like rainbow tints in the summer's rain, while the sun smiles through the light dripping clouds, and the flowers beneath seem visibly to grow as they suck up the nourishing moisture. The mind will at times break the adamant walls of the imperious necessity which rules all men, and have a little ideal revel; and it is scarcely well that we should always check it.

But the charm has passed; no golden sunbeam streams like a dumb poem or pleasant unconscious friend into our little study: piles of dusty papers lie around us; everything looks very real and matter-of-fact within, while without a melancholy light forces its way through an opaque and leaden-looking mass of clouds. We have done our little mental wandering—quite; and we return to the broad road from whence we started into this pleasant little bye-path.

We have alluded to the resolution (page 58) that Mr. Roebuck brought forward in the House of Commons on the 29th of February, and eventually abandoned. On that occasion, General Sir de Lacy Evans made a speech which was remarkable for its severe personalities, for its odd revelations of military life and government partiality, and for the strange accusation against himself that it elicited from another member of the house. After treating Mr. Peel and Colonel Gordon with a very severe castigation, the old general made the following observations, in the course of which he related a curious anecdote, which attracted general notice, and was the cause of a great deal of sarcastic merriment. Indeed, the saying, "Take care of Dowb," almost promised to become a political and military bye-word:—

"What I regret to perceive is, that this is taken up as a personal question. Such un-

fortunately, in too many similar cases, is the practice of this house, as if the whole matter to be considered on this occasion is, whether the conduct of Colonel This, or Major-general That, or Mr. Commissary the Other, has or has not been judicious. Now, sir, I, who know something of these matters, think there are greater interests at stake and weightier considerations involved in this question. It bears upon the death of many thousands of gallant soldiers; and I can assure the house that, though my physical health gave way, and perhaps would have given way in any case from my not being sufficiently young to bear all the fatigues to which my position exposed me, yet my sorrow at seeing the blind and inconsiderate conduct which was being adopted, frequently disturbed that repose which might otherwise have refreshed and restored me. In spite, however, of all this we are told that we must not inquire into this matter, and that we are to leave other armies under similar circumstances to be exposed to similar evils. I believe 10,000 or 11,000 men are said to have died out of our small number, and if you add to these the number invalidated and sent into the hospital, what a state of things it will disclose! Surely such facts ought to be inquired into most amply and publicly; yet it appears to me to be very evident, from the concealments attempted by the government, that no such inquiry will take place unless the public continue to insist upon it. Whenever a substantive motion is brought forward upon this subject, I shall think it my solemn duty to go into the case as far as my humble abilities will allow me. In the meantime I must say that the conduct of the honourable gentleman the under-secretary of state for war, as the representative of the government, as well as the conduct of the noble lord the war minister, towards these commissioners, is the most ungrateful and unjust that I ever heard of. About a week ago I was listening in another place to a debate in the course of which some very pertinent and important questions were put to the war minister by Lord Derby. The war minister made a very plausible reply, with all that pleasing self-complacency which pervades his countenance when he speaks; observing that he was the last man in the world to wish for additional patronage. Why, I could tell as much about the nepotism in the war department as in any other department. I am told that one of the clothing officers, who have very handsome salaries



on this account, is a nephew of the noble lord, and not a few other appointments have fallen, I believe, to Maules and Ramsays. I have heard—the story was current at the time in the Crimea, and I have heard it a hundred times—a very good specimen, illustrative of the delicacy of the noble lord with regard to the exercise of patronage. When the noble lord communicated to General Simpson that he was to have the command of the army, the telegraphic despatch ran to this effect:—‘Lord Panmure to General Simpson. General Simpson is appointed to command the army. Take care of Dowb.’ Now, General Simpson is a modest man, and I think nobody has a right to blame him. He has been one of the most unlucky warriors I have ever heard of, and I wish to heaven that he had never been placed as he was; but I do not blame him, because he was forced to it. Can anything, however, be more egregious on the part of a war minister than to force upon an old general a situation of such vast importance, requiring the greatest possible energy and physical powers? This poor general officer did not wish to have the command, but Lord Panmure insisted upon it that he was a man of energy and resolution, and quite competent to discharge the duties devolving upon the commander of the forces at the seat of war. Well, as I was saying, together with the first news of his appointment came the strange addendum, ‘Take care of Dowb.’ Such an incomprehensible message distracted poor General Simpson’s mind, and made it more obtuse than it naturally was. What could ‘Taking care of Dowb’ mean? ‘Perhaps,’ said the general, ‘it is some outpost or other;’ because I am afraid poor General Simpson was not as conversant with the exterior defences of an extended line as a younger man would have been. The consequence was, that in the usual way an answer was sent by the telegraph—an instrument to the operation of which I wish to God an end were at once put, for it has performed some of the most extraordinary antics that can be conceived,—and that answer was, ‘General Simpson to Lord Panmure.—Repeat the message;’ which is the usual way of saying, ‘I don’t understand what you mean.’ Another message then arrived, and the word ‘Dowb’ was extended to ‘Dowbiggin,’ the name of a relative of the noble lord; and then the mystery was explained and the message made clear and manifest.”

General Evans next gave a deserved casti-

gation to the war-office; attributed the fall of Kars to its inactivity; attempted a vindication of Lord Stratford; praised the commissioners whom the government appointed to inquire into the state of our army in the Crimea, whom he spoke of “with gratitude, because of the material benefits which they conferred upon the troops;” and finally resumed his seat amidst loud applause.

Towards the close of the debate, Lord Claud Hamilton rose for the purpose of vindicating his relative, Colonel Gordon, from the attack made upon him by General Evans. In the course of his brief remarks, he made the following heavy charge against the general:—

“The honourable and gallant general had charged Colonel Gordon with inexperience. He would scarcely trust himself to contrast the inexperience of Colonel Gordon with the honourable and gallant general’s own experience after the battle of Inkermann. Did the honourable and gallant general, who sneered at the inexperience of Colonel Gordon, remember the result of his own experience then and there? Did he remember exercising, after the battle of Inkermann, his influence with Lord Raglan as a military man, and inviting Lord Raglan to embark the English army on board their ships, leaving their cannon in the trenches at the mercy of the enemy? That was the advice of the honourable and gallant general. Lord Raglan said, ‘What! abandon our cannon, and leave our trenches unprotected?’ The honourable and gallant general’s answer was, ‘I am not a diplomatist, but a military man, and that is my advice as an experienced military man.’ That was a digression he admitted; but let the house decide which was better—the ‘inexperience’ that led Colonel Gordon to obey an order, and the experience which suggested counsels that would have covered the British name with ignominy and shame?”

This strange and damaging accusation General Evans did not altogether deny, though he described it as being incorrect. In justice to him we record his own explanation of the affair:—

“The noble lord who had just sat down had repeated a conversation which he said had taken place between Lord Raglan and himself after the battle of Inkermann. Now he (General Evans) was at that time in a state of great distress both of body and mind. He said on that occasion one sentence to Lord Raglan, who did not make him



the slightest answer, although the noble lord had given a series of observations, not one word of which had been made. He (General Evans) said to Lord Raglan—"My lord, will you pardon me if I say that I think that, after the great loss we have sustained to-day, arrangements ought to be made for taking up some other position, rather than remaining exposed to the risk of greater reinforcements coming in to carry our present position?" If any one would reflect upon the frightful situation which the army then occupied, they would see there was some reason for the suggestion. It was very true that he ought not to have said a word, and Lord Raglan did not make the slightest remark either about the artillery or anything else. Lord Raglan did not invite any discussion; and the house would readily understand that they were all very much subdued by the losses they had experienced. He was in a weak state at the time, and he did think that the propriety of taking up another position ought to be considered. Fortunately, perhaps, his advice had not been followed; and, after incurring enormous loss, we had succeeded. But if the siege of last winter had been raised, the lives of many hundreds would have been saved, and perhaps a greater success might have been obtained if we had taken up some other position."

On the following Monday evening (March the 3rd), General Evans observed, that he had been informed that Major Dowbiggin was a meritorious young officer; and added, that he was sorry he made any reference to him. He also desired to retract every word in his recent speech which might seem to reflect on General Simpson's private character. That, however, he could readily have done, and left his observations untouched; for though he had amused the house at the expense of General Simpson's worldly sagacity and military reputation, he had not uttered a sentence against him as a gentleman. General Evans had a right to use the criticism he did; and we place more faith in spontaneous assertions than in cautious apologies. After several other not very ne-

cessary apologies, he referred to the charge brought against him by Lord Claud Hamilton, and produced a letter he (General Evans) had written to a friend immediately after the battle, in which he had given an account of the interview between him and Lord Raglan after the battle of Inkermann. It ran thus:—"I then asked him if he would pardon my offering an opinion relative to the state of the armies, &c. He said he would. I offered my poor opinion in deep earnestness, and at any rate, sincerely. He is not a man who discusses, at least not with those in my situation,\* I believe. But he appeared by no means displeased, and I think, possibly, was not altogether uninfluenced by it. This, however, I may be entirely mistaken in. There are, in fact, two chiefs—French and English; and although most true, faithful, and cordial, yet inevitably different policies are to be considered. And I believe the French have momentous reasons for their course of proceedings; and their course, apparently, must not be deviated from by the British." After some amount of excitement had been exhibited, during which the house expressed itself decidedly adverse to entering further into the subject, it was allowed to drop.

The death of Sir William Molesworth, on the 22nd of October, 1855, left a vacancy for the borough of Southwark, which Sir Charles Napier succeeded in getting himself elected to fill.† He had never ceased to proclaim himself an injured man since he had been deprived of the command of the Baltic fleet; and his object in entering parliament was to fight out in that arena the quarrel existing between him and Sir James Graham. He was indeed sent to parliament for that purpose, and much expectation prevailed as to the result of the contest. The admiral permitted some time to elapse before he made his charge; but on the 13th of March, he rose in the house to move for a select committee to inquire into the operations of the British fleet in the Baltic, in the years 1854 and 1855. He said—"If the commanders had not done their duty they

\* General Evans, as will be seen from referring to our account of the battle of Inkermann, was at that time suffering from severe indisposition.

† The old admiral thus proclaimed his political principles:—"To the electors of Southwark.—Gentlemen,—I have been told that my address is not sufficiently explicit. I shall now remedy that defect as shortly as possible. 1st. I am for a vigorous prosecution of the war. 2nd. I am a supporter of the vote by ballot. 3rd. I am for extending the

franchise to all who pay rates and taxes. 4th. I am for shortening the duration of parliament. 5th. I am against all jobbing and corruption of every description, and, in consequence, a supporter of administrative reform. 6th. I am for the abolition of church-rates. 7th. I am for a reform in the church, and a more equitable adjustment of church property; and I have always thought the bishops would be better in their dioceses than in the House of Lords."



ought to be punished; and if, on the other hand, the admiralty had not performed its duty, it ought to be brought to account. He had served his country, under four different sovereigns, for a period of more than fifty-six years; he had commanded not only fleets but armies; and he believed he was entitled to say he had acquitted himself at all times, and in all parts of the world, with honour to himself, until it was his misfortune to have a slur cast upon him by the right honourable baronet opposite" (Sir J. Graham.) Sir Charles Napier then reviewed the proceedings of the Baltic fleet during 1854, and also those of the admiralty, in connection with it. Until after the fall of Bomarsund the admiralty expressed satisfaction with his proceedings. Then came the question as to whether Sweaborg could have been destroyed. Sir Charles observed—"The French admiral and general examined Sweaborg, and gave it as their opinion that it could not be attacked. General Jones, the English engineer officer, thought that it might be attacked by a force of 5,000 men. The French general was of a different opinion, and he immediately commenced the embarkation of his army. General Niel, the French engineer officer, was of opinion that eight or ten sail of the line could knock Sweaborg down; and both these plans were sent home. Now came the difficulty. When the right honourable baronet heard that Bomarsund was to be destroyed he contemplated no further operations, and wrote to him on the 29th of August, informing him that the Emperor of the French had sent orders to General Baraguay d'Hilliers to re-embark his army, and that as soon as the admiralty knew what arrangements had been made with respect to that army, they would concert measures with the French government for the gradual withdrawal of the fleet. The letter instructed him to begin by sending home the three-deckers and the slowest of the block-ships, and gradually to withdraw from the Gulfs of Bothnia and Finland. Any one reading this letter would naturally conclude that it was an authority to him (Sir C. Napier) to send home the slow-sailing ships and the three-deckers. He knew that it was time to do so, because in the Baltic August was like November in England, and he thought that it was a very judicious order. When, however, it was known in England that the French army was going home, meetings were held all over the country to blame the government because Cronstadt, Sweaborg, and Sebastopol were

not taken. The right honourable baronet getting alarmed, turned round to see upon whom to cast the blame. He thought that he (Sir C. Napier) was the weakest of all concerned, and he therefore determined to fix the blame and the censure upon him. Out came an order that he was to hold a council of war of the French and his own admirals, to ascertain whether anything further could be done against Sweaborg. They all met on board the *Duke of Wellington*, and unanimously decided that, with the means at their command, nothing further could be done against the fortifications of that place. The courage of the right honourable baronet was then aroused, his border blood began to boil, and "My dear Sir Charles" was changed into "My dear admiral." The right honourable gentleman then forgot all that he had said of a consummate commander, and all the satisfaction he had expressed with regard to the arrangements that had been made. He forgot that only a few weeks before he had declared that it would not be safe to attack Sweaborg without at least 200 gun-boats and 50,000 men, and he then wished it to be attacked with only from eight to ten sail of the line. The right honourable baronet had then written to him a despatch which implied that: and how could the house believe that the same person who had told him so short a time before that Sweaborg could not be attacked without a force of 200 gun-boats and 50,000 men, could be serious in directing him to attack that fortress with a force of from eight to ten sail of the line? The fact was, that the right honourable baronet was not serious. A commotion had been raised in the country, and the government had fixed upon him as a scapegoat, and that letter of the right honourable baronet was only a flash in the pan, intended to cover the proceedings of himself and his political associates."

After a further recapitulation of the Baltic proceedings of 1854, Sir Charles continued—"The time was gone by when ministers could be arraigned for high treason; but certainly it seemed to him that the first lord of the admiralty could never have been serious in his mode of prosecuting the war with Russia, for he had given him orders preventing him from attacking that power in the summer time; and yet in the winter, when operations were impossible, he gave him directions to attack; which, if they had been better timed, he should undoubtedly have obeyed.



The very moment winter came, the right honourable baronet, forgetting all that he had written in the summer, goaded him on to assail fortifications which, he had been competently advised, would have in all probability involved the loss of our fleet. Why, if the Emperor of Russia himself had been our first lord of the admiralty, he would have given him the self-same orders that the right honourable baronet had given—he would have tied his hands when operations were possible, and urged him on by every inducement to undertake them when they were wholly out of the question. His correspondence with the admiralty soon closed. The squadron left Nargen and went to Kiel. The ships were ordered home, and they all arrived safely in England, having gone through a most arduous campaign, and navigated waters never before penetrated by vessels of so large a draught. When he got home, he went, as in duty bound, to pay his respects to the first lord; and, certainly, no man could have received another with a more sneering tone than the right honourable baronet received him. Gentlemen knew the right honourable baronet's peculiar sneer, and therefore they could judge of the welcome with which he was met. He (Sir C. Napier) could hardly keep his temper. The first lord told him that he might say what he pleased, but that he should make him no reply. That was language such as he had never before in his life had held towards him, and he had served many governments, and always with satisfaction to them. When he returned to Portsmouth, he was ordered to haul down his flag. He was quite prepared for this; and more than that, after what had taken place between him and the right honourable baronet, he never would again have served under him; for it was plain from the past, that no man's honour was safe in the right honourable baronet's hands. He next wrote to the admiralty to know whether he was to look upon his command as at an end; and the answer given to him was in the affirmative." After censuring the government for not sending a sufficient number of gun and mortar-boats in 1855, the admiral drew his remarks to a close, and resumed his seat without, we think, having at all altered the opinion of the house or the country, with respect to the want of vigour he had exhibited when he commanded the Baltic fleet. Such was the indifference of the house, that at first no one

seconded the motion Sir Charles had brought forward. The silence, however, was broken by Admiral Walcott, who became the seconder out of a kindly motive, saying he would never see a brother officer adrift without throwing out a tow-rope to him.

Sir Charles Napier had neither convinced the house that he was right, or enlisted its sympathies in his favour. Whether he had been ill-used was doubtful; that he had been unsuccessful was certain: and as the famous Talleyrand once said, "nothing succeeds like success." If Admiral Napier had been as daring in act as he was in speech—if he had fought with as much recklessness as he talked, he would have been listened to with far more respect. Englishmen do not like to hear a man say that he was not permitted to do this, that he had not the means of doing that, or that the task assigned to him was impossible. Genius creates means, undertakes the responsibility of neglecting unwise orders, and seldom or never uses the word "impossible." It dislikes the word—has no belief in it—thrusts it aside with impatient scorn—tramples it beneath its feet. The distinctive mark of genius is, that it ever triumphs over what mediocre men regard as impossible. Heroes practise prudence, but do not talk about it. It enters into their plans, but is not seen in their actions. Sir Charles Napier's chief concern appears to have been to bring the fleet entrusted to him safely home again. The object of the true hero is to accomplish the desire of his country; without loss if possible, but with loss if that is an inseparable consequence of success. He will have a cheap victory if it is to be had on such terms; but he *will* have the victory at any cost of blood and treasure, or win an historic immortality by perishing in a failure which deserved to be a success. England demands such men to lead her great navy, and to maintain her supremacy upon the seas; for she can better afford to lose a noble fleet and a hecatomb of brave men, than to sully her *prestige*, or let one leaf fall from her laurels. In war she must act with greatness rather than with caution, or she will not preserve her station amongst the great powers of Europe. If Englishmen lower their expectations with regard to those to whom they trust the solemn responsibility of the national honour, they will soon be served by an inferior order of men. The unsuc-



cessful man should be, and ever will be, coldly received. When the hour of action has passed, it is mere childishness to talk of what could have been done with other means. Our national poet—true English heart that he was—felt this profoundly when he placed this language in the mouth of the noblest Roman of that stern band who strove to save their country from the gorgeous corruption and ultimate ruin to which she was slowly but inevitably drifting—

"There is a tide in the affairs of men,  
Which taken at the flood leads on to fortune;  
Omitted, all the voyage of their life  
Is bound in shallows and in miseries."

Admiral Napier had demanded a court-martial. It is a pity that he was not indulged with one—not a solemn sham or idle mockery, called only with the object of acquitting him; but one which would probe deeply with a stern impartiality; acquit him if he was found deserving, but punish with severity if he should have been found not to have done his duty. Our remarks apply, not to Admiral Napier alone, but to all the public servants of England. The garden of the state wants weeding, and the operation should be conducted in a resolute way.\* The sturdy old oak of England will, we believe, continue to extend its broad branches proudly into the air, and long meet the fierce blasts of winter with all its ancient strength; but it has some withered branches *near the top*, that require lopping.

To return from this brief digression. Sir Charles Napier had a poor cause and an able opponent. He had attacked a man who was far his superior in the use of logical and oratorical weapons. Sir James Graham's reply was not only severe, but absolutely crushing to the naval reputation of the admiral, though it was not one that altogether exonerated himself. We believe that Sir James Graham, when first lord of the admiralty, did not at first desire to strike a severe blow at Russian interests or *prestige* in the Baltic. A demonstration was all that was intended, if a demonstration would serve the turn of the English government. It failed to do so: the war became a solemn thing—a struggle for the supremacy or fall of empires; the British people awoke as from a slumber, and demanded *results*. The government were startled; but Sir James Graham resigned

himself to float like a straw upon the torrent, and, joining in the warlike spirit of the people, also demanded deeds. The hour for scenic display had passed; the czar Nicholas had seen the performance of the English government—seen through it in fact,—and was by no means impressed by it. Sir James had counselled the admiral to be prudent; but he now urged him on to strike. He urged in vain; for Sir Charles Napier was not master of the situation he was placed in. He conducted the demonstration brilliantly; but for all the rest it came off as lamely as the worst enemies of England could desire. It was true that Bomarsund had fallen—thanks to the French military; but all the other great fortresses of the Baltic stood in grim security, and bristled with cannon. The admiral had not, or supposed he had not, the means of successfully attacking them; so he cruised about the Baltic, captured some fishing-smacks, burnt some timber and tar-barrels, and then sailed triumphantly home again.

Sir James Graham defended the sincerity of the government with respect to the Russian war; complained of the use the admiral made of private communications to him; and stated that the authorities of the admiralty refused to call Sir Charles Napier before a court-martial because they did not consider such a course necessary. He stated that Sir Charles begged urgently to be appointed to the command of the Baltic fleet, and that when his desire was complied with, raised doubts as to its efficiency. To this Sir James had replied—"I have done my best to provide a force which I consider adequate to the duty to be performed; and any exertion which this board considers necessary, will be made without intermission. You urged on me the propriety of offering bounty; of transferring the seamen from the queen's yacht to the flag-ship; and of inviting the gentlemen of England to forego their summer's amusement on the sea, and to lay up their yachts. These are signs of distress which I consider impolitic and unnecessary, and which I cannot sanction. If you are dissatisfied with the preparations which have been made and are in progress, and if you have not entire confidence in the strength of the combined forces of France and England, you had

\* "If," said an American writer in reference to another subject, "a Cromwell or a Napoleon could come to judgment now and then, the right men

might fall into the right places, and the world would swing more easily upon its hinges than it does just at this moment, in your country or in mine."



better say so at once, and decline to accept a command which, in your opinion, would not redound to your honour or to the safety of your country." Sir C. Napier accepted the command under these circumstances, and by so doing surrendered his right to complain that he was not supplied with all the means required.

"Now, sir," continued Sir J. Graham, "I shall frankly tell the house why I hesitated long before I advised my colleagues and her majesty to appoint the gallant admiral to that command. I did hesitate long, and I will tell the house the reason why. The house will remember, that on a former evening the gallant admiral talked very contemptuously of coast-guardsmen, with bald heads and spectacles. Now, sir, I had the honour of some private acquaintance with that gallant officer very many years ago, and landsman as I am, and ignorant of naval affairs as I may be, I had imbibed very much the opinion from himself, that after sixty no admiral was really so efficient in time of war as he himself might desire to be—certainly not so efficient as he himself had been. If I am not mistaken, I have heard the gallant officer say, in early youth, that he would never think of going to sea after he was sixty years of age. That was in conversation; but when I first went to the admiralty, the honourable and gallant officer was so good as to extend to me his advice, I had almost said his 'tuition,' in the important office to which I was raised unexpectedly in 1831; and, great with the pen as well as with the sword, the honourable and gallant officer has published frequently and largely. I hold in my hand a book written by the gallant officer, with the high-sounding title of *The Navy*, which contains a series of letters written by Admiral Sir C. Napier, and edited by the highest literary authority, his relative, Major-general Sir W. Napier, to various first lords of the admiralty, including Lord Melbourne, the Duke of Clarence, Lord Althorpe, myself—an humble individual among such company—the Earl of Minto, Lord J. Russell, the Earl of Ellenborough, Lord Palmerston, Sir R. Peel, and though last, not least, the editor of the *Times*. Now, this is in 1831. It is no private communication, no document of doubtful authority, uncertain in its use, and not deliberately given to the public; but it is a letter addressed to myself on May 17th, 1831; and the gallant admiral says—

"Rely upon it, sir, that the generality of men of sixty years of age are not fit for captains; as admirals, there is greater scope for the mind, and the signal for exercise will show him what ships are in order and what are not. But most men of that age are too old for dash and enterprise. Lord Nelson fought the battle of the Nile at thirty-nine, Copenhagen at forty-two, and was killed at forty-seven. Had he been seventy, you would probably not have heard of either one or the other. When a man's body begins to shake, the mind follows; and he is always the last to find it out."

After some further quotations, Sir J. Graham observed—"These were very solemn warnings; and from my early acquaintance with the honourable and gallant gentleman, before the close of the French revolutionary war, I was aware, by contrasting his age with my own, that he had passed the awful limit of sixty years, so dangerous to the public service. But if the doubt of what, for the public service, it was prudent to do had not arisen, there was in this very book a letter to another first lord of the admiralty, having a personal bearing on the appointment of the honourable and gallant officer. In a letter to Lord Minto, dated March, 1837, he says—

"A man made an admiral at forty, in constant employment, with good health, good nerves, and of an active enterprising character, may hold good till sixty or upwards; but a man who has been on shore for a considerable number of years, unaccustomed to command, must have his nerves so much relaxed that it is quite impossible he can command a fleet with the energy that is necessary at the commencement of a war; he may do well enough in peace, but war is quite another thing, and war will surprise us one day or other; and, depend upon it, my lord, if we meet with reverses, there will be such a flame lit up throughout the country, that the Lord have mercy on the first lord of the admiralty for the time being."

"I think the house will agree with me, after what I have read of the solemn warnings administered to myself, to the military commission, and to first lords of the admiralty in times of peace, that we were justified in hesitating before we recommended our colleagues to give the honourable and gallant officer the appointment. But, sir, these difficulties having been one by one



overcome, I had to consider, in concert with the honourable and gallant officer, when appointed to the command, the objections he had taken to the manning of the fleet. The honourable and gallant officer, with laudable foresight and prudence, thought that a Russian fleet of twenty-eight sail of the line was a force not to be despised. When pressed to enter the Baltic with twelve sail of the line and a large number of screws—though the Russians had no screw ships—he more than once represented that the force was inadequate. He stated that the fleet was very ill-manned. Now, sir, I do not deny that the honourable and gallant officer pressed upon me, in the interviews to which I have referred, the propriety of issuing a proclamation based upon an act of parliament which I had the honour of introducing. But no such proclamation could have been issued, with offer of bounty on the one hand, without compulsory service on the other, if within the time limited sailors did not come in. I was not prepared at the first commencement of the war, before the necessity had been demonstrated, to urge the government directly or indirectly to sanction compulsory service. I had the assistance of my right honourable and gallant friend, the first naval lord of the admiralty—assistance for which I can never be sufficiently grateful, and which, I think, constitutes a debt of gratitude on the part of the public. The exertions of my right honourable and gallant friend, which were unremitting, convinced me that if a fair trial were given, without a shade of compulsion the fleet would be manned. I resisted the proclamation. I resisted the offer of double bounty, intimately connected as it was with compulsory service. The fears of the gallant admiral were not realised. The hopes and expectations of the board of admiralty were not disappointed, and my right honourable and gallant friend succeeded in manning the British fleet in a time incredibly short. In passing, I will say that I admit the wisdom of the objections which were taken early by the honourable and gallant officer to the proclamation in question, and, feeling the force of those objections, in 1854, I myself proposed a modification of it, to which the house was pleased to give its assent, and the objectionable portion of the law is now altered. After the Baltic fleet was named for the Baltic service, the *Royal Albert*, a three-decker, was in the year 1854 named

for service in the Black Sea. That ship went out as the flag-ship of a gallant officer, in no respect inferior, either in experience or in judgment, to the honourable and gallant admiral opposite; and I would propose to the honourable and gallant officer whether he means to say the *Royal Albert*, manned with volunteers after the Baltic service was supplied, was unfit for the service, or unfit to be sent into battle by a British board of admiralty? So much for the objections to manning the fleet. The next point taken by the honourable and gallant admiral was, that the ships were unfit to go into action. He has read part of his letters, in which he made use of expressions more than once, that there were in the fleet under his command ships unfit to go into action. The board of admiralty called upon him as a point of duty to specify those ships—‘to specify’ were the words used in the letter addressed to him. How did he meet that request? He went off about discipline being improved by exercise. The admiralty requested that a report of the state of the ships should be returned to the admiralty, pointing out such defects as were the subject of complaint, and he gives as an excuse for not sending home the list that it was not easily prepared. The honourable and gallant officer talks in disrespectful terms of the captains under his command. Though I have that correspondence, I will not be so ungenerous as to read to the house, and give to the public, the confidential communications made by the gallant admiral with respect to the conduct of several captains, some really at the top of the list, in which he declared, giving their names, that he thought them unfit for their commands, and that it was hopeless for them to try to amend; and in which he proposed to me that he should be at liberty to make signal, in presence of the whole fleet, ‘Go home! You are no use to me here.’ I resisted so harsh a measure. I have the letters here. I will not be so ungenerous as to produce them. If I did produce them, they would create a degree of ill-will against the honourable and gallant member, such as I am sure he could not confront. I will not betray names. It was a confidential communication to me. It is very easy now to say that the captains were first-rate officers. The private communications to me respecting these first-rate officers bear quite another interpretation; and I state positively that, whatever the honour-



able and gallant member may now find it convenient to say in public, those were not the representations which he made to me in private. I stated to him that I would support his authority to the utmost, but I was not prepared to sanction the ships being sent home—the ships and crews being efficient. I stated that if he would gravely and specially report to the board that he thought certain captains should be superseded, I had so much reliance upon his justice and authority that his wishes should be met; but it must be by superseding the officers, and not by sending the ships and crews home.”

Sir J. Graham then reproached Admiral Napier with not having made a personal *reconnaissance* of Sweaborg in June, instead of late in September; as in the former case it would have been quite possible for the admiralty, in the course of the summer or before the close of the autumn, to send out all the appliances which he might have deemed to be requisite. “I ascribe,” he said, “the whole difference which has arisen between the honourable and gallant officer and the board of admiralty, to his neglect in not making a personal *reconnaissance* of Sweaborg until so late a period as the 24th of September.” In a later part of his speech, Sir J. Graham quoted the following opinion of Lord Stanhope concerning Admiral Vernon—a description which was of course understood by the house as intending to apply to Admiral Napier:—“He became a great favourite with the multitude, who were, like himself, impatient for peace, and prone to consider the noisiest patriot the most sincere. On the breaking out of the war, he was appointed an admiral and commander of the West Indian squadron by the very minister whom he had assailed, from the same concession of popular clamour which had produced the war itself. He was undoubtedly a good officer, as far as courage, enterprise, and experience can constitute that character; but he was harsh and haughty to his inferiors, untoward with his equals, mutinous and railing to all placed above him in authority.” Sir James Graham then quoted from a work of Admiral Napier’s, in which that seaman stated that stone batteries could be successfully attacked with ships, provided the attack was made with *sufficient boldness*. He then thus concluded a speech which, if we may judge by the repeated cheers with which it was received, was regarded as an able and dashing reply to the

charges which had been brought against him:—“Into this discussion I have been drawn most reluctantly. It is not of my seeking. Had it not been for the particular circumstances of the case, I should not have done what I have done to-night, in reading private letters. I am scrupulously fearful that I have transgressed in reading those letters; but the house in judging my conduct on that point will remember that the circumstances were very pressing. Before doing so I took counsel with the house respecting the propriety of this proceeding, and I myself did not see how such a course was well to be avoided. Sir, this house is always a friend of truth; it dislikes special pleading; and I think I have stated to the house openly and fairly what are the real facts of this case. One point only remains for me to touch upon. I am, it seems, the friend of Russia. The Emperor Nicholas himself, had he been at the head of the board of admiralty, could not have done more than I did to promote the interest of Russia. Well, there are many witnesses upon the bench below me. I will defy any one in this house to say that any effort was omitted by me. Neither in the Black Sea nor in the Baltic may we have been so successful as we desired; but in my conscience I can say that, whatever may have been our failures, they have not proceeded from want of exertion on the part of the board of admiralty. With respect to preparations, I say distinctly that, if we had received the honourable and gallant officer’s report of what was necessary, in his opinion, for the attack of Sweaborg by naval means only in the beginning of June, it was quite in the power of the admiralty to have sent out such a quantity of mortars as would either have sufficed to plant on the islands occupied in the attack in 1855, or, placed in mortar-vessels, would have aided the operations of the fleet in the manner recommended by the honourable and gallant officer, before even in his view the season would have prevented the attack. Be that as it may, however, was I negligent in the intervening time? In concert with my colleagues I prepared in the autumn of 1854, to be ready to sail with the fleet in the spring of 1855, twenty-six gun-boats, twenty-two mortar-vessels, and five floating batteries, all built and ready for sea in April, 1855. By an agreement with the French government an equal force of gun-boats, mortar-vessels, and floating batteries had been prepared and built by France; and, in addition to four



screw line-of-battle ships, commonly called block-ships, we fitted five other line-of-battle ships with high-pressure engines; so that there were ready for attack in the Baltic, in the spring of 1855, nine sail of the line, twenty-six gun-boats, twenty-two mortar-vessels, and five floating batteries; this number of gun-boats, mortar-vessels, and floating batteries being doubled by the arrangement made with France. The honourable and gallant officer says that there is treason in it. If that is his opinion this discussion ought not to stop here. I have confronted the honourable and gallant officer this evening. I am ready to confront him anywhere; and I defy him to prove the accusations which he has this night scattered with so much recklessness about him."

Sir C. Napier was sufficiently crest-fallen; but he was not to escape yet. His conduct of the siege of Acre was reviewed by Admiral Berkeley, and even his courage on that occasion impugned. He also received a stern reprimand from that member of the admiralty for the example of insubordination he had set to the fleet. Admiral Berkeley observed—"The commander of a fleet should be a man of tact and discretion, and a man of the world; but had the honourable and gallant admiral shown these qualities in his speech at the Mansion House? There was one thing, however, which more than any other lowered the character of Sir C. Napier as a British officer, and that was his speech on the Southwark hustings. Out of spite to the right honourable baronet the member for Carlisle—out of spite to the admiralty, because they felt they could no longer employ him, and to gain a little popularity and the cheers of the multitude, the honourable and gallant admiral had dared to get upon a public hustings, and, at the risk of making the sailors of Great Britain discontented and mutinous in the midst of a war with Russia, to proclaim that the admiralty were depriving the men of their just rights, and of the indulgences which belonged to them. That was most unbecoming conduct;

and if there had been a naval officer at the head of the admiralty, the honourable and gallant member would have been immediately struck off the list of admirals. If it were not too late to learn the lesson, the honourable and gallant member might remember for the future, that he who could not govern himself was not fit to govern others, nor was the man fit to command a fleet who did not know how to obey."

Captain Scobell then volunteered a defence of Admiral Napier, but with no great success, and the discussion was protracted for some time; but the interest of it was over. In conclusion, Sir C. Napier made a brief reply, in which his position was no longer offensive but defensive; and the motion was withdrawn. Our opinions are by no means invariably coincident with those of the *Times*; but it must be universally admitted, that when that journal expresses correct views, it does so with great ability. We entirely concur in the following observations:—"For this extraordinary remissness in the execution of his duty (*i. e.*, the neglect to reconnoitre Sweaborg until it was too late to be of any service), Sir Charles Napier is fairly answerable to his superiors and to the country, and he ought to have been grateful that no public notice was taken of his misconduct, instead of ransacking confidential documents for proofs of exaggerated and ridiculous charges, which, even if true, would have furnished no excuse for his own lamentable want of zeal and decision in the service of the public. It is melancholy to see a man who has done much and gallant service in his day, thus overshadowing the evening of his life, and calling into prominent notice faults in his own conduct, weaknesses, and infirmities which, but for other faults of character and discretion, might have passed unnoticed and unregarded. But Sir C. Napier would have it so; and we are bound to say that he has made out a case against himself which no amount of assertion or abuse, no past exploits or present popularity, are able to alter or to extenuate."

## CHAPTER VIII.

THE ALLIES DEMAND CIVIL REFORMS FROM TURKEY; CONFERENCES AT CONSTANTINOPLE; ASSENT OF THE SULTAN TO THE REQUIRED CONCESSIONS; ABDUL-MEDJID ATTENDS A BALL AT THE ENGLISH EMBASSY, AND ANOTHER AT THE FRENCH; REMARKABLE FIRMAN OF THE SULTAN, WHICH, IF OBSERVED, WILL REVOLUTIONISE TURKEY; REFLECTIONS RESPECTING IT; AGITATION AT CONSTANTINOPLE; PETTY DISPUTE WITH PERSIA; MR. MURRAY LEAVES TEHERAN; APPEARANCE OF BRITISH WAR STEAMERS IN THE PERSIAN GULF.

A QUIANT old proverb runs thus :—"What will you have? says God: pay for it and take it." A close observation will convince us that neither Providence, nature, men, or states, give anything away without an equivalent in some form or other. We must buy wealth with labour, learning with patient study, wisdom with profound reflection, excellence in the arts with devoted practice and enthusiastic hope, safety from aggression by a preparation and readiness to repel it, independence by a never-failing trust in ourselves and a rigid discharge of duty, freedom by a jealous foresight which is ever ready to resent the shadow of oppression, the esteem of our neighbours by honourable conduct, the affection of dependents by a generous regard for their wants and feelings, health by simple and temperate habits, and happiness by virtue. Nothing worth having but must be purchased with reiterated effort. In like manner, no man or nation receives assistance from other

men or nations, without having to make a sacrifice in return. Individuals or empires who receive gifts, sell something of their previous independence to the giver.\* When peace began to be negotiated between Russia and the allies, Turkey was made to understand this matter.

Mr. Bright, in a speech he made at Manchester on the 28th of January, observed—"I confess I don't like to talk about the condition of the sultan. I have no wish that he should continue to rule in Constantinople, or that the Mohammedan power there should be supreme; but I am certainly sorry that, under pretences, and with avowed objects of an opposite character, the result of the intervention of this country in Turkish affairs has been greatly to accelerate the ruin which must before long come upon the Turkish government. Indeed, Turkey is just in the condition of an officer's horse of which I have heard our old friend General Thompson tell. The officer's

\* The reader will find this interesting theory elaborated in R. W. Emerson's *Essay on Compensation*. We quote a passage or so :—"You cannot do wrong without suffering wrong. 'No man ever had a point of pride that was not injurious to him,' said Burke. The exclusive in fashionable life does not see that he excludes himself from enjoyment in the attempt to appropriate it. The exclusionist in religion does not see that he shuts the door of heaven upon himself, in striving to shut out others. Treat men as pawns and ninepins, and you shall suffer as well as they. If you leave out their heart, you shall lose your own. The senses would make things of all persons; of women, of children, of the poor. The vulgar proverb, 'I will get it from his purse or out of his skin,' is sound philosophy. All infractions of love and equity in our social relations are speedily punished. They are punished by fear. Whilst I stand in simple relation to my fellow-man, I have no displeasure in meeting him. We meet as water meets water, or a current of air meets another, with perfect diffusion and interpenetration of nature. But as soon as there is any departure from simplicity, and attempts at halfness, or good for me that is not good for him, my neighbour feels the wrong; he shrinks from me as far as I have shrunk from him; his eyes no longer seek mine; there is war between us; there is hate in him and fear in me. All the old abuses in society, the great and universal and

the petty and particular, all unjust accumulations of property and power, are avenged in the same manner. Fear is an instructor of great sagacity, and the herald of all revolutions. One thing he always teaches, that there is rottenness where he appears. He is a carrion crow, and though you see not well what he hovers for, there is death somewhere. Our property is timid, our laws are timid, our cultivated classes are timid. Fear for ages has boded, and mowed, and gibbered over government and property. That obscene bird is not there for nothing. He indicates great wrongs which must be revised. \* \* \* Experienced men of the world know very well that it is always best to pay scot and lot as they go along, and that a man often pays dear for a small frugality. The borrower runs in his own debt. Has a man gained anything who has received a hundred favours and rendered none? Has he gained by borrowing, through indolence or cunning, his neighbour's wares, or horses, or money? There arises on the deed the instant acknowledgment of benefit on the one part, and of debt on the other; that is, of superiority and of inferiority. The transaction remains in the memory of himself and his neighbour; and every new transaction alters, according to its nature, their relation to each other. He may soon come to see that he had better have broken his own bones than have ridden in his neighbour's coach, and that 'the highest price he can pay for a thing is to ask for it.'"



servant reported to him that the animal was very ill. 'Ah!' said the master, 'it is but lingering.' 'Yes, sir,' observed the servant, 'it is lingering fast!' I think that is just the condition of Turkey under the intervention of this country." Apply these words of the great peace orator to the government and ruling class of Turkey, and they are rigidly correct. Turkey can scarcely now be said to be exclusively the property of the Turks; it asked for help from the Christian states of Europe, and it must pay for that help by submitting to Christian interference in its affairs. The shadows of England and France rest upon Constantinople, and the sceptre of the sultan is divided. Old Turkey is declining faster than ever; but we think a regenerated Turkey is arising, which will perhaps take its place with a good-will in the family of European states. We very much doubt that the Christianity of Turkey will increase; but we believe that its Mohammedanism will become more flexible.\* Christians will be respected, instead of being treated with contempt; and they will therefore be likely not to cling to their religion with so tenacious a grasp. Some may regard this as a paradox; but it is certain that to persecute a religion is to swell the number of its adherents, and to make them cherish

\* There is assuredly plenty of room for more flexibility and gentleness on the part of the Mohammedans towards their Christian dependents. Dr. Sandwith, from whose work we have already quoted in the commencement of this volume, relates the following incident:—"I cannot do better than give an example of the way in which the feelings of this class of the sultan's subjects (*i.e.*, the Christians) are rudely trampled on by Mussulman intolerance. Here is a faithful translation of a *teskéré*, or permit of burial, given by the *cadi* of Mardin, in the spring of the year 1855, to a Christian applying for it. He has given, and does give, scores of the like kind to all the Ghiaours in his jurisdiction. Here it is:—"We certify to the priest of the church of Mary, that the impure, putrefied, stinking carcass of Saidah, damned this day, may be concealed underground.

(Sealed.) "EL SAID MEHEMED FAIZI.

"A.H. 1271, Rejib 11."

"Facts speak for themselves; and I would ask, how it is possible for the Christians to be well treated, when such judges as these are put over them, who insult and plunder them as a sort of religious duty." There is, indeed, a great deal of the savage yet remaining in the Turkish nature, as the following incidents, related in *Le Spectateur de l'Orient* for the 10th (22nd) of September, 1854, will avouch:—"A Turk at Arta has just cruelly beaten and then killed a Rayah. Nothing is done to him.

"A lame Rayah at Toulza passes a Turkish guard-house carrying a burden. A Moslem soldier fires a charge of small shot at him to amuse his companions.

the persecuted object with tenfold affection. Terrible massacres have taken place for the purpose of exterminating new religions or sects, but they have ever had the reverse effect. The Roman emperors, from Nero to the divided sway of Dioclesian and Maximian, endeavoured to wash out the Christian religion with blood; and in the sixteenth century the Roman church strove with reckless malignity to burn and strangle protestantism out of Europe. We know with what result. Persecute any new sect, and you establish it; for a single martyr you have a hundred converts.

With the first prospect of peace the ambassadors of the allied powers demanded certain civil reforms from Turkey, as a recompense for the assistance which had been given to her in repulsing the encroachments of Russia. The fourth point in the peace proposals related to the privileges of the Christian subjects of the sultan, which, it was said, were to be established without injury to the independence or dignity of his crown—a matter which, under existing circumstances, was an impossibility. What the Sublime Porte yielded to the demands of France and England, seconded by Austria, and further backed by the public opinion of nearly all Europe, could hardly The Greek falls, the Turks rob him, and escape scot free.

"Some Turkish soldiers meet a few miserable shepherds in Wallachia. They seize the defenceless wretches, hang them up by the middle, and torture them (in joke) till two are killed and three are disabled. The authorities refuse to interfere.

"At Sistood, two women working in the fields are seized, outraged, and murdered. The result is the same.

"At Varna, a Greek merchant disappears entirely, and no news can be had of him.

"In several places whole villages have been sacked by Turkish troops on the march.

"At Rovaï, near Selepac, a Turk has cut off a Rayah's head. Nothing is done to him.

"At the little town of Zaara, a Turk shoots a Rayah dead for refusing to sell him some rice on trust. The murderer is a policeman, and escapes without inquiry. At the same place one of the *cadi's* men seriously wounds a Rayah, who will not cheerfully follow him; and another Turk, in the same town, is allowed to cut off the hand of a Greek monk with impunity.

"A certain pasha's son kills a Greek shepherd, and carries off his wife. A poor Greek charcoal-burner is also assassinated for his daughter.

"At Broussa, the rage of the Turks against the Christians is so great, that they dare not appear in the streets at noonday.

"They may be flogged, insulted, tortured, hanged, therefore, everywhere with impunity, and if they venture to resist such proceedings they meet with no mercy."



be looked upon as a perfectly voluntary concession. It was impossible for the sultan and his advisers not to feel some sense of weakness and humiliation, some rankling of irritation, however they might strive to conceal it beneath a diplomatic garb of courtesy and placid dignity. Several conferences on the fourth point took place at Constantinople between the representatives of England, France, and Austria on the one hand, and the grand vizier and the Turkish minister for foreign affairs on the other.

The former, acting in concert, drew up a note which explained the concessions they desired the Turkish government to make. This document, which was presented to the Porte on the 22nd of January, stated that the time had arrived when the Turkish government, in consideration of the services rendered to its country by the allies, as well as in its own recognised interest, should make those changes in the internal institutions of the state which, on the one side, might satisfy the wishes of Europe for improving the condition of the non-Mussulman subjects of the Porte; and, on the other, set at rest the just claims of so large a portion of the population, consolidate the Turkish empire, and promote its further material and social development. The first point treated of the general principle of equality between Mussulman and Christian subjects, and of the security of the persons and property of the latter. It also referred to the position of foreigners in Turkey, especially as regarded their inability to hold property. The second point referred to a revision of the administration of justice. It proposed separate tribunals for the Mussulman and Christian subjects. For mixed cases, where both Mussulman and Christian were concerned, a fairly constituted mixed tribunal was recommended, and the right of all Christians to come forward as witnesses demanded. The third point concerned the police of the empire; which it was recommended to put on an extended and improved scale. Other points provided for the development of the agricultural, industrial, and commercial resources of the country; for the construction of roads, canals, railways, and for the regulation of commerce. An increased regard for education, and the establishment of both elementary and superior schools, was recommended. The right of indiscriminate military enlistment was expressed in principle, and the opinion of the Porte demanded as to how she could

best combine its application with the existing military institutions of Turkey. The last point related to the removal of the prohibition of Christian subjects from filling civil and military offices. Truly was it observed, that such a number of sweeping reforms implied a revolution as complete for Turkey as that of 1793 in France.

These demands met with a favourable reception from the Turkish government. Not only the principles laid down for the insurance of equality of all subjects of the sultan, but all other suggestions intended to secure the improvement of the internal condition of Turkey, were accepted. The Ottoman council only requested the ambassadors to reconsider some of the terms contained in the project submitted by them, as it was thought they might be offensive to the sultan. This was immediately done; for the ambassadors of the Christian powers were well pleased with the result of their efforts.

A political correspondent from Constantinople made the following remarks upon these extraordinary concessions:—

"It would be useless to say much of this important decision, which places, with one stroke of the pen, the Rayah side by side with the Mohammedan, and which, if carried out, must become the keystone of a new social and political organisation in Turkey. But the question is, whether such a complete revolution in principle can be carried out in practice without some previous gradual preparation. At any rate, if the experiment succeeds, it will be the first case of an old society reformed by general principles, especially general principles which do not emanate from those who are to be benefited by them—nay, which are in opposition to the wishes both of the Christian and Mohammedan part of the population. One of the mistakes made by philanthropic people in Europe, who never saw anything of the real condition and never heard anything of the real wishes of the Rayahs in Turkey, is to apply their own feelings to these latter, and to judge them according to their own notions. The greatest outcry was therefore raised against the unjust and humiliating tribute of the haradj, which was absurdly enough interpreted as the tax paid by Christians to keep their heads, while in reality it is only a tax paid as exemption from military service. If they had looked at a dictionary, the meaning of the word alone would have explained the



mistake. Rayah means one who is protected—that is, who has not to protect himself. As in every other state, the principle in Turkey was likewise that every one should enjoy rights in proportion to the burdens which he has to bear. In a state which owes its origin to conquest, and which had from the beginning a purely military form, military service was naturally put forward as the indispensable condition of the enjoyment of full rights. And this principle has been kept up to this day, and forms the basis of the whole inequality between Mohammedans and non-Mohammedans, or rather between soldiers and civilians. The proof is, that all the non-Mohammedans who serve, or are supposed to serve, in the field, enjoy, even without the intervention of the allies, the same rights as the Mohammedans. All the Christians of Albania, the Chimariotes, the Miriditti, the Malakassi, the whole of Bosnia, with the exception of the district of Novi-Bazar, which formed a part of Servia, pay no haradj, and their testimony is admitted in every Turkish court just in the same way as if they were Mohammedans; nay, even the inhabitants of the district of Gumushane are in this position, because they have a kind of military service to do as guards of the mines. The application of this principle, that military service is the chief condition for the enjoyment of the rights of a full citizenship, appears most plainly in the regulations concerning the right to appear as a witness in courts of law. The testimony of a military man has always the preference over that of a Mohammedan who is not a military man.

"The ambassadors, in embodying their propositions for the establishment of equality between Mohammedans and non-Mohammedans, seem to have been fully aware of this; for, without insisting much on the abolition of the haradj, they suppose that this must be *ipso facto* the case as soon as the principle of indiscriminate enlistment is recognised. The military enlistment of the non-Mohammedans is thus the pivot on which the whole scheme of giving perfect equality to all subjects moves. And this indiscriminate enlistment, which is urged as a privilege for non-Mohammedans, is urged by ninety-nine out of a hundred of them not as the greatest boon, but as the greatest curse. Whoever doubts this has only to go into the interior and attend an enlistment in the provinces. He will see the Moham-

medans who are liable to it downcast and despairing, and those who are exempted by means of the haradj, blessing their fate and the much-abused haradj which preserves them from such a boon.

"They will now be subject themselves to this enlistment, and the allies must not expect much gratitude for their interference. It is dangerous to indulge in illusions about such an important point. The enlistment will be looked on by non-Mohammedans as a much greater evil than the haradj, and the difficulties will not proceed from the rulers, or from the Mohammedan part of the population, who will only be too glad to have the burdens which they now have alone to bear subdivided, but from the Christians themselves; and the allies must be prepared to have an army ready to enforce their boon, or there will be very few Christian soldiers in the Turkish army. If the Christians on their side will not be very much satisfied with this arrangement, the Mohammedans will be less so with other wholesale improvements, and this dissatisfaction ought not to be quite overlooked. If even the Christians were heart and soul for the new principles which are proposed by the allies for the regulation of their social and political positions, it would be rather dangerous to drive things to extremes. How much more is this the case when they cannot reckon on the support of those whom they intend to benefit!

"The mistake on this score arises from the imperfect knowledge of the relative proportions of the Christian and Mohammedan element in European Turkey. Few people know that Turkey possesses a more exact census than perhaps any other country for most of her provinces, but unfortunately it is jealously kept from the eye of the foreigner, as it forms the basis of the system of taxation, which certainly does not bear an exposure to broad daylight. In consequence of this, and the little study which has been given by tourists to the subject, all information about it is derived from spurious and interested sources who have a proposition to prove—namely, that the non-Mohammedan part of the population of European Turkey exceeds several times the number of Mohammedans. It happens, then, that the relative proportion of the former to the latter is by the more moderate statisticians supposed to be as three to one, whereas some go even as far as five to one. The confusion which prevails in their ideas



about the respective names of Mussulmans and Turks contributes a good deal to this result. People are only counting the Turks by race, instead of including all Mussulmans as they ought. If this was everywhere done, and if tourists would take the trouble to go a little out of the beaten track, these false ideas about the relative proportion of the Mohammedan and non-Mohammedan elements in Turkey would be soon rectified. The greatest part of the Mohammedan villages are far away from the main roads. This accounts for their not being seen by flying tourists, who write books solving every difficulty after a couple of months' voyage or half a year's stay at Constantinople. A careful survey of the country would show that if we except the Danubian principalities and Servia—both of which, being semi-independent, do not come into consideration in the present question—the number of Mohammedans is not much inferior to that of non-Mohammedans in European Turkey. Taking the provinces separately, it would be found that in Bosnia the two elements are about equal, in Albania the Mohammedans as two to one. Thus, from the centre of Albania, near Ochrida, a belt of Mohammedan villages stretches itself eastward through the whole length of Macedonia and Thrace down to the neighbourhood of Constantinople. The only two provinces where the non-Mohammedan population considerably surpass the Mohammedan are Bulgaria and Thessaly. I insist on these statistical details, because they show the exaggeration of the popular delusion in Europe, that any opposition which the Mohammedan population could make to any interference which would not be to their taste, would only lead to their expulsion from Europe. No doubt the foreign armies which occupy Turkey might do a good deal about Constantinople, but it may be doubted whether they would be

quite so successful in the provinces, and whether the time which would elapse before they could exert this influence would not entail fearful evils on the non-Mohammedan population.

"From these reasons it would have been, perhaps, wiser to proceed gradually by the real introduction of practical reforms, which would have brought immediate benefit with them, than by the forced acceptance of vague general principles, of which there are so many in the Turkish archives, and which, moreover, must throw Turkey into an unsettled state for years to come, just at the moment when it is all-important that there should be unity at home in order to resist encroachments from without."

On the assent of the sultan to the required concessions, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe ventured to invite him to be present at a fancy ball, to be given at the embassy. Abdul-Medjid consented—some say willingly; others urge that it was with reluctance and disgust; a statement which is not supported by the information we have of the details of the visit. The circumstance was one for which there was no precedent in Turkish history. Oriental etiquette jealously guards the sovereign from intrusion, and removes him from all familiar contact from the rest of the world. As successor of the Prophet and Shah in Shah, or king of kings, the sultan, in the eyes of his Mohammedan subjects, cannot deal on a footing of equality even with any other sovereign. But a great social revolution was in progress at Constantinople, and the sultan condescended even to visit the house of a foreign ambassador. Truly was it observed that young men in Turkey were entitled to speak of the vanished past, and to rejoice over or deplore changes with all the gravity of old men.

On the afternoon of the 31st of January, the main street of Pera\* was crowded with

\* The writer of some sketches of Constantinople, during the occupation of the allies, gave the following amusing description of the streets of Pera:—"The next morning I went for a walk—an enterprise not to be attempted with impunity. An immense number of persons, in every variety of grotesque costume, crowded the streets. To get through the throng I was obliged to arm myself with a stout stick, and much judicious attention. Now I was obliged to spring out of the way of a line of asses, carrying planks for building; and now to rush into a shop to avoid being spitted by the poles between which two men would sling a bale of merchandise; pastry-cooks' boys; dim-eyed, fat, black, important eunuchs on horseback; oriental beauties in gilded,

springless wooden couches; stiff Turkish soldiers, in awkward, shrunken, ill-made clothes; gigantic Scotch highlanders, with their noses in the air; sailors with short pipes; strutting Albanians, hustling everybody; a Cephalonian, with a huge Phrygian cap drawn over his eyes; woodcutters, who think nothing of cracking your leg with a stray log; snarling dogs, French actors, and allied officers of every denomination, make up only a tenth part of the jumble of things in a Pera street just now. I saw one old lady, with a deep blush on her face, that assuredly had nothing to do with modesty. She was a walking ruin, plastered up. She had flowers in her bonnet destined to bring forth no fruits. The lavish embroideries of her dress put me



immense numbers of excited people, who had taken up their positions in the neighbourhood of the embassy, to witness the passage of the sultan. The street was crowded with the carriages of the Turkish dignitaries who were all to be present on his arrival. The approaches to the palace were lined with an English guard of honour, composed of detachments of guards and highlanders, together with the band of the 1st regiment of the German legion. At eight in the evening, a signal-fire on the heights above the imperial palace of Tcheragan, and a salvo of artillery from Galata Serai, announced that the sultan had left the palace. He arrived at the gate of the embassy a little before nine, where the troops presented arms on his approach, and the band struck up the "Sultan's March," and "God save the Queen." At the great staircase, which was crowded with officers of the allied armies and Turkish dignitaries, the sultan was received by Lord Stratford and his attendants. He was at once conducted into the ball-room, where a crowd of guests had already assembled. There he seated himself on an arm-chair, which had been prepared for him on a raised *dais*. After the representatives of the foreign powers had taken their places on one side of him, and the Turkish dignitaries on the other, several of the ladies were presented to his majesty. This ceremony over, the dancing began—a proceeding in which he seemed to take considerable interest, as he stood up in order to have a better view of the evolutions. It was a sign of coming changes, a trifle pregnant with meaning, to behold the commander of the faithful departing from the conventional seclusion of Eastern grandeur, and gazing upon ladies in ball-dresses engaged in waltzes and polkas. After looking

in mind of the moss-grown towers of some deserted fortress. It is a curious peculiarity of Pera life, that all the old women are called by those fond diminutives of their Christian names which, in other places, are usually applied only to children. They put one in mind of the old bridge in Paris, which is still called the 'Pont Neuf.' One of the most absurd and common of human errors is not to know how to grow old. I turn my head to look at a chapfallen Turk. His beard is clipped, his dress is mean and narrow—he is a victim of reform. Everything dignified and comfortable has been removed away from him. The Turk of the middle and lower classes has of late years degenerated altogether into a mere commonplace slob. Among the other figures in the street are a softa with his white turban, an ulema with lilac boots, and a pasha, preoccupied doubtless alike with the thoughts of their rapidly diminishing power and influence. The priest (ulemah)

at the dancing for nearly an hour, the sultan expressed a desire to be shown into the refreshment-room, where he remained for some time, and then took his departure. He had intended to return to the ball-room, but found the heat too much for him. On leaving he took Lord Stratford by the hand—another departure from established custom; for only Turkish pashas of the highest rank used to be permitted to touch the sultan, and then only on highly important occasions, when they respectfully saluted his feet. No sooner had he left the embassy than the guns of Galata Serai announced that he was returning home.

This visit of the sultan to an English ambassador was not a merely insignificant act of politeness, but a ceremony of great political importance. It was an act requiring great moral courage on his part, and was performed in defiance of the religious prejudices of the Mohammedans to all trivial amusements. Viewed in this light, even the slight act of his taking refreshments was full of meaning. Every act of the private life of a Turkish ruler is so jealously concealed, that only his chief eunuch is allowed to attend at his meals. Though this rule was originally only intended as a safeguard against poisoning, it formed, in the eyes of his people, a time-honoured usage which was religiously observed. It was remarked, that the conduct of Abdul-Medjid in attending this ball, was "a kind of sanction to the concessions to be made to the non-Mohammedan subjects of the Porte. With the abolition of the privileges of the Mohammedan ruling race, their head, the sultan, descends by his own free will from the exceptional position which he has hitherto observed with regard to the representatives of Christian powers.

is counting a rosary of one hundred beads; and at every bead he turns he repeats one of the hundred attributes of Allah. There is a Persian, too, with high-heeled shoes and a conical cap, like an inverted flower-pot. He looks with a sour eye upon the Turks. There is a Syrian in a picturesque, half-biblical dress; a pale Jew, who, in spite of his business air and hurried step, makes way obsequiously to all who pass. There are some Greek girls, with massy, lustrous hair and chiselled features. Such is Pera High-street. On each side are shops. It is painful to say that many of them are set up for the sale of sausages; and often a gaunt, fresh-killed hog affronts the gaze of every true believer. Therefore some caustic Mussulman was recently heard to observe, that it was a curious fact—"The departure of the Russians was immediately followed by the arrival of the pigs." This denotes the jealous feeling with which the Turks regard their allies.



Old Turkey is dead and gone—the ball was the burial ceremony, and the lively strain of polkas and waltzes its funeral march.”

The French ambassador was naturally anxious to obtain a similar honour to that which had been conferred on the English one. An invitation was therefore addressed by M. de Thouvenal to the sultan, to attend a ball to be given three days afterwards at the French embassy. It was accepted; and every preparation was immediately made to receive Abdul-Medjid with the honours due to his imperial rank. On the appointed evening, the whole front of the embassy was splendidly illuminated, and above the principal gateway a brilliant transparency showed in lines of fire the imperial “tonghra.” The avenues of the embassy were occupied by detachments of picked companies from the French regiments encamped at Maslak, sappers of the engineers, a division of the foot brigade of Paris, and foot artillery. The martial bearing of the French troops created general admiration, and opposite to them was drawn up a battalion of the imperial Ottoman guard, in full uniform. At half-past seven a Turkish aide-de-camp galloped up and informed the ambassador that the sultan had left Tophané, and was advancing on horseback through the chief street of Pera. On receiving the news, M. Thouvenal, accompanied by all the members of the embassy, and by the generals and superior officers of the French division, went as far as the gates of the palace to receive his majesty. On the approach of the sultan the drums beat to arms, the troops presented, and the military band struck up the Turkish national hymn. At the same moment, a multitude of Bengal lights were lit up as if by enchantment, and enabled the sultan to have a good view of the exciting scene around him.

On entering the embassy, the sultan was conducted by one of the grand staircases to the apartment prepared for his reception. A company of Zouaves, a detachment of cuirassiers, dragoons, and *chasseurs d'Afrique*, formed the line inside the palace conjointly with the naval brigade and Ottoman artillerymen. During a brief period assigned for rest, the sultan engaged in some private conversation with the ambassador. His majesty was attired in a uniform richly studded with jewels, and he wore the grand cordon of the legion of honour. Entering

the throne-room, he was received by his ministers and the great dignitaries of the Ottoman state, who were drawn up in a line to the right, and by the foreign ambassadors and French and English generals residing at Constantinople, who formed another line to the left. To the right of the throne were reserved seats, occupied by ladies of the diplomatic corps. On being led towards the throne by the ambassador, the attention of the sultan was attracted by a portrait of the Emperor Napoleon. After looking at it for a few moments, he turned towards M. Thouvenal, and observed—“I am happy to behold the features of my august and faithful ally. I experience the most lively satisfaction at being his guest to-day.”

Abdul-Medjid exhibited, on this occasion, more animation than was usual with him. After receiving the homage of the diplomatic corps, he conversed with all the foreign representatives, especially with those of England, Austria, and Prussia. He had also a gracious word for every lady presented to him. When all the official introductions had taken place, the sultan expressed a desire to visit the ball-room, where the *élite* of Pera was assembled, consisting of all the members of the different embassies, and a great number of naval and military officers in full uniform. He was received with expressions of the most marked respect and lively sympathy. This he acknowledged very courteously, as he would not sit down until the ladies and the ambassadors accredited to his government had taken their places.

The ball then commenced, a dance being formed immediately in front of the sultan, who appeared to take a considerable interest in the proceedings of those whom his ancestors would have despised as Ghiaours. In about an hour his majesty returned to the throne-room, where he requested the presence of the ladies who had been presented to him. They immediately attended, and sat down, forming a circle around him. Lady George Paget, the Princess Stourdza, and Madame la Baronne Darriean, were then introduced to him, on which he rose and bowed to each of them. After a brief conversation the sultan returned to the ball-room, which he finally left at half-past ten o'clock. On taking leave of the ambassador, he thanked him graciously for the reception he had met with. After the sultan's departure,



dancing was resumed and kept up until a late hour.

On Monday, the 18th of February, a great excitement prevailed at Constantinople. It was the day when the concessions of Turkey to the demands of the western states of Europe were to be made known. The imperial firman, granting equal rights to all the subjects of the sultan, without regard to their religion, was to be read to the people. The ceremony was appointed to take place at one; but as early as eleven, white and green-turbaned ulemahs and softas, Greek and Armenian priests, mingled with Perotes, Europeans, and nondescripts, were seen hurrying towards the Porte. Somewhat later, Turkish dignitaries on horseback, or in their carriages, began to arrive, and soon formed a regular line in the narrow street which leads from the fashionable quarters of Constantinople to the Porte. There was a

\* In reference to the mixed races and diverse religions of the subjects of the sultan, Sir Archibald Alison observes:—"To govern dominions so vast, and inhabited by so great a variety of different and hostile nations, must, under any circumstances, have been a matter of difficulty; but in addition to this there was superadded a still more fatal and indelible source of discord, which was the difference of RELIGION. Turkey, even in Asia, is not, properly speaking, a Mohammedan country. The Seven Churches were established in Asia Minor in the days of the apostles; the empire of the East had embraced the faith of the gospel four centuries before Christianity had spread in Western Europe. We are accustomed, from its ruling power, and its position in the map, to consider Turkey as a Mohammedan state, forgetting that Christianity had been established over its whole extent a thousand years before Constantinople yielded to the assault of Mahomet, and that the transference to the creed of Mahomet was as violent a change as if it were now to be imposed by foreign conquest on France and England. Even at this time, after four centuries of Mohammedan rule, Christianity is still the faith of three-fourths of the whole Turkish empire in Europe, and one-fourth in Asia. Cast down, reviled, persecuted, the followers of Jesus, from generation to generation, have adhered to the faith of their fathers: it still forms the distinguishing mark between them and their oppressors: more even than difference of race it has severed the two great families of mankind; and when the Greek revolution broke out, the cry was not—'Independence to Greece,' but 'Victory to the Cross.' The system of government by which the Turks for four centuries have maintained themselves in their immense dominions, and kept the command of so many and such various races of men, is very simple, and more suited to Oriental than European ideas. It is neither the system which distance and the extreme paucity of the ruling nation has rendered a matter of necessity to the English in India—that of conciliating the great body of the rural cultivators, and drawing from them disciplined battalions which might establish their dominion over

drizzling rain and a cold wind; but yet the crowd was so great, that the Turkish soldiers had much difficulty to keep a clear entrance for the ministers and other dignitaries into the great council hall, where the reading was to take place.

The ceremony was delayed until three o'clock, in consequence of several of the magnates of the empire having been engaged at the funeral of one of the daughters of the sultan. On their arrival, everyone admitted to the hall hastened to the place assigned to him. There was the grand vizier, surrounded by the other ministers, all the members of the council of state and of the Tanzimat, the Sheik-ul-Islam, the patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops of the different religious communities, and a number of the most prominent men among the Mussulman and Christian population of Constantinople.\* "It would," said an observer, "have formed an interest-

their former oppressors—nor that of penetrating the wilds of nature with the light of civilisation, and conquering mankind to pacify and bless them, like the legion which followed the eagles of Rome to the extremities of the earth. It is more akin to the establishment and system of government of the Normans in England, where the people were not only conquered, but retained in subjection by force, and 60,000 horsemen annually assembled at Winchester to overawe and intimidate the subject realm. Their number is small compared to the entire population of the country. Three millions of Osmanlis in Europe are thinly scattered over a territory containing twelve or thirteen millions of Christian subjects; but they are all armed, and ready to become soldiers; they are in possession of the whole fortresses, harbours, and strongholds of the kingdom; they have the command of the government, the treasury, the capital, and the great cities; the Christians are scattered over the country, and depressed by centuries of servitude; the Turks are concentrated in towns, and rendered confident by the long exercise of power. What renders the government of the Christians, though so superior in number, by the Mohammedans more easy in Turkey, is the variety of tribes and races of which the subjected population is composed; their separation from each other by mountains, seas, and entire want of roads, and the complete unity of action and identity of purpose in the dominant race. The Greeks are not only a different race, but speak a different language from the Bulgarians; the Servians are a separate tribe from the Wallachians, the Albanians from both. The Greek of the Fanar (the quarter of Constantinople where the richest and most intelligent of the Greeks reside) has nothing in common with the peasant of Roumelia; the Armenian with the Syrian; the Egyptian with the Cappadocian; the Jew with the Albanian. These different nations and tribes have separate feelings, descent, and interests; they are severed from each other by recollections, habits, institutions; vast ranges of mountains, in Greece, Macedonia, and Asia Minor, part them; roads, or even bridges, there



ing study for a physiognomist this assembly, composed of the most prominent men of Turkey. I do not think it would have been found inferior to any other similar assembly, as regards intellectual countenances. The most prominent feature was earnestness. Notwithstanding the contact with Europe, and the history of so many deposed and assassinated sultans, the person of the latter is still held in religious veneration. Even the rather turbulently disposed crowd outside became silent when the firman signed by the sultan's own hand was taken out."

Habat Effendi, the chief of the *chancellerie* of the grand vizier, read the firman; after which the Sheik-ul-Islam said a prayer appropriate to the occasion, and the grand vizier made an address, in which he touched upon the most prominent points of the new state document. Printed copies of it in the Turkish language were distributed among the crowd when the ceremony was over. It was also ordered to be translated into all the other languages of the empire, and sent into the various provinces.

The importance of this remarkable document can scarcely be exaggerated. It was powerfully and concisely observed, that every sentence of it is a revolution—a revolution which was to sweep away the rotting past and to create a healthy future for Turkey. The question was—would the firman become a practical thing, the base of a new code of laws, and the dawn of a new state of society in Turkey; or would it be a solemn mockery—a word and not a fact, a delusion and not an actual reform? The Turkish government had made promises respecting the bestowal of equal civil rights to its Christian subjects; but it had made those promises with an intention of never fulfilling them. Certainly the position of Turkey in relation to the great powers of Europe is, and must long remain, a serious one; they hold her tranquillity in their hands, and they could punish any insincerity on her part by leaving her a prey to internal distraction and external aggression. Still it was doubtful whether

are none, to enable the different inhabitants of the varied realm to communicate with each other, ascertain their common wrongs, or enter into any common designs for their liberation. On the other hand, the Turks, in possession of the incomparable harbour and central capital of Constantinople, with the Euxine or the Black Sea for their interior line of communication, are a homogeneous race, speaking one language, possessing one religion, animated by one spirit, swayed by one interest, and enabled,

they would ever, from motives of irritation, adopt a course they had striven to prevent; and it is asserted that the Turkish government granted the firman only in the belief that it would be enabled to make it a dead letter in action, and that the Turkish ministers relied upon the non-agreement of the five powers under whose protection the rights of the Christians were to be placed, and trusted that there would always be two or three who would take an opposite view of any complaint which might be brought forward of some non-observance of the conditions laid down in the firman. Without doubt such would probably be the case; and it is well for the independence of Turkey that it would: yet, with every deduction that may be made, we are inclined to believe that the firman was the herald of great and sweeping reforms—of some dim approach to that pure impartiality of government to all men of all creeds, that we regret to say does not yet exist altogether without alloy even in England. The Turkish government has always tolerated Christianity, but the western states of Europe rightly demanded something more than this. Tolerance is an arrogant and offensive term, implying an unhealthy amount of Pharisaical egotism on the part of those who use it. When one man or state assumes to tolerate the religious opinions of another, he or she should be able to demonstrate their own infallibility. If you cannot err, you have a right to tolerate; but such perfection belongs only to Divinity. The western states demanded from the Sublime Porte not toleration, but EQUAL RIGHTS to all its subjects, whether Mohammedan or Christian. It was not consistent with their dignity and position that they should receive less. Their claim, indeed, was based upon the noblest altitude of protestantism—namely, that the form of a man's religion is a matter resting only between him and God. That is the legitimate issue of the holy right of private judgment; without which, in all its native earnestness and freedom, protestantism is a pretence and a delusion,—in

by means of the government couriers, whose speed compensates the difficulty of transit, to communicate one common impulse to all parts of their vast dominions. The example of the English in India is sufficient to show how long the possession of these advantages is capable of enabling an inconsiderable body of strangers to subdue and keep in subjection a divided multitude of nations, a thousand times more numerous."—Continuation of the *History of Europe*, Vol. III.



brief, Romanism stript of its adornments and gaudy robes, yet retaining all its offensive pretensions of supremacy. True protestantism is inseparably allied to progress; unlike catholicism it can never stand still; it does not cling blindly to the dead past, but moves forward with the living present; it adapts itself to the varying aspects of society and the wants of the age; under all circumstances it still struggles forward towards God and truth, the objects of its worship and its reverence; true to its nature, it protests vehemently against every hollow form, every insincerity in religion, every social wrong. It does not aim at political supremacy; its spirit is industrial, its object the happiness of man, and its destiny the regeneration of Europe. Such is true vital protestantism; not as it is professed in many institutions around us, where, indeed, it is neither understood nor practised; but protestantism as the early reformers dimly conceived it, and as the latter reformers would make it in these present days. In demanding a firman from the sultan for the emancipation of the Christians of Turkey, catholic France and Austria were doing true protestant work; they were protesting against an unjust and crumbling state of things which branded opinion as crime, and claiming the right of man to approach the throne of the Eternal in the fashion which to his own judgment seemed right, and to his affections appeared sacred.

The firman of the sultan was as follows:—

"To thee, my grand vizier, Mehemet-Emir-Aali-Pasha, &c., may God grant thee dignity, and double thy power.

"My dearest desire has always been to secure the happiness of all the subjects whom Divine Providence has placed under my imperial sceptre, and since my accession to the throne, I have never ceased to use every endeavour to achieve this object. Thanks to the Almighty, these incessant efforts have already produced useful and numerous fruits."

The sultan then stated, in a long address to the vizier, that he desired "the prosperity; happiness, and well-being of all his subjects—all of whom were equal in his eyes, and all equally beloved." He thus continued—"By the efforts of my subjects and those of my allies, the external relations of my government have acquired a new force, and I wish now likewise to augment its strength in the interior, and to make all my subjects happy; for, united as

they are by their common sacrifices and their patriotism, they are all equal in my eyes; my will is therefore that the following points be rigorously enforced:—

"I confirm all the assurances given by the hattîscherif of Gulhané, as to the security of the lives, the property, and honour of all classes of my subjects, without distinction of rank or religion, and I will that these assurances be minutely observed.

"All the privileges and immunities which have been given to the Christian and other communities which are under my sceptre are again confirmed. A revision will be effected without delay of the privileges and improvements made according to the spirit of the age and the actual state of society, and with my sovereign sanction. The councils which will be expressly established at the patriarch's, under the inspection of the Sublime Porte, will have to discuss these improvements and submit them to my government. The power given to the patriarchs by Mohammed the Conqueror, and my other glorious ancestors, will be combined with this new position created for them by me, and when the mode of election of the patriarch will have been ameliorated, the patriarch will be named by diploma for life.

"According to a method devised by the Sublime Porte, the patriarch, and the chiefs of the Christian and other communities, the patriarchs, archbishops, vicaries, bishops, and rabis, will have to take an oath of allegiance. All contributions and casual profits levied by the clergy from the communities are forbidden. Fixed revenues will be assigned to the patriarchs, archbishops, vicaries, and bishops, and a sufficient salary apportioned to the lower clergy, according to their rank and functions. The movable and immovable goods of the clergy will not be touched. A council, chosen by the clergy and laity of the Christian and other communities, will be entrusted with the direction of the national affairs of the community.

"No objection will be made to repairing the churches, schools, hospitals, and cemeteries in the different towns, villages, and hamlets, according to the primitive design which may still exist. If it becomes necessary to erect new ones, and the patriarch, or the chiefs of the communities, approve it, the plan will be submitted to the Sublime Porte, in order that I may give my sovereign approbation for its erection, or else



that the objections to which it is open might be made against it.

"If in some places there is a community quite isolated—that is to say, without people belonging to another religion—such a community may celebrate publicly its religious ceremonies. But in the places inhabited by people belonging to different religions, each may in its own quarter, adapting itself to the above-named principle, repair its proper churches, schools, hospitals, and cemeteries.

"As to building a new edifice the patriarch and synod will demand the permission of the Sublime Porte, which will be accorded, if there are no internal political considerations which prevent it. But whatever is done in these matters should be always done in a spirit of charity and tolerance.

"Energetic measures will be taken to insure the freest possible exercise of every religion.

"All epithets and distinctions which could tend to show a difference between one class of my subjects as the lower, and another as the higher one, are for ever abolished from all the documents of my imperial chancellery. It is likewise strictly forbidden to officials and private individuals to use offensive and dishonouring terms, and the offenders will be punished.

"As all religions can be exercised freely throughout the Ottoman dominions, no one will be molested on account of his religion, and no one forced to change his religion.

"As the choice of those employed depends on my imperial will, all my subjects will be received for offices according to the existing regulations and according to their capacities, and if they satisfy the conditions demanded by the regulations of the imperial schools—namely, if they are of the proper age, and pass the prescribed examinations, they will be admitted likewise into the military offices. Besides, each community is free to erect schools for arts and sciences. Only the studies followed there and the choice of teachers will be subject to the inspection of a mixed commission named by the Sublime Porte.

"All commercial and criminal causes between the members of two different religious communities, will be subject to a mixed court, whose sittings will be public. The accuser and accused will be confronted there, and the witnesses will take the oath, according to their religion, to tell the

truth. Civil causes in the provinces and sandjaks will be examined in the mixed courts in the presence of the vali and the cadi. The sittings will be likewise public. Causes between two of the same community, or those relating to successions, will, according to the wish of the parties, be brought before the patriarch or Medjlis. A commercial and criminal code, as well as regulations respecting the proceedings of the mixed courts, will be as soon as possible completed, and published after being translated into all the languages which are used in my empire. This will be preceded, with as little delay as possible, in order to combine humanity with justice, by the improvement of the prisons and other places of detention, and regulations made as to the detention of those condemned for smaller crimes. With the exception of the police regulations of the Sublime Porte in this respect, all ill-treatment and corporal punishment or torture are completely abolished, and whoever should dare to inflict them will be severely punished.

"The police in Constantinople, as well as in the provinces, must be so established as to protect most efficiently life and property.

"As equality of taxation will be introduced, it will be justice that the Christian and other subjects should furnish, as well as the Mussulmans, their contingent of troops; they must, therefore, submit to the decision which has been lately taken in this respect. But in these questions the system will be followed to give an equivalent in money—that is, to give money, and be thereby exempt from active service. Regulations will be made shortly for employing all the subjects in the ranks of the army, independently of the Mussulmans, and, when made, these regulations will be published.

"The Medjlis will be reformed in the provinces, in order to place the election of Mussulmans and non-Mussulmans on a good footing, and to insure the free and true manifestation of opinion; and energetic measures will be taken that the Sublime Porte may know the result of these opinions, and on which side the right is.

"As in commercial affairs, and as regards the possession of landed property, the laws are equal for all my subjects, when the Sublime Porte shall have made an arrangement with the foreign powers, to the effect that foreigners should submit in this respect to the laws of the country, and pay



imposts at the same rate as the natives, the right to possess landed property will be conceded to foreigners.

"As the taxes are levied equally on all subjects, one must think of the means to prevent the abuses in the collection of these taxes, especially of the tithes, and to establish, as far as it is possible, a direct system of collection instead of the system of farming the revenue now pursued. In the meantime, any public functionary who should let such revenues at a public auction, or even take a share in it, will be severely punished. The local taxes must, as much as possible, be distributed so as not to do harm to the production and to the development of commerce. Imposts will be levied in the provinces for generally useful purposes, which will be applied for the benefit of those provinces, which will have the advantage of the roads for their communication inland and their connection with the sea. As the Sublime Porte has lately made a budget of its revenues and expenses, this budget must be followed up and developed. The pay of each public functionary ought to be fixed.

"An *employé* will be appointed for every Christian and other community, in order to take care of the affairs which concern the generality of my subjects, and to assist at the state council. These *employés* are expressly taken from the ministry of the grand vizier; they are named for a year, and have to take an oath before they enter on their functions.

"The members of the state council will be free to manifest their opinions in the ordinary and extraordinary sittings, and will not be molested for that. The laws against corruption will be executed against all my subjects without distinction, and to whatever class or rank they may belong. The Sublime Porte will do its best to reform the monetary system, establish a good system of credit, and favour all things tending to raise it, as, for instance, a bank, and other public institutions of credit, which must augment the resources of the country. Roads and canals will also be constructed to facilitate communication. Everything that may impede commerce or agriculture shall be abolished. To obtain the ends above set forth, the spirit and experience of Europe will be called in.

"Such are my orders, such my wishes; and thou, my grand vizier, wilt publish them, according to usage, in my capital and

all parts of my empire; and wilt watch attentively, and take all necessary measures, that all the commands herein written are executed with the most rigorous exactness.

"ABDUL-MEDJID."

In England, people express their feelings through the medium of public meetings and through the press. Numerously attended meetings throughout the country are indications of the popular will that ministers do not consider it prudent to disregard. But the dreamy, taciturn Turk is no orator, and the press can scarcely be said to exist at Constantinople. The mode in which the followers of the prophet express their excitement on political topics is by setting fire to the public buildings of the cities. An insurrection is almost invariably heralded by these flaming symbols of popular discontent. The feelings, therefore, of the Mussulman population of Constantinople towards the imperial firman, may be gathered from the fact that, after its public reading, fires were of frequent occurrence. Nearly every night the sound of cannon was to be heard booming from the watchtower on the Bosphorus, which was soon responded to by the rattling of the engines through the narrow streets, and the yelling and shouting of the firemen. The fanatic had entered his burning protest against the coming changes—he had shown his devotion to the Mussulman faith, and poured out in a flood of fire his hatred of the "unclean Christian dogs," who were henceforth to be regarded as the equals of the followers of the prophet. Having done this, he relapsed into apathy, and bowed himself before the irresistible course of Kismet (fate), believing that the will of man could not avert the course of destiny. He derived some cold consolation from the reflection, that though the ripe fruit must fall, the exhausted flame expire, the doomed state dissolve, yet that these things were God's work, not man's. Allah had decreed it—man could not avert it—it was fate. Happily the fires at Constantinople, though very frequent, were not so destructive as might have been expected from the narrowness of the streets, and the combustible nature of the materials of which the houses are constructed. This was partly to be attributed to the exertions of the allied troops garrisoned at Constantinople, who were very active in rendering assistance to the firemen.



The Constantinople correspondent of the *Daily News* observed—"Released, finally, let us hope, from that hateful traditional pressure which had so long paralysed all her best efforts, and shackled every onward movement, Turkey has now attained the grand climacteric, the beginning of the end, the period of transition, the most critical

\* At the risk of being deemed prolix, we feel inclined to throw together as much information as possible as to the actual state of Turkey during this period. We shall therefore insert the greatest part of a letter from Constantinople, published in the *Times*, and dated Feb. 28th:—"For the last six weeks the Turkish government, having been deep in the discussion of general principles, is now beginning to turn its attention to matters of immediate practical utility, which, if high Turkish functionaries could for once forget their own private interests, might ultimately lead to more beneficial results than their labours since the beginning of this year. The object of the matters now under consideration is the development of the material resources of the country. The fluctuations of the exchange during the last month, and the difficulties which the government encountered and still encounters with its bills on the market (being forced to submit to the tyranny of a few Greeks and Armenians, who regulate the price of money according to their own convenience), have convinced it of the necessity of adopting some measures against this crying evil. The government hopes to find this remedy in the establishment of a bank, on the plan of the *crédit mobilier* of France or Austria, which would serve the double purpose of regulating, on the one hand, the uncertainty of the money-market, and of lending, on the other, a helping hand to agriculture and industry. The idea is not only good, but, what is more, it is practicable, and could be easily realised. There are already several proposals for the establishment of such an institution from foreign houses as well as from native companies. Whichever proposal the government accepts, if a bank of *crédit mobilier* is really to benefit the country, it would be desirable above all that it should bear an essentially national character, and then that it should be created on the most liberal basis. Turkey possesses a great deal of idle capital; few countries will be found in which private individuals have so much ready money at hand; and this is the case not only as regards the higher, but likewise the lower classes; nay, the proportion may be said to be greater with the latter than with the former. Even the poorest Turkish soldier, who has not been paid for months, and sometimes for more than a year, is scarcely ever without a dozen gold picces in his purse or sewed up in his ragged clothes. The inhabitants of the provinces have likewise kept up this old habit of hoarding their little fortunes, which, in the state of insecurity in which they are still living, is easily explained. Nearly all the English and French gold which has been spent for the wants of the army is in their hands, and there it lies, and will most probably lie for years. What in the lower classes is caused by feelings of insecurity arises in the higher ranks of society from the want of means of investment. Some of the pashas in the capital have, indeed, begun to interest themselves in commercial and industrial undertakings, but their number is few. Others

and important period of her annals; when the remodelling of her institutions, the security of property, the benefits of civil and religious liberty, as regards all sections of the community, will offer an ample field for the occupation and arduous labours of her statesmen.\* The long expected Hattihoumayoun, the Magna Charta of Islam,

have taken to buying tchifliks or domains; but, in spite of the advantages which they are able to secure to themselves in the beginning, such investments turn out for most of them complete failures, owing to their absence from the spot, their utter ignorance of affairs of this kind, and to the dishonesty of their stewards. Thus, to give you only one example—Redschid Pasha, with several other high officers, bought, some years ago, a large tract of land in Epirus, formerly belonging to Ali Pasha, of Janina, from whom it had been confiscated. It is several square miles in extent, and consists of very rich land, mostly in the plain, irrigated by the rivers of Luro and Arta, and used to yield large revenues to its former possessor. But what with the deterioration of the property while it was administered by the government, and the little care which the new proprietors could give to these distant domains, being themselves engaged in keeping up their influence in the political turmoil of the capital, the revenues of this large tract of land did not yield more than 70,000 piastres. This lasted for years, until the other shareholders began to despair of ever making a profit out of the affair, and withdrew, leaving Redschid Pasha the sole proprietor. The latter had sense enough to confide the direction of this property to an intelligent European, promising him ten per cent. of the net revenue, and for the last two years he has got an income of 700,000 piastres from it. The consequence of this difficulty of investing money with anything like advantage is, that nearly every Turk who dies leaves at least half his property in ready money behind him, which had been for years previously withdrawn from circulation. The establishment of a bank of *crédit mobilier* on a broad basis would by degrees bring all this dead capital into play, and would at the same time have a large influence on the state of the higher classes in Turkey. In the absence of every other employment which would reward them for their labour, all men in Turkey, especially the offspring of the official class, are born placehunters. In that senseless centralisation, which jealously denies to the provinces every free movement, any one who wants to advance in life naturally tends towards Stamboul, where he gets soon drawn into all the intrigues of which Turkish official life is composed, and loses his honesty. The opening of a new career in the agricultural and commercial development of the country would counteract this evil most powerfully, by establishing an independent class of men, which is entirely wanting in Turkey. Up to the present time there is only a ruling, that is, official class, and an oppressed one, with nothing between them to break the pressure of the former on the latter. But the elements of such an independent class, which ought to form an essential constituent part of every state, are not wanting in Turkey. They must, of course, not be sought in Constantinople, where everybody is drawn more or less into the whirl of the central government, but in the provinces, where this cen-



was finally promulgated on the 18th, as a complement to the edict of Gulhané; and this noble and salutary enactment indicates, above all, the generous and magnanimous sentiments which animate the young sul-

tralisation has not thoroughly penetrated, among the large landed proprietors. Under the former régime, when the provinces enjoyed a certain amount of independence, and were less subject to the political changes of the capital, many men confined their ambition to their native districts, and by attaching themselves to the fortunes of one or other of the influential governors, acquired large landed property. Some of them, of course, shared the fate of their patron, and were swept away when he fell into disgrace, as was invariably the case as soon as he became too powerful; but others survived the fall of their protectors and kept their property. Besides this, in several of the provinces there are still old families remaining who possessed considerable landed interest before the Turkish conquest. It is true the great majority of these are Mohammedans, but already, within the last sixteen years, that is, since the Tanzimat has given greater security to non-Mohammedans, these latter are gradually beginning to lay out their money, hitherto carefully locked up, in land. Take, for instance, Macedonia: in every one of the larger towns, such as Monastir, Kastoria, Serres, &c., a cluster of Greek and Wallach inhabitants are settled, who, having grown rich by commerce in the raw produce of the country, which they have entirely in their hands, are investing all their commercial gains in land, so that it is not uncommon to meet with proprietors who possess a stock of 15,000 or 20,000 sheep, and several thousands of cattle and mules. A future Turkey must be based on these elements, and every step which facilitates the growth of this rich independent class in the provinces ought to be encouraged. It is these considerations which ought to prevail in the decision about a bank of *crédit mobilier*, if it is to be of any real service to Turkey. It is in such matters that foreign influence ought to be brought into play, and European ideas applied. If we really wish to benefit Turkey, her interests ought to be consulted in the first place, because if we start from the mistaken commercial principle of gaining momentarily large profits, we stunt the growth of the material resources of the country, and the institution will never acquire the confidence of the people, and will become what most other imitations of European ideas have turned out in Turkey, a failure. The first endeavour ought to be, therefore, to afford facilities for native capital to take part in any such undertaking, and then to watch that the Turkish government shall not make a good job of the creation of a bank of *crédit mobilier*. Besides the discussions about a bank, the idea of a railway from this place to Belgrade has likewise been again brought on the *tapis*. Several years ago the Turkish government employed an English civil engineer, Mr. Leahy, to make surveys over the whole line, the length of which is about 800 miles. This preliminary survey was finished a short time before the war broke out, which of course put an end to all such projects. It has been again resumed now. The projected line would touch all the most populous towns in its way—Adrianople, Philippopolis, Sophia, Nish, Semendria, and Belgrade: from this main line a branch would run up to Shumla and Rustchuk and connect the Danube

tan, and promises, if properly carried out under the auspices of an honest, enlightened, and patriotic ministry, to add new lustre to his reign, and strength and stability to his splendid empire."

by rail with the capital. There can be no doubt that, should peace be declared, Europe will be swarming with plans for investing capital in Turkey. This will become a mania like that of railways some time ago, and if considerable caution is not used it will lead to just as many disappointments. The railway to Belgrade will be probably one of the first on the list of plans, and failures, because premature. It is mainly passenger traffic which pays on railways, and this, under the actual circumstances, is nearly *nil* in the countries which this line would traverse; on the other hand, these countries, although of great natural fertility, are by no means developed enough to send large supplies of raw produce to foreign markets, and would be always beaten in their competition with the Danubian principalities. Bulgaria, which alone could in future take a considerable share in the exportation of grain and cattle, is not touched by this projected line, but is separated from it by the chain of the Balkan. The chief source of wealth of Roumelia, or the country on the southern slopes of the Balkan chain, will be its mineral produce, which has hitherto been entirely neglected, and until this is developed a railway traversing it will never pay. While talking about the material resources of Turkey I must say a few words about the coal mines at Kosloo. They have been now for eighteen months worked by the English government, and, considering the shortness of the time and the difficulties which were encountered when the Turkish administration was superseded, the results are satisfactory. On the 31st of October the shipping season ceased; the returns extend, therefore, only up to that time. The whole quantity extracted during the period of fourteen months which had elapsed was 42,812 5-20 tons, of which 23,538 5-20 were shipped for the use of the English navy, 4,274 tons given to the French, and 15,000 tons remain ready for shipping early in spring. The costs, including the expenses which the shipping of these remaining 15,000 tons will cause, amount to £32,198, so that the average cost per ton is 15s., exclusive of the royalty of ten per cent. payable to the Turkish government, and ten per cent. which Messrs. Barkley think should be allowed for the inferior combustible powers of this coal, in order to establish an equitable comparison between its cost and that of the coal obtained from England. With these additions the ton of coal on board ship at Kosloo costs 27s. 6½d., while the cost of English coal in port at Constantinople was for the last year 55s. per ton. For the next twelve months it is hoped that 42,800 tons will be extracted, which, with the 15,000 not yet shipped, will make 57,800 tons. But this is the quantity which may be extracted; the quantity which can really be shipped depends on the number of mules and bullock carts which can be employed for its conveyance to the shipping staiths at Zungelduk, and thence to our dépôts at Kosloo. For the 57,800 tons, 300 mules and 100 bullock carts would be required, and they can easily be procured in the neighbourhood. Twenty lighters, able to carry in fine weather from 400 to 500 tons a-day, would be sufficient for their conveyance to the vessels."



At this period, public attention in England was again drawn to the affairs of Persia, and it seemed possible that the hastiness of an English consul might embroil us with that once powerful, though now decrepit Eastern state. During 1855, Mr. Murray, a gentleman who had resided eight years in Egypt, where he had devoted much of his time to the study of oriental character, and to the Arabic, Turkish, and Persian languages, was appointed to the British mission in Persia. Shortly before the arrival of Mr. Murray at Tehcran, one Mirza Hashim, a Persian *employé*, had sought protection from the anger of his own government under the shelter of the British mission. Mirza Hashim had become involved in a dispute with the Persian government, and feeling that he might be subjected to unfair treatment, placed himself under the protection of the British flag. To us it seems hardly right that an English consul should stand between the government of Persia and one of its own subjects: his business is to watch over the interests of Englishmen; but it is an old custom in Persia, that persons who have committed crimes, or have quarrelled with the government, can take refuge in certain places where they are free from arrest. They may go into a mosque, or sit under a gun in a park of artillery, or take refuge in a foreign mission. On Mr. Murray's arrival, he found Mirza at the British mission, and soon ascertained that he was an object of intense hatred to the *sadr* or prime minister. It would have been cruel to withdraw from Mirza the protection he enjoyed, as that would have placed him at the mercy of a powerful and bitter enemy. On the other hand, to retain him at Teheran would be an evident impediment to a good understanding between Mr. Murray and the *sadr*. In this position the British minister thought of getting rid of the difficulty by sending Mirza to Shiraz, as an acknowledged resident agent of the British government. On conveying an official notification of this to the *sadr*, Mr. Murray was informed that Mirza had not been regularly dismissed from the service of the Persian government—that he still belonged to the court of the shah—that as a Persian *employé* he was incapable of acting as an English agent. It was therefore maintained (and we think correctly so), that the appointment was an interference with the internal affairs of the Persian court; and stated, that if Mirza

quitted the precincts of the mission he would be arrested.

Mr. Murray remonstrated against these representations, and contended that the right of protection did not cease with the limits of the British mission; but that it would equally secure the object of it at Shiraz. The *sadr* then seized Mirza Hashim's wife, and endeavoured to induce her to divorce her husband. This lady was a relation of one of the many wives of the shah, and was consequently regarded as being attached to the court. She did not enjoy an unblemished reputation; and it is said, that according to the social customs of the Persians, the *sadr*, who was brother or brother-in-law to the lady, had a right to secure her and to shut her up in his harem. It would have been wiser to have held altogether aloof from such a petty quarrel; but Mr. Murray regarded this arrest as a fresh violation of the protective right conferred by the mission. He therefore demanded the liberation of the lady, and was met with a refusal. A correspondence followed, in the course of which very insulting letters were written by the Persian minister to Mr. Murray. That the Persian court considered its dignity interfered with, is evident from the fact that the shah, who, under ordinary circumstances, never openly interferes in anything connected with the government, himself wrote two autograph letters to Mr. Murray on the subject. They implied that the latter was influenced by secret and improper motives in demanding the liberation of the lady, and were written in a style of coarse imputativeness inconsistent with the dignity of the occupant of a throne. Mr. Murray then regarded himself as publicly insulted, and he sent a sort of *ultimatum* to the Persian government. In it he demanded three concessions—namely, that the lady should be given up to the British mission, that Mirza Hashim should be recognised as the British agent at Shiraz, and that the Persian minister should apologise for the offensive language made use of towards the British mission. These demands were refused; indeed, it was scarcely to be expected that they could have been complied with; for to grant them would have been inconsistent with the independence of any government. Mr. Murray extended the time, in the hope that his demands would be granted; but as the Persian government refused to submit to what it must have regarded as foreign dictation, he



lowered his flag and left Teheran. The temperance of the Persian government in this undignified dispute was further shown by the following official statement, published in the *Teheran Gazette*:—"The Persian government, in consequence of the anxiety produced among the people by the interruption of the friendly relations between the court of Teheran and the British mission, declares, for the tranquillisation of all abroad and at home, that this circumstance, which was caused by the strong and dangerous pretensions put forward by Mr. Murray, the British minister, will not at all diminish the friendly relations between Persia and England, or affect in any way the neutrality of the Persian court. The neutrality of the latter will remain firm and unchanged as hitherto; and the remaining ministers of the allied powers will be the witnesses that this circumstance has had no effect on the neutrality of the Persian court."

Thus far things had not gone very wrong; but the next step was one that threatened to involve us in hostilities with Persia. Mr. Murray, fearing that the Persian government might molest our resident at Bushire, wrote to the government of Bombay, requesting that two British war steamers might be sent to the Persian Gulf to afford, as was said, protection to British interests and to the British resident, should it be necessary. Other persons, however, regarded this act as an attempt to overawe the Persian government into submission. Mr. Layard, in bringing these circumstances before the notice of the House of Commons on the 3rd of March, summed up his observations with the following acute remarks:—

"The most important part of the affair is this, that in order to support the *ultimatum* of our representative we have already entered upon the first steps of a war against Persia. If that be true—and I fear it is so—then I hope the house and the country will protest against such a perversion of justice. I have heard men in authority say that, although the demands of Mr. Murray were hardly justifiable, yet we are dealing with an eastern nation, and having commenced the quarrel we must carry it out. Now, as an Englishman—as a member of this house—as one who has had some experience in eastern affairs—I solemnly protest against that doctrine. I believe it to be false; I believe it to be one which has led us into innumerable difficulties in the East; I be-

lieve it to be one which has ruined our national character among the eastern nations, and led to the infliction of acts of intolerable injustice in India. I have had as much experience as most men in these matters, and that experience has been acquired not by holding official positions, but by travelling alone, without friend or servant, in eastern countries. I claim no merit for that, because anybody in my position might have done the same; but I believe I have done so by always doing that which I thought just and right, and by acting thus at all risks. The moment an eastern finds you to be a man of honour he respects your character, but the moment he proves you to be unjust he loses all confidence in you. I believe that the great influence which is attached to the British name in the East is entirely owing to the character which we acquired some years ago for honesty and uprightness. Let us take care how we trifle with that character. But there is another question to which I wish to call the attention of the house. If we enter into a war with Persia, upon whom will the weight fall? Why, upon those miserable men, our fellow-subjects in India, who are already bowed down to the dust by taxation. But is this a moment to make an enemy of Persia? Suppose that by sending a fleet to Bushire you compel Persia to yield in a quarrel which is without justice or right on our side, do you think that the Persians will ever forgive you for it? No! You will lay the foundation of a feeling of enmity which will never be removed. Let me call the attention of the house to our position in Asia. If, by the present conferences, peace can be obtained consistently with the honour and dignity of this house, I trust we shall have peace; but in that case what is to be expected? We are told that Russia has given up all schemes of aggrandisement, and that she will now turn her attention to internal improvements; but no man who knows the character of the Russian nation would believe that Russia would in a day give up the policy of the Russian race. It is true that Russia may for a time abstain from aggrandisement; but when she has railways all over the empire she might then defy Europe, though not till then. On the European side of Russia we may expect that for some time there will be tranquillity; but is that the case with respect to Asia? Russia owes us a grudge, and she will revenge herself in Asia. So far as Russia and

this country are concerned, the result of the last campaign is rather favourable than otherwise for Russia in Asia. It may seem a paradox, but nevertheless it is strictly true, that the fall of Sebastopol is of less importance to Russia than the fall of Kars is to us. I do not believe that in the centre of Asia the people ever heard of Sebastopol; the name is almost unpronounceable by them. It is not in their way, and they know nothing about it; but the name of Kars is known all over Asia. And what has happened there? The place has fallen, and an English general has been made a prisoner and paraded through Georgia and the Asiatic provinces of Russia. The news of these circumstances has, as a matter of course, spread all over Asia. Within the last few days an account has been published, taken from the Russian papers, of the events which have occurred at Herat; and the Russians are now endeavouring to make the Persians believe that that is a quarrel between us and them. I have a private letter showing how dangerous is our position in that country, and that many weeks may not elapse before, aided by the Russians, a descent may be made on Central Asia. I am not one of those who dread an invasion of India by Russia; but Russia, by moving the powers in Central Asia, might create such a state of things as would oblige us to maintain there an amount of troops which would injuriously increase the weight of taxation and keep up a continual excitement in India. Thus all projects for the good of India would fall to the ground. And you

are now going, by this foolish quarrel, to throw Persia into the arms of Russia, and destroy every possibility of having Persia afterwards on our side. I have good authority for saying that Russia is intriguing among the Kurdistans and the people on the frontiers of Turkey; and, supposing there should be a war in India dangerous to us, could you go to France and ask for help? To such a demand France would reply that she had nothing to with us in India."

Lord Palmerston, in reply, deprecated the discussion of the question, and observed—"I quite agree with the honourable gentleman that, in dealing with these Asiatic countries, it is of great importance to see that you are in the right, and not endeavour to put any wrong upon them; but, on the other hand, nobody knows better than the honourable gentleman, that nothing answers less in dealing with them than to allow them to treat you with insult and indignity."

Quarrels speedily become complicated matters; and shortly after Mr. Murray had retired from Teheran, a Persian army was marching upon Herat; a circumstance which was regarded as a menace to Afghanistan. The conclusion of this matter we shall relate in a future page: it is now necessary for us to bring forward other events which are interwoven with, and form a part of, the record of the war-storm which had swept over the east of Europe, and was rapidly subsiding into an expiring echo.

## CHAPTER IX.

### THE ARMISTICE AND OTHER INCIDENTS IN THE CRIMEA.

On the morning of the 28th of February, news arrived by electric telegraph to the camps in the Crimea, that an armistice had been concluded between the contending states. The Russians, who first received it, communicated the information to the allies under cover of a flag of truce, and it was arranged that, on the following morning, a meeting of officers from each side should take place at Traktir-bridge, to arrange the

details of a suspension of hostilities. The armistice was intended to last one month only, or until the 31st of March; though it was even then considered probable that peace would be concluded before the date appointed for the resumption of hostilities.

Before the meeting took place—that is, on the afternoon of the 28th—the White Buildings, or Karabelnaia Barracks, were blown up. So long a delay occurred, that







THE FLEET OF THE RUSSIANS  
FROM THE SOUTH SIDE OF SEBASTOPOL.

Sept 8. 1856.



most of the spectators had dispersed before the explosion actually took place. It was nearly five o'clock, when a series of rumbling reports, and the rising of a cloud of dense smoke into the air, proclaimed that the work of destruction was being accomplished. As the smoke cleared away, it was ascertained that the damage was by no means complete. Indeed, from a distant view, very little of the building appeared to be demolished. An hour later, another series of explosions took place. These were unhappily attended by a melancholy accident, by which Major George Ranken, a distinguished engineer officer, met his death. He had given notice to several persons engaged in the work to retire to a safe distance, as he was going to light a fuse connected with one of the charges. One of the last persons to whom he spoke was an officer of the 33rd regiment, whom he told that the fuse would only burn one minute before the explosion took place. On seeing every one at a safe distance, he ignited, not only the fuse, but by some mischance, the powder-hose also; the charge went off almost instantly, and before the unfortunate gentleman could leave the spot, the wall fell and buried him beneath its ruins. Instant aid was procured, and no efforts were spared to extricate him. Fatigue parties laboured indefatigably in clearing away the masonry; but the body was not discovered for some hours. As might have been anticipated, life was quite extinct; indeed, from the nature of the injuries received, it was evident that death must have been instantaneous. This painful incident cast a gloom over the corps of which the deceased officer was an honoured member. The sensation it created was the greater, from the fact of its occurring just at the time when all the ordinary dangers of active service had apparently ceased. The remains of the unfortunate gentleman were buried with military honours at the engineers' cemetery. They were followed to the grave by General Eyre, commanding the third division; by Colonel Lloyd, commanding the royal engineers; and by a number of officers of his own corps, and of other arms.

The next morning (the 29th) was a brilliant day for winter. The sun shone brightly, the atmosphere was singularly clear, and the cold no greater than to render exercise exhilarating. At the further end of Traktir-bridge, a white flag was rippling in the wind, and about half a mile

beyond it stood two neat tents, of a blue and white-striped material. They had been erected for the convenience of the generals who were about to arrange the details of the armistice. Just before the hour fixed for the meeting, a group of Russian horsemen were seen approaching. Before they had advanced far into the plain, a shot was fired at them from one of the lower French batteries. Another followed, and the horsemen came to a halt. Some confusion ensued, and suspicions must have been engendered; but the mistake was soon rectified. The officer in command of the battery appears not to have been informed of the intended meeting, and he therefore regarded the Russians as an advancing enemy. The hot salutes discontinued, the Russians resumed their approach. General Martimprey, chief of the French staff, and General Windham and Colonel Count Petilli, chiefs of the English and Sardinian ones, with a select body of officers, and their respective escorts, left the French lines and galloped forward to meet the Russian general.

The generals entered the tents, while a few French and English officers, together with a number of Sardinians, crossed the bridge and exchanged civilities with a party of Russian officers. Of course there was not a great deal of conversation, for each party appeared to be fearful of making remarks which might inadvertently give pain. Added to this, there was no common language; and attempts on the part of English and Russian officers to communicate in French or German, were not remarkably successful. The chief object of curiosity to the allied officers was the Cossacks. They were slender, wiry, ugly fellows; rode on small, rough, active horses; and were armed with sword, carbine, and long flagless lances. They seemed equally glad to cultivate the acquaintance of the men to whom they had been so bitterly opposed. Conversation with them was carried on by signs. Cigars were mutually bestowed, and riding-whips exchanged, as remembrances of the occasion. The mode in which these exchanges were made, was oddly illustrative of Russian acuteness. They offered their wretched sticks to the English officers, who naturally were forced, for politeness sake, to give them their good ones. On subsequent occasions, they again offered, together with some of their own, the worst of the English whips and sticks



back again, taking care only to return the English sticks to those officers who had better ones to give in exchange. Thus many of the English officers only got English weapons instead of Russian, as they imagined. After a time, this sort of thing was so well understood, that no one ever thought of taking down a good whip to the Tchernaya when communications were going on. The number of Russian officers who strolled about was considerable. Their manner generally was grave and rather reserved; but they talked readily, and had the appearance of well-bred men. Many of them were very young, and all wore the long, uniform great-coat, of a sort of brown and gray mixture. The staff officers wore white kid gloves, and some of them even displayed smart patent-leather boots—elegancies which were scarcely to be seen in the English or French camps.

At first, officers among the allies who were on the ground thought themselves fortunate in getting over the bridge of Traktir, and falling into conversation with some Russian officer; but as the morning advanced, and the dry, grassy, shrub-grown plain looked tempting for a canter, they strayed away from the bridge across a small stream, and up a strip of level ground, where stood a square pedestal of rough stones, surmounted by a dwarf pillar. Then there was a general movement in the direction of the Russian lines. Officers cantered forward a bit, and then paused hesitatingly. On getting near to the Russian batteries, they puzzled the Cossack videttes, who at first seemed uneasy, but afterwards accepted cigars in an amicable manner. This was terminated by the approach of a Russian officer, who, speaking in French, politely informed the trespassers that his orders were to allow no one to come further, and that he hoped they would retire. With this desire they of course immediately complied.

In another direction a numerous body of English, French, and Sardinian horsemen, followed by a straggling array of Zouaves, chasseurs, Bersaglieri, and other infantry soldiers, approached very near the Russian pickets, and within shot of many of the batteries. There, however, they considered it prudent to pause. Some curious individuals there were who still pushed forward, but they were now angrily recalled by a Sardinian staff officer, who galloped up for that purpose. On returning to the bridge, they found that the conference was break-

ing up; and soon after the Russian general (Timoieff) and his staff rode over the bridge between a double line formed by the spectators. The general was a soldierly-looking man, of agreeable countenance, who smilingly returned the salutes with which he was greeted. He was followed to the plain by the French and English generals and their staffs, where the latter took leave of "their friends the enemy," and returned to their own camps. A letter from the Crimea, published in the *Presse d'Orient*, related the following anecdote of a Sardinian soldier on this occasion:—

"During the interview of the chiefs of the staff, some Zouaves were seen upon the banks of the Tchernaya with bottles in their hands, making signs to the Russians, inviting them to come and partake. But how was it to be done? The Traktir bridge was reserved for the passage of the generals, possibly because it was wished to prevent a crowd at the place where the conference was held; a multitude of officers and soldiers, nevertheless, ardently wished to cross the river to the Russians; a boatman would have made his fortune that day. Every one complained of the fate which kept him on the bank. All of a sudden a strong, healthy Sardinian soldier entered the stream, and offered for a sou per head to pass to the other side of the Tchernaya any one who would mount his shoulders. He was instantly overwhelmed with orders, and for two whole hours he remained in the water, transporting to the enemy's bank every amateur who presented himself. One sou! Every one cried out how cheap it was, and vied with each other in embarking upon the shoulders of the intrepid and generous trooper. On touching the opposite bank they tendered him their warmest thanks, rallying him a little upon doing so much for so little money. He replied with a malicious smile, which no one understood, but which, nevertheless, had its significance, as they very soon discovered. After the interview, all who had passed the river upon the soldier's back wished to return to the left side by the same road. They called to the aquatic warrior, and made signs to him to approach; but he replied, laughing in a most provoking manner, that the water was cold, and that he was afraid of the rheumatism. 'But how are we to return to the camp?' they cried in an excited manner; 'as you have done part of the work, you must finish it.' 'I am ready to consent,'



replied the cunning Piedmontese; 'but if I catch a cough, I wish to have the means of making broth, as I like it. In place of a sou you must pay me a franc.' A universal cry was raised against this increase of price, but he would not swerve from it. 'If you find it too dear,' said he, with resistless argument, 'ford the stream yourself. After all, you are not so sensitive to the cold as I am, and you will find the water good enough.' In brief, it was necessary to pay him what he asked. They treated the matter as pleasantly as they could, and in a few minutes the soldier found himself in possession of a good round sum. 'Gentlemen,' said he, in withdrawing, 'I have had so much water outside, that you'll not think ill of me if I now put a little wine in.'"

One of our London papers (the *Morning Herald*) also related an anecdote of a similar character. Here it is:—"A very amusing incident occurred on Sunday last (March 6th) on the banks of the Tchernaya. A friend of mine was walking below the Inkermann heights, when he observed several French soldiers on the banks of the river talking, or rather making gestures, to half-a-dozen Russians on the other side of the river; and while he was looking on, two English soldiers and an army works corps man came up. They sung out to the Russians, and one of them pulled out from the breast of his coat a bottle of brandy, and was about to fling it across (about twenty yards), but the other two persuaded him not to do so, as he might break the bottle. He then said he would go over and give them the brandy; he consequently stripped himself, slung the bottle round his neck, and swam to the opposite bank, to the great delight of the Russians, one of whom, armed with a musket, retired to a distance and laid it on the ground. The English soldier and Russians cordially shook hands, took a good pull at the bottle, and the Russians gave him a pipe to smoke; the Englishman then slapped his thigh, and said he was English, and the Russians said, 'Bono Johnny?' When about to return to the other side, he recollected that he had a shilling in his trowsers pocket, and sung out to his comrade in true English style, 'Bill, there's a shilling in the pocket of my bag; shy it over.' The shilling was wrapped up in a piece of rag, and thrown over to him. He then handed it to one of the Russian soldiers, amidst shouts of applause from both French and Russians, and swam back

to the south bank. This was done on a cold winter's day, and the man perfectly sober."

A few days afterwards an order was issued, forbidding any one to fire upon the Russians. It was related in the camps, that at the meeting held near Traktir-bridge, to settle the conditions of the armistice, that the principal Russian officer inquired—"Do you wish orders to be given for the fire to cease at once from our batteries?" To which the French chief of the staff replied, "Just as you please about that; it does us very little harm. We shall not fire while the arrangements are under consideration." On the afternoon of the 2nd of March, a great number of officers rode down to the river Tchernaya, a little way from Sebastopol, and held such conversation as they could with the enemy. A good deal of joking went on, and some shillings were thrown over the stream to the Russian soldiers. "On Saturday" (March 1st), wrote a correspondent, "the usual dropping fire had ceased on the part of the Russian riflemen; but none of the Russian soldiers came out of their ambuscades, or showed themselves outside their works. It seemed as if they had received orders not to fire, but were doubtful whether the French had received similar instructions. On Sunday, however, they approached freely, and, in common with the French and some English officers and soldiers who had gradually collected together at this part, led by a desire of having a near inspection of the caves and curious dwelling-places in the cliffs of the Russian side, assembled on the banks of the small river which divided them. Mutual salutations took place; and to establish a fraternisation, as far as the obstacle which flowed between would permit, cigars and tobacco were tossed across and interchanged. This was not sufficient, and various attempts were made to cross the river; but the water was deep, and they all ended in failures, which gave rise to amusement on both sides. At last the Russians hit upon an expedient. They felled a high tree, and projecting it across the water, formed a temporary bridge. The invitation was accepted. Over went French and English; and nothing could exceed the civility of their late antagonists, but now their friendly entertainers. They showed them the Rock Chapel, the iron balcony of which, projecting from the base of the cliff, had often been an object of curiosity; and hewn hol-



low places, which, instead of being simple chambers or natural excavations, proved to be spacious under-ground barracks. There was also soup, raki, or the pipe, for such as desired them; and it is asserted that, under the influence of this sudden friendship, assisted perhaps by the raki, there were more than one or two instances of soldiers not finding the way back to their camps for many hours after the time when they first crossed the river. Some Russian officers were present, who spoke French fluently, and received with politeness the French and few English officers who were near the spot. This meeting took place before the general order appeared confining all persons within the camp from going beyond the outposts."

The following letter from an officer in the English camp, gives a short account of the Russian soldiers at this period:—

"March 2nd.—Having heard that a truce had been agreed upon until the armistice should be finally signed, I thought it a good opportunity to go and have a look at places where it would have been dangerous before to have been seen. I and a friend accordingly started for Traktir-bridge, but the Sardinian troops would not allow us to pass; we immediately turned back and rode to a part of the river Tchernaya, just below the plains of Inkermann. Here we found many of our men had previously arrived; and I presume, from appearances, that since the battle of Inkermann (November, 1854), no one but an outlying picket of the French had ever been on the spot. We saw in all directions around what had been dead Russians, who had evidently tried to crawl down to the river after the action, but had died in the attempt; all that now remained were old coats, boots, and accoutrements, the former with whitened bones sticking out of them; the skulls also were very perfect. After contemplating this not very delightful spectacle for some time, we went on through a swamp, in which our horses sunk up to their knees, towards the river. Here we found about fifty or sixty English soldiers fraternising with about twenty Russians, all the conversation being carried on by signs, with the exception of our men patting the Russians on the back, and making use of the universally understood term, 'Bono Ruski bono.' The Russians looked fat and well (much better than the French, who, I am told, are now being buried at the rate of 120 a-day), but were shockingly badly clothed; their coats,

which are long, were of a light brown colour, but full of holes, with pieces of stick and rope used for buttons. They are more like English in face than any other nation I have seen in these parts; but they appear to be very grave; and all I saw were fine, tall, stout fellows. I made signs to them to know if they were hungry, and they immediately took up a handful of grass and put it to their mouths; what they meant by that I know not. While we were there three Ruski officers rode up on shocking bad ponies; they took off their caps, and we did the same. An officer of the 88th spoke to them in French, merely saying we hoped to be good friends with them soon. They must have thought that our men looked very smart, for they had on their new tunics. I stayed there about half-an-hour, but did not go across the river, which is about ten or twelve feet wide; though many of our men did."

While speaking of letters, we do not feel inclined to withhold from our readers the following oddity, extracted from the communications of the Crimean correspondent of the *Herald*:—

"You are well aware of the donations to the British soldiery sent out from the fair sex in England, from the lowliest cottager to the very highest lady in the realm. Among the presents were some flannel shirts. One of these fell to the lot of Sergeant — the other day (I am requested not to print the name, but I know the man well); this shirt he opened, and then, inside it, he discovered carefully pinned a lock of hair, and the following letter, which I subjoin *verbatim*. The letter is directed thus:—

" 'This is for you And I  
hope it is A young  
man  
if not Give it tou won.'

"Inside, the words ran thus:

" 'My dear Friend,—I write those few lines to you hoping that they Cheer you A little. I think you are dull, but God will hup you. I am A young woman And I hope that you are A young man, this is my hire (*sic*. for hair), Keep it for My sake from MARY.

" 'You are now lafing, it is bad writing.'

"So ends the letter. Neither county nor town is mentioned in it. It was wafered, not sealed, and the stamp on the envelope is a 'forget-me-not.' The lock of hair enclosed is light brown in colour,



and plaited in three, tied with blue and yellow silk threads."

The order issued on the 3rd of March, prohibiting the English from approaching the Tchernaya, and holding intercourse with the Russians, was felt as a great denial, if not severity. The more so because French officers and troops were frequently to be seen talking to their late enemies, and exchanging gifts with them. On the English side, any stragglers who ventured to cross the prescribed boundary were at once brought back and punished. Some difficulties occurred in arranging the terms of the armistice. The chief of them arose from the demand of the allies to embark things in boats from the south side of the harbour. They intended to ship the cannon, anchors, and other material captured in Sebastopol. The Russians perfectly understood this; and observed, that as the seaboard was not in the possession of the allies, they could not be permitted to

make use of it. This was true; for although the allies were in possession of the town, yet it was commanded by the batteries of the north forts, and not a boat could leave the shore without danger of being sunk. This delicate point was waived by the allies, or it is possible that no armistice could have been concluded at all. Other difficulties arose relating to the Black Sea and the Sea of Azoff; but they were not regarded as of grave importance.

Despite the occasional severity of the weather, and the falls of snow and heavy rains, the English army remained in excellent health. Unhappily, the same remark could not be made of the French troops. Scurvy and typhus fever were both terribly prevalent amongst them. The daily deaths in their hospitals were stated by the English to amount to 170 a-day. The French themselves admitted their losses to be 120 a-day,\* and sometimes considerably more. It is supposed that this frightful

\* Mr. Augustus Stafford, who visited the Crimea on expeditions of benevolence, both in 1854 and 1855, made the following observations concerning the French losses and other matters. In the latter year he went to the Crimea in an English vessel filled with French troops. Cholera broke out during the voyage, and the condition of the poor men was so frightful, that he almost resolved on quitting the vessel when it arrived at Malta; but he yielded to the urgent request of many poor sufferers who begged of him to stay with them:—"It was told him by a French officer on board, and it had been confirmed indirectly by many persons who had opportunities of ascertaining the same statistics, that the French had lost between July, 1854, and July, 1855—slain in battle, left dead on the field 12,000; died afterwards of wounds received in battle, 7,000; sent home with loss of limb or broken in constitution, 25,000; died of disease, chiefly diarrhœa, cholera, and dysentery, 60,000;—total loss, about 105,000, exclusive of all who had been killed or died during the last seven months. 'But,' added his informant, 'we do not put this in the newspapers; we only report a loss of 20,000. You English know too much about your army; we know too little.' The honourable member then described Balaklava harbour, stating that he should think the bay was not above 400 acres in extent. The first view he had of Sebastopol—he spoke as a civilian—made him wonder why our army did not advance and take it at once; and ten minutes' explanation from an artillery officer made him despair of taking it at all. He went through the town after it was taken, and he must say that the evidences of civilisation of Russia, judging from that town, nearly, if not fully, equalled anything in this country; and, though we were at war with the Russians, he could not ride through Sebastopol without a sigh to see so many happy homesteads so utterly laid waste. It was truly surprising to see the vast amount of earth which had been raised to the top of the Mamelon and of the Redan in the face of the enemy. This

was as wonderful to our engineers as it was wonderful to our commissariat how the Russians had been able to feed so vast an army with the sea supply entirely cut off. Bearing these facts in mind, he must say he thought that history would award the glory to the defenders rather than to the besiegers of Sebastopol. While he was standing near the Greenhill battery a cannon shot came by him, and it struck him that it was like the sound of crisp snow driven sharply over ice. The honourable member next described 'that most miserable village of Balaklava,' the infamous extortions practised by Maltese, Ionian, and Italian storekeepers in its streets, and the horrors of its hospital, where he found surgeons quarrelling with orderlies, and orderlies with surgeons, while their wretched patients died. No arrangements were made for the embarkation of the sick at Balaklava. Sometimes the French were obliged to carry down our sick to the shore; there was not sufficient boats to embark them when they got to the shore; and when the transports came the unfortunate creatures had to lie on the hard boards until the skin was worn off their joints by the friction occasioned by the motion of the vessel. You might trace the course of these transports from Balaklava harbour to the entrance of the Bosphorus by the skeletons of the miserable sick thrown overboard on the way. On arriving in the Bosphorus, owing to the insufficiency of accommodation, three or four days sometimes elapsed before the sufferers could be landed; when they did land there was no arrangement for supplying them with food, or for their reception in the hospitals; and, between one thing and another, he had known them to be from four o'clock in the afternoon until twelve the next day without anything to eat. Altogether, so dire was the aspect of affairs at Scutari that it seemed as if Heaven had forsaken us, and as if our sins had given us over to destruction. At this juncture came Florence Nightingale, and then order arose out of chaos. Our story brightened from the arrival of that lady there. He was at Scutari in the autumn



amount of mortality arose chiefly from insufficient shelter and clothing, and from a deficiency of vegetable food. Many kindly offers were made by the English, and accepted in the same spirit by the French. "It is really painful," said a spectator, "to meet the French convoys of sick. They are not often seen—probably precautions are taken that they should not be; but sometimes one falls in with them. I met one on Saturday, between our head-quarters and those of the French. It consisted of fifty patients *en cacolet* on mules, escorted by a few red-capped soldiers and non-commissioners, who seemed but ill pleased with their painful duty. The mules were slipping along the hard-frozen road; the sergeant in charge was grumbling audibly; and most of the sick men (poor, yellow, emaciated creatures) bore the stamp of death upon their contracted and suffering faces."

The Sardinians enjoyed very much better health than the French; but their losses from sickness, at this period, were about double those of the English. One of the principal causes of this was supposed to arise from the fact that a small nation like Sardinia was compelled, in order to fill up the ranks of its army, to be less particular than the English in the acceptance of recruits; and thus recruits were taken whose health and strength was not sufficient for the sufferance of the hardships of active service. A very interesting account was given by the *Times'* correspondent of the huts, habits, and discipline of the Sardinians, which we think is worth transcribing:—"John Bull, with a sore heart for the fate of his children, decimated by his servants' neglect, opened his large hand,

and lavished his rich store profusely, and in some cases wastefully and prodigally. Sardinia, a small and not a wealthy state, although a most hopeful and deservedly prosperous one, could not afford to imitate her ally. But the gallant *corps d'armée* she sent out here was fortunate in having a general of great ability and resources, and a staff and officers who ably seconded his views. They looked around, saw what materials the country yielded, and profited by the hints afforded them by Tartar dwellings. They went to the woods and cut quantities of thin branches—they dug holes in the earth to the depth of about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet; above these holes they wove the twigs into walls and roofs, and, making use of the clay extracted, they erected neat warm huts of what is vulgarly called 'wattle and dab,' and found themselves well prepared to meet the winter. In this manner is nearly the whole of the Sardinian army lodged. In one camp only, on the side of a rocky hill, excavation was impossible, and above-ground huts were built of stone. This was the work of some time. The *gourbis*, as the clay and branch huts are called, were very quickly erected. The materials once collected, six men could build one in three days, and some of the camps were entirely completed in that time. The six men took up their abode in the edifice they had constructed, and thenceforward they had nothing to do but to add as many little comforts and conveniences as possible to the shelter thus rapidly provided. To this end they have not been sparing of their labour. It would be difficult to point out anything that their means and circumstances permitted which has been left undone. The

of 1854, and then he saw the horrors which all had heard described, and which he would not attempt to describe again. He was there in the autumn of 1855, and all was changed. Confusion had given place to order, filth to cleanliness, the aggravation or neglect of every human suffering to the mitigation of all the evils of war. But there was one thing not changed. He found among our soldiers the same good feeling, the same noble demeanour, the same heroic spirit that he had witnessed the year before. And there was another thing not changed; for in the same little room, with no luxuries and very few comforts, engaged in her ceaseless work, there he found Florence Nightingale. Considering the difficulties she had had to contend with, she had been one of the few that had not disappointed England. He was in the French tent hospital at the front of the camp, and they owned that in the comforts and luxuries supplied to the sick and wounded they could no longer compete with us. He asked Miss Nightingale 'What do you think of the sol-

diers now?' She said, 'They have their faults, and those who in their several positions in life may feel that they have a little neglected the education of the lower orders will be the last to blame those brave men for the faults they do possess; but they respond to kindness and they recognise discipline, and, for ourselves, we have never heard from them one word or seen one gesture that might not have been fitted for the drawing-room. They have been to us, and to all the ladies, gentlemen and Christians.' He asked one poor fellow what he thought of Miss Nightingale, and the reply was—'Well, I hope she will go up to heaven before she dies.' After glancing at the burial-place at Scutari, where as many as eighty corpses were occasionally consigned coffinless to the earth at one time, the honourable member concluded an eloquent and highly interesting lecture with a glowing tribute to the memory of the brave men who had so nobly fought and died for their country—themselves descendants of the heroes who fought at Agincourt, at Blenheim, and at Waterloo."







VICTOR EMANUEL  
KING OF SARDINIA



huts of the infantry contain six men, but are estimated to hold seven, if necessary. Some, however, are only for five, and those of the cavalry for four. The officers live by twos and threes in a hut, and with far less space at their disposal than would appear sufficient to an English subaltern. Each field officer has a hut to himself; so has the *fourrier* or non-commissioned officer intrusted with the accounts of the company. Most of the officers' huts are built above-ground, but they are chiefly very small, and colonels of battalions are found dwelling in closets that afford but just room for a bed, chair, and table—the orderly room and regimental offices being under the same roof. The doors of some of the officers' habitations are very neatly constructed, and provided with lock and key, and the owners have decorated and arranged the interior so as to make the most of the scanty space. One major has amused his leisure by painting his family arms on the white wall above his chimneypiece, and is proceeding with other similar adornments. Another officer had taken to sculpture as a pastime, and has nearly completed a 'Francesca di Rimini,' carved in relief on a piece of white soft stone from the Malakhoff. Another is walking-stick manufacturer for the battalion, and has a number of green sticks, bent into hooks and tied with string, dangling from the roof of his cabin. Most of the huts have well-contrived little tables or sideboards to write at, and various convenient bits of *impromptu* furniture, manufactured out of boxes, barrels, and the like, and some have receptacles in the roof for stowing away baggage. It is to be observed that the Sardinian officers do not mess in their huts, which, indeed are not large enough to admit of their doing so comfortably. The officers of each battalion have a large common hut, where they dine and breakfast, and often pass the evening. In some of them I saw newspapers, in others chess and other games. The diversions of the men must be chiefly out of doors. On a fine day scarcely a man is in his hut, and they are to be seen running and jumping, and amusing themselves in various ways. Some of them are preparing to compete with their English comrades in the foot races and other athletic games that are shortly to take place. It is evidently part of the system in the Sardinian army to keep the men employed in a healthy and agreeable manner. Thus, gardening is very

much promoted. Even at this early season, with snow covering the mountains and lying here and there in sunless nooks of the plain, the Sardinian camps are green and pleasant to gaze upon. Firs, junipers, and other evergreens have been brought from the forest and planted round the huts. Yesterday, a beautiful spring day, carts were winding down from the Woronzoff-road, bringing more uprooted trees. Raised earthen platforms have been constructed, with a turf table in the centre and circular seats of the same material, and others are being made. Then there are gardens—some for flowers, and in which hyacinths are already blooming; others for vegetables, where little is as yet visible, save a few pot-herbs. Near the excellent residence of the commanding officer of a battalion—a double tent, well dug out, boarded, and impervious to wet and cold—stood a row of flower-pots, in which seeds were planted, with cleft sticks and tickets bearing the botanical names of the plants, all as neat as if in an English nursery-ground. But the order, cleanliness, and good taste observable in every detail of the Sardinian camp are such as to leave an extremely favourable impression of the army, and of the nation from which it is drawn, upon the mind of any one who devotes a day to its careful inspection. One is forcibly struck, also, on thus visiting our Italian allies *à l'improviste*, by the excellent bearing of both officers and men, and the good feeling, kindness, and respect that evidently prevail among them. In their intercourse with their inferiors, the officers never seem to forget the courtesy of the gentleman. I never yet heard a Sardinian officer swear at a soldier, nor saw one omit to acknowledge a salute. In both these respects I think some of the officers of our army, both of high and low ranks, might take a lesson from their allies. The discipline of the Sardinian soldiers is excellent, and the officers appear to be thoroughly up to their work, to take a businesslike view of their profession, and not to dream of such a thing as neglecting its duties. Two-thirds of the officers proceed from military schools: those who do not must serve a certain time in the ranks, and go through all the grades. A knowledge of the French language—a thorough knowledge, and not a smattering—is indispensable to an officer in an army a part of which (the Savoyards, &c.) does not speak Italian. So it is made one of the conditions of a commission—as it



ought to be in all services ; and thus all the Sardinian officers speak French fluently, many of them elegantly and with scarcely a perceptible accent, while some speak and write it like Frenchmen."

On the 14th of March there was another meeting, near Traktir-bridge, of generals of both the Russian and allied armies, and the terms of the armistice were definitely agreed upon. Two marquees had been erected—one for the transaction of business and the signature of the agreement, and the other for refreshment. It was remarked, that a much longer time was spent in the latter marquee than in the former one. There is very little doubt that all the preliminaries had been settled before the meeting took place. An amusing story in connexion with this meeting went the round of the camps. After the generals had separated, Sir William Codrington rode for some distance over the plain, attended only by an aide-de-camp and an orderly. At some distance from the English lines he met a Russian cavalry soldier, who, with many signs and gesticulations, made some request that neither the general nor his aide-de-camp could comprehend. At length the soldier explained his wish by taking the general's riding-whip, and giving his own in exchange. No opposition being offered, the soldier soon retired with his prize. Shortly afterwards a Russian officer came up, and in the brief conversation that followed, General Codrington's aide-de-camp mentioned the story of the whip ; adding, that he supposed the soldier little imagined he had got the whip of the British commander-in-chief. The statement appeared to make a considerable impression upon the Russian officer, who, on leaving, galloped after the soldier, who probably did not long enjoy his prize.

Though the weather was bitterly cold, numbers of French and English officers and men went every day to the banks of the Tchernaya, to hold a little pantomimic conversation with their late enemies, and to shoot wild fowl. "The Russians," said a spectator, "are not quite so eager or so active in their curiosity as the allied soldiery, and need the stimulus of turning a dishonest penny, in the exchange of small coins, to tempt them out from grass-cutting and the pursuit of wild duck and hares by the flats beneath Mackenzie's farm to the banks of the stream. They were dressed as usual ; winter and summer there is no

external change in their aspect. The men I saw on that warm 20th of September, on the slopes of the Alma, seem repeated and multiplied in every direction as I look across the Tchernaya. There is a wonderful family likeness among the common soldiers. The small round bullet head, the straight light hair, high cheek-bones, gray keen eyes, rather deeply set beneath straight and slightly defined eyebrows, undemonstrative noses, with wide nostrils, large straight mouths, square jaws, and sharp chins, are common to the great majority of them. Their frames are spare and strongly built ; but neither in stature or breadth of shoulder do they equal the men of our old army of 1854. Many of the officers are scarcely to be distinguished from the men in air, bearing, or dress, except by the plain, ill-made, and slight swords which they carry from an unornamented shoulder-belt ; but now and then one sees a young fellow with the appearance of a gentleman, in spite of his coarse long coat ; occasionally a tall, lumbering fellow, who seems to be of a different race from the men around him, slouches along in his heavy boots. The clothing of the troops appears to be good. Their boots, into which they tuck their loose trowsers, are easy and well made ; and the great-coats worn by the men fit them better than our own fit the English infantry. The colour, which is not so much a gray as a dunish drab, is admirably suited not only to conceal the wearers in an open country, but to defy dust, mud, or rain to alter its appearance."

During the night of the 17th of March, a fire broke out at Balaklava, and consumed a whole hutful of men of the army works corps. The fire broke out about midnight. On the alarm being given, every effort was made by the English and Sardinian soldiers to extinguish the flames ; but they were only able to prevent them from spreading further. When the fire burnt out, sixteen charred bodies were removed from among the ashes and laid in a row. They formed a dreadful sight. The stalwart frames of the wretched victims were shrivelled up into little better than cinders. None exceeded more than two feet in length, and only mere stumps remained where limbs had been. From the position in which the bodies were found lying, it appeared that the men had not moved after they had fallen asleep. It was St. Patrick's night ; the poor fellows had been drinking with their friends, pro-



bably to excess; and the smoke had suffocated without awakening them. An inquest was held upon their remains, and a verdict of "accidental death" returned.

This calamity was soon forgotten in the general cheerfulness which good health and plentiful rations spread throughout the camp. Games and races were the chief amusements. On the banks of the Tchernaya sportsmen waded through the sedgy ground and tall bulrushes in search of wild ducks. They were scarce on the English side of the river, though plentiful on the other. A well-known Crimean writer thus speaks of a ride in this pleasant locality:—"Have you killed anything?" said I to a gallant young guardsman, knee-deep in slush. 'No; these confounded — frighten them all to the other side, where they are so thick they can't be missed, and then they go over and shoot them like sparrows; while we, poor devils, are kept here, and will be broke by old C——y if we follow them.' However, wild ducks have been killed and eaten by us, and the pintail and the teal, the golden-eyed pochard, the widgeon, his tufted brother the little grebe, and some other

varieties, have undergone the trying operations of the British *cuisinier*. As we ride along, lo! a fusilade springs up in the marsh, and grandly through the sky, in dazzling relief against its azure, sail two milk-white swans, with outstretched necks and black bills, cleaving their way against a strong east wind, and jerking a wing now and then in acknowledgment of some high-flying bullet, that has gently tickled the feathers of their snowy mail. Then up rises a train of herons, or a noisy *comitatus* of brent geese, or a flight of mallard and duck, with whistling wings; or heavy bitterns, or agile snipe, and cloudy streaks of plover, and distract the attention and aim of the excited pot-hunters. For several long miles this active chase goes on under the solemn brow of Inkermann, past the deep gorges of these blood-stained ravines, by the deserted City of Caves, the dwelling-places of mystic and forgotten races, till the Tchernaya, expanding as it flows, gains on the yielding earth, and eats its way with many mouths through the fat *marais*, into the blue waters of the roadstead of Sebastopol."

## CHAPTER X.

BIRTH OF A "CHILD OF FRANCE;" PUBLIC REJOICINGS, AND ADDRESSES TO THE EMPEROR; REFLECTIONS ON THE NAPOLEON DYNASTY; PLAN OF THE EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH FOR THE PROSECUTION AND SUCCESSFUL TERMINATION OF THE CAMPAIGN IN THE CRIMEA.

AFTER the death of Nicholas of Russia, the Emperor Napoleon became, without doubt, the most influential man in Europe. Upon his actions, more than upon any other man's, does its peace or otherwise depend. Still his life alone stood between France and probable confusion, for he had no son to succeed him. United on the 29th of January, 1853, to the beautiful Eugénie-Marie de Guzman, Comtesse de Téba, he had hitherto been disappointed in his hope of a successor. At length it was publicly announced that the expectations of the emperor would probably be gratified, and that he might not only wield the imperial sceptre of France during his life, but leave that august and responsible dignity to a successor. About five o'clock on the morn-

ing of the 15th of March, the empress was seized with the pains of childbirth. Notice was immediately sent to the princes of the imperial family, and to the ministers, the senate, deputies, council of state, and the high functionaries of the government, who at once proceeded to the palace of the Tuileries to be in attendance.

The sufferings of the empress were severe and prolonged. The whole of Saturday (the 15th), and the following night, the physicians were in attendance, in hourly expectation of the birth. During periods of relief from pain, the empress took a little repose, or walked in her room, and looked with a grateful feeling at the sympathising multitude assembled in the garden in front of her windows. The emperor encouraged



and consoled her by the most tender and affectionate expressions. He told her that the churches were crowded with the faithful praying the Almighty for her delivery; and that all Paris was offering to heaven the most ardent wishes in her behalf. The empress felt her courage renewed at the idea that she was the object of so much affectionate sympathy. At length, shortly after three o'clock on Sunday morning, all anxiety and danger were over, and Napoleon was the father of a son. The royal infant was described as being remarkably robust; so much so, as to be nearly as big as the child of his nurse, which was two months old. It is said that the royal infant was rosy, plump, well-made, fully developed, and with a surprising abundance of chestnut hair, resembling his father's. At six o'clock, the cannon of the Invalides announced the news to the city of Paris; and within an incredibly short time, the booming of the Park and Tower guns also announced it in London.

The infant remained in the apartment of the mother until the hour of mass, when it was removed to the apartment prepared for it. The *ondoiment* (half-baptism) was performed with much pomp in the chapel of the Tuileries. Near the altar, on the gospel side, stood Cardinals Dupont, Gousset, Donnet, and Marlot, and M. Legrand, *curé* of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, the imperial parish. Opposite, on the epistle side, stood the Bishop of Nancy, first chaplain of the emperor; and his clergy. In the centre of the sanctuary, in front of the emperor's arm-chair, was a table covered with white drapery, bearing a splendid silver-gilt baptistery. Next to it were the admirals and marshals of France and other high dignitaries, the grand-masters of the imperial household, and the masters of the ceremonies; the Princess Mathilde, and the ladies of honour to the empress. Shortly after twelve, the emperor entered the chapel, and mass was celebrated. Then the Abbé Deplace rose, and taking for his text the words, *Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini* ("Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord"), implored the blessings of the Deity on the new-born prince, and thus concluded his invocation:—"Lord Jesus, Supreme Master of kings and people, Thou hast heard our prayers, and hast granted the wishes of the sovereign and of the country. We return thanks to Thee before our altars for having given to an august union that fruitfulness

which forms the joy of this great day. It is Thou who hast blessed, in an heir to the throne, both the faith of the prince, who proclaims before all the world his mission, and the charity of the pious princess, who honours herself in being the protectress of the unfortunate, and the mother of Thy poor. Complete Thy mercies, O Lord! Watch over this cradle, the depository of so many hopes. Form him Thyself to be the happiness of a great people. Bestow on him the genius and magnanimity of his father, the kindness and inexhaustible charity of his mother, the sincere faith and devotion of both; and, to sum up those wishes in one word, bestow on him a heart worthy of his destiny and of his name."

After mass the imperial infant was brought in and christened with the names of Napoleon, Eugène, Louis, Jean, Joseph; to which was added the title of "*fil de France*." He was called Napoleon and Louis, after his father; Eugène, from his mother Eugénie; Jean, after the pope, who was intended to be his godfather; and Joseph, in compliment to his intended godmother, Josephine, the Queen of Sweden. A *Te Deum* was then chanted, a benediction pronounced, and the emperor and his suite retired. The same morning the senate and the legislative body assembled at eight o'clock, and received a message announcing to them the birth of the imperial infant. The announcement of the news to the legislative assembly was interrupted by cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" "I perceive, gentlemen," continued the president, "that you share the joy of all France." Again his voice was drowned with enthusiastic shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur! Vive l'Impératrice! Vive le Prince Impérial!*" The excitement speedily spread throughout Paris; many of the houses were decorated with flags and streamers; and preparations were made for illuminations. The next day all the theatres were opened gratuitously; and the emperor announced that he would be godfather, and that the empress would be godmother, to all the legitimate children born in France on the 16th of March. Such an immense number of presents for the empress and the imperial infant were sent to Paris, that it was found absolutely necessary to give orders at all the railway stations and diligence offices in the country not to receive any parcel for such a destination. The money spent in paying for the carriage of these parcels was enormous. Necessarily very



few could be accepted, and the greater part were returned to the senders, with thanks for their offers. Many of the presents were of a very odd kind. Among the gifts for the infant was an enormous case of honey, the carriage alone of which came to twenty francs. A woman in the south of France sent the empress an extremely dirty girdle, which the donor said she had worn for seven confinements; and as she had only had boys, she thought the empress would be glad to wear it for luck.

Others besides the population of Paris were made to rejoice in the birth of the prince. The emperor caused a return to be laid before him specifying the number and condition of the individuals still kept in Algeria or abroad in consequence of political measures. In 1848, 11,000 persons were condemned, under the republic, to be transported to Algeria; though through the clemency of the president, only 306 remained there. In December, 1851, 11,201 persons were banished; but the pardons granted by the emperor had reduced the number of these to 1,058. To celebrate the birth of the prince, the emperor granted permission to return to France to all those exiles who would declare that they would loyally submit to the existing government. This appeal was made at the inauguration of the empire, and now repeated. Many, however, thought it scarcely so generous or so politic a proceeding as the granting an unconditional pardon would have been.

On the day following the birth of the prince, the emperor received at the Tuileries the congratulations of the senate, the legislative corps, the council of state, the magistracy, the institute, the clergy of every denomination in France, the municipal body, and the deputations of the national guard and of the army and navy. Many addresses were presented, of which we give that of Count de Morny, president of the legislative body, as the most distinguished:—

“Sire,—Heaven has blessed your union. At the dawn of a holy anniversary the empress has given a son to your affection, and to France a future emperor. This event has caused universal joy; it is not only because the country in its gratitude and attachment to you shares in your happiness, but also because it hails that child as a pledge of future security. On former occasions similar hopes were entertained, and not realised. Why should the hopes we now indulge in with so much warmth in-

spire us with such confidence? It is because the two dangers which overturned thrones—revolution at home and coalition abroad—have been conjured by your majesty. You have conquered revolution by force, diverted it by labour, and soothed it by clemency. You have reconciled foreigners with France, because, if your armies covered themselves with glory, it was for the maintenance of justice and right, and you have exalted France without humbling Europe. Therefore, when every Frenchman is indebted to you for the security of his family, the future of his children, and, above all, for the right of being proud of his nationality, you will conceive, sire, his anxiety to give a hearty welcome to that young prince, and that he should rest such sanguine hopes on the life of a child. I come then, sire, in the name of the legislative body, to congratulate your majesty, and to pray you to lay at the feet of the empress our congratulations, our wishes for her speedy recovery, and, finally, to renew over that cradle the oath of allegiance and devotedness we have already taken, and which we will keep for ever.”

To this the emperor replied with much emotion, reminding the deputies that the Napoleon-dynasty had sprung from the people, that it had been tried by forty years of adversity, and that the imperial prince was born amid the hopes of peace.

A few days later—on Tuesday, March the 18th—the emperor received all the plenipotentiaries of the peace congress, then assembled at Paris, and received in their name the congratulations of the chief states of Europe. In replying, he observed—“I am happy that Providence has granted me a son at a moment when a new era of general reconciliation dawns upon Europe. I will bring him up imbued with the idea that nations must not be egotistical, and that the peace of Europe depends upon the prosperity of each nation.” Later in the day, the emperor received the congratulations of the diplomatic corps, and of the various bodies of the state. The president of the senate remarked, in the course of his address—“Already France breathes more freely by the birth of this child; she associates her future with his destinies.” The emperor happily replied:—

“The senate shared my joy when it learned that heaven had granted me a son, and you have hailed as a happy event the birth of an *enfant de France*. I purposely



make use of this expression. In fact, the Emperor Napoleon, my uncle, who had applied to the new system created by the revolution all that was great and noble in the old *régime*, resumed that old denomination of '*Enfants de France*.' And, in truth, gentlemen, when an heir is born destined to perpetuate a national system, that child is not only the offspring of a family, but he is truly, also, the son of the whole country, and the name indicates his duties. If this was true under the old monarchy, which more exclusively represented the privileged classes, with how much more reason ought it not to be so today, when the sovereign is the elect of the nation, the first citizen of the country, and the representative of the interests of all? I thank you for the good wishes you have expressed for this child of France and for the empress."

Yet, amidst all this congratulation and rejoicing, warning voices were not wanting to proclaim that it was by no means a certain matter that the infant whose appearance was so loudly welcomed, would wear the imperial diadem of France. The race of Napoleon had experienced too many vicissitudes in the past, to make its future a subject of certain prophecy. Should the life of the emperor be prolonged until the little stranger who had just entered the world arrived at manhood, all would doubtless be well; the more especially so if he inherited the commanding genius of his father. But, on the other hand, if the father died during the infancy of the child, or the heir to the imperial throne proved to be of a weak or timid nature, then his career would probably be one of disappointment and gloom. A powerful leader upon this subject appeared in the *Times*, soon after its announcement of the birth of the little prince; so powerful and so pregnant with historic wisdom, that we shall insert the whole of it here. It is, indeed, a brief moral lecture upon historical vicissitudes—

"Two things go to make up the idea of a dynasty—the perpetuation of the race, and the continuance of power in the hands of successive generations. The good fortune of the Emperor of the French has just fulfilled for him the first of these two conditions. The empress has been safely delivered of a son, and the near approach of peace has been heralded by an event still more auspicious to the existing government of France than the proximate close of

hostilities. The same good fortune which has raised Louis Napoleon from an exile to a sovereign, has now presented him with an heir, on whom may devolve his vast acquisitions, and who will, at any rate, have as good a claim as any other Frenchman to the throne of the first nation of the continent.

"Joy and adulation may, no doubt, induce many to take so exaggerated a view of this event that they will think such congratulations and hopes as we have to offer far below the importance and the happiness of the present occasion. But while hoping for the child that has just entered into this world of troubles and vicissitudes, a less chequered and more auspicious fate than has waited upon his predecessors born in the purple, we cannot forget the teachings of history, particularly of the history of France, nor be blind to the many chances which interpose themselves between the cradle and the throne of the baby emperor. Not a little remarkable is it to observe, that from the accession of Louis XIV. to the present time, not a single king or governor of France, though none of them, with the exception of Louis XVIII., have been childless, has been succeeded at his demise by his son. Louis XIV. survived his son, his grandson, and several of his great grandchildren, and was succeeded at last by one of the younger children of his grandson, the Duke of Burgundy. Louis XV. survived his son, and was succeeded by his grandson, Louis XVI. Louis XVI. left a son behind him, but that son perished in the filthy dungeon to which the cruelty of the terrorists had confined him. The King of Rome, to whom Napoleon fondly hoped to bequeath the boundless empire he had won, died a colonel in the Austrian service. Louis XVIII. was, as we have said, childless. The Duke de Berri fell by the hand of an assassin in the lifetime of Charles X.; and his son, the Duke de Bordeaux, is in exile from the land which his ancestors regarded as their own estate. The eldest son of Louis Philippe perished by an untimely accident, and his grandson and heir does not sit upon the throne of his grandfather. Thus, then, it appears that for upwards of 200 years, in no one of the dynasties to which France has been subjected, has the son succeeded to the throne of the father. We have no claim to offer any opinion with regard to the internal government of France as now established; and with refer-



once to our relations with that country, have nothing better to wish for than the firm establishment of the dynasty of Louis Napoleon. We have found in the present emperor a true and loyal ally, a prince thoroughly alive to the real interest of France and England, and anxious to base his popularity, not upon the miserable expedient of fomenting ancient dislikes and discords, but upon the far more durable and reasonable basis of mutual esteem and good understanding. Whatever contributes to his welfare, confirms his power, and tends to perpetuate his rule, must be regarded as little less interesting to England than to France. If the certainty that he leaves a successor behind him shall discourage the repetition of those attempts upon his life, which the members of baffled and desperate factions are for ever renewing, we shall have the utmost reason to rejoice that the birth of a prince has cut off the hopes of those who sought by violence to intercept the succession to the crown. Such good effects are immediate and tangible, and may be appreciated and acknowledged without trusting too far to the slippery promises of an unknown future. But when we get beyond these immediate benefits, we are compelled to admit that many chances lie between the infant heir of the emperor, and the empire itself. Should the present emperor happily survive and perpetuate his power till his son has arrived at those years which entitle him to take upon himself the duties of the government, one main difficulty would undoubtedly be overcome; but others remain behind of an equally formidable nature. Were France an hereditary monarchy like England, where the sovereign is exempted by the very terms of the constitution from responsibility for his acts, and is bound to govern by the advice of his ministers, whatever be the character of the new-born child, we might confidently predict that he would ascend and occupy the throne of his father. Nay, were he a despotic monarch, like the Emperor of Russia, who rules not only by the fears, but by the veneration and fanaticism of his subjects, he might also probably succeed with no heavier liability than that of having his career cut short, should he govern in a manner to displease the most prominent and powerful of his subjects. But in France, government is neither founded on prescription, as with us, nor on superstition, as in Russia. The qualities which secure

obedience in France, seem now to be purely personal, and little is gained by birth, unless it be united with those qualities which conciliate the respect and compel the obedience of mankind. It is not every Philip that can hope to be succeeded by an Alexander—not every man of good capacity who can expect to be ripe for the most difficult situation in the world in the first years of opening manhood. Amid the shipwreck of so many dynasties, amid the overthrow of so many hopes, amid the blasting of so many fair prospects of success, it were presumptuous to anticipate for this last child of a reigning family, that good fortune which has been denied to so many of his predecessors. Who does not remember the prophetic poem in which Beranger represents the son of the great Napoleon as warning the youthful Duke de Bordeaux of the snares and difficulties that surround the path of the future heir of the French diadem? ‘Fortune,’ writes the heir of the empire to the heir of the restoration, ‘stretches to you a hand, and smiles upon your birth. My first day also was fair. Kings adored me in my cradle, and yet I am at Vienna. I slept upon laurels, and you are wrapt in purple; sceptres were my playthings, my head was bound with a crown, the marshals swore fidelity to me—an oath which they have doubtless kept—and yet I am at Vienna.’

“The lessons of history on this subject are so exceedingly striking and appropriate, that it is impossible for an impartial writer to consider such an event as the present without alluding to them. And yet, if we were permitted to dwell in the land of hope rather than in that of reality, how gladly would we believe that in the birth of this infant, at the very moment that gives renewed peace to Europe, we find a pledge for the termination of those incessant convulsions which, from the assembly of the States-General under Louis XVI., have, at longer or shorter intervals, never failed to agitate the government and people of France! Happy indeed will be the destiny of Louis Napoleon if he succeed, not only in founding his own power on a secure basis, but in transmitting it unimpaired to a son who may inherit the talents of his father, while free from the difficulties and dangers which beset his early path, and raised him only after long suffering and severe discipline to a position in which he has upheld the material interests of France



with one hand, and nobly asserted her dignity and pre-eminence among the nations of Europe with the other."

We think the present a fitting place to introduce into this record the views of the Emperor Napoleon himself with respect to the war. It has been mentioned, that he at one time contemplated proceeding to the Crimea, and assuming the command of the French army in person, but that the exigencies of the French government kept him at home. Still, as may be anticipated, the events transacting in the Crimea before the abandonment by the Russians of the south side of Sebastopol, occupied a large moiety of his attention, and he committed to paper his plan for the termination of the tremendous struggle. This document we are glad to be able to lay before our readers, though as it is one which a scientific military man alone should criticise, we refrain from expressing an opinion as to its merits. We extract it from the work of Baron de Bazancourt, a gentleman sent to the Crimea by the French ministry of public instruction, for the purpose of writing a history of the Crimean expedition. The baron observes that the emperor's scheme "strikingly displayed the powers of a commanding genius, anticipated all contingencies, weighed all resources, and with a searching glance discovered all obstacles, in order to displace or overcome them; foreseeing alike the fortunate and disastrous chances, and developing the highest strategical science." This high praise may have been well deserved, or it may have been but the rose-tinted outpouring of a courtier commissioned by the emperor to perform a certain task, and anxious to show his gratitude to his patron. Without further preface we insert the letter of the emperor, addressed to General Canrobert, then commanding the French army in the East.

"April 28th, 1855.

"The fire which has been opened against Sebastopol will by this time have either succeeded or failed. In either case it is absolutely necessary to quit the defensive position in which the army has remained

\* "First, the siege army, composed of 30,000 French and 30,000 Turks, without counting 10,000 men who cannot be disposed of; 2nd, the first army of operation under Lord Raglan, of 25,000 English, 15,000 Piedmontese, 5,000 French, and 10,000 Turks; and, 3rd, the second army of operation, of 40,000 French of the army of Sebastopol, and 25,000 of the army of reserve at Constantinople."

during the last six months. For this purpose, in accord with the English government, I would have the troops divided into three armies—one siege army and two of operations.

"The first is destined to protect Kamiesch and to blockade the garrison of Sebastopol; the second to operate at a short distance from Balaklava, and, in case of need, to take possession of the heights of Mackenzie; and the third is intended to effect a diversion.\* If, as I have reason to think, the Russians have 35,000 men in Sebastopol, 15,000 to the north of Eupatoria, and 70,000 between Simpheropol, the Belbek, and the Tchernaya, it will suffice to have 60,000 good troops to destroy all the Russian army, which might be taken in the rear before it could unite all its forces, and even should it be able to unite them the numbers would be almost equal; for that great principle of war must not be forgotten, that, if a diversion is made at a certain distance from the base of operations, it is necessary that the troops employed in such a diversion should be in sufficient number to be able of themselves to resist the army of the enemy, who might unite all its efforts against them. All this being well considered, I would have sent into the valley of the Baidar the 40,000 men taken from the army of Sebastopol; and, supported by Lord Raglan, I would have occupied, from Skelia as far as the bridge of Teulé and Tchorgoun, the four roads which cross the Tchernaya; we should thus have had so many *têtes-de-pont*, threatening the left of the Russians, established on the heights of Mackenzie. After this movement I would have left Lord Raglan master of all the positions on the left of the Tchernaya from Skelia as far as Tchorgoun; I would have assembled in the rear of the lines occupied by the English 40,000 men of the active army, with the cavalry, and the means of transport at my disposal, waiting in that position for the arrival of my *corps d'armée*, which, coming from Constantinople, would have received orders to reconnoitre Cape Phoros.†

"What would have been our position as

† "The active army would be thus organised:—General Canrobert, general-in-chief; first *corps d'armée*, General Bosquet, with four divisions of infantry and one of light cavalry; second *corps d'armée*, General Regnaud de St. Jean d'Angely, with two divisions of infantry, one division of the guard, and one division of heavy cavalry. General Pelissier would have continued to command the besieging army."



regarded the Russians? The movement on Baidar, by giving up the passages over the Tchernaya, would have threatened their left and led them to suppose that it was our intention to dislodge them from the heights of Inkermann and Mackenzie. The Russians would have been thus kept in check, and their attention drawn on Inkermann and Perekop. Our positions would have been excellent, and my plans being unknown, if anything had deranged them, nothing would have been compromised.

"But supposing that nothing had opposed the general plan, it would have been carried out in the following manner:—As soon as the fleet, bringing the 25,000 men of the reserve, had been seen approaching, orders would have been given for them to proceed to Alouchta, the beach at which place, having been secretly examined, was found favourable for a landing. A first body of 3,000 men would immediately on their landing establish themselves three leagues from Alouchta, beyond the defile of Ayen. No others would be landed until information had been received of the occupation of that defile. After such information had been received the remainder of the 25,000 men would land, and the 40,000 assembled at Baidar would receive orders to march along the road which skirts the sea-coast by Yalta. In three days—that is to say, two days after the landing of the army at Alouchta, the 40,000 men from Baidar would have joined under the walls of Simpheropol the 25,000 just landed; the town would have been taken possession of, and a sufficient garrison left in it, or a good position would have been taken up on the road we had just passed, to secure the rear of the army.

"Now, of two things one—either the Russian army before Sebastopol would have abandoned that formidable position to meet the army which would advance from the side of Baktchi-Serai, and then the first army of operation, under the orders of Lord Raglan, would push forward, and take possession of the position of Inkermann; or the Russians would await in their lines the arrival of the army advancing from Simpheropol; and then the latter, advancing

\* "On the other hand, the minister of war would have had collected at Constantinople rations of meat, gunpowder, and other objects occupying little space, in order that the soldiers, by leaving all their other baggage, might have each carried eight days' provisions, with a shirt and a great-coat. The *corps d'armée* of reserve would have had on board the steamers

from Baktchi-Serai on Sebastopol, always supporting its left on the mountains, would form a junction with the army of Marshal Raglan, who had advanced from Baidar on Albat, repulse the Russian army, and drive it back into Sebastopol or into the sea.

"This plan appears to me to possess great advantages. In the first place, the army as far as Simpheropol, which is only nine leagues from Alouchta, would be in communication with the sea; the country is very healthy, and better supplied with water than any other part of the Crimea; its rear would be always secure; it would occupy ground where our inferiority in cavalry would be less sensibly felt; and lastly, it would be all at once on the Russian line of operations, and cut off all the supplies, by probably taking possession of their parks of reserve. If the defile of Ayen—an indispensable element in the success of the plan—should be so fortified as not to be capable of being taken, the 3,000 men who advanced for that purpose would have been re-embarked; the army of reserve would then have been landed at Balaklava, and the diversion which it was intended to make on Simpheropol would have been made by Baidar, but with fewer advantages. As to the march of 40,000 men from Baidar to Alouchta, it would have been without danger, as the ground is protected by almost inaccessible mountains, and is at a great distance from the Russian army. Our army might during almost all the distance along the sea-shore have been followed by steamers to receive the sick.\*

"If, on the contrary, it had been wished to make a diversion by Eupatoria, my opinion is that nothing could have been more dangerous or more opposed to the rules of art and to the counsels of prudence. In order to operate from Eupatoria on Simpheropol, the army so engaged would be in an open and unhealthy country, and almost without water; it would be on ground where the Russian cavalry, which is very numerous, would have every chance of success, and it would have to make a march of sixteen leagues in face of an enemy which might come from the north as well as from the south, fall on the columns, and cut off all eight days' rations for 60,000 men. The carriages which would follow the army of Baidar would carry the same quantity, so that the 60,000 men in commencing the movement would have sixteen days' provisions assured to them. When once they had reached Simpheropol the carriages might revictual the army from Alouchta."



retreat. The wings of the army would have no support from the nature of the ground. In order to go from Eupatoria to Simpheropol, it should carry with it all its provisions and all its ammunition; for when once the army had left Eupatoria, the 15,000 Russians in that neighbourhood, and most of whom are cavalry, would harass their rear and prevent the arrival of any convoys. If it should meet with any resistance at Simpheropol, and the Russian army should, by a change of front, have taken a position on the road over which the army had passed, that army would be either annihilated or starved out. There is, besides, another absolute principle, and that is, that a flank march is not possible unless at a distance from the enemy, and when sheltered by the nature of the ground.

"The army which would operate from Eupatoria to Simpheropol would consequently have no line of operations, nor any defence assured for its flanks, nor any means of retreat, nor favourable field of battle, nor means of procuring food. Lastly, this army of operation, instead of being compact, composed of soldiers of the same nation, commanded by a single chief, would be formed in great part of Turks; and as some allied divisions would be added to it, there would be neither unity, nor security, nor absolute confidence.

"If, instead of marching on Simpheropol, the army leaving Eupatoria should desire to proceed direct to Sebastopol, it must recommence under disadvantageous conditions the campaign which we made in disembarking in the Crimea. It should carry the formidable positions of the Alma, of the Katcha, and of the Belbek. This enterprise is impossible, for it would be disastrous. Hence follows the absolute necessity of only leaving at Eupatoria the number of Turks strictly indispensable to defend the place. Such is the plan which I wished to execute at the head of the brave troops which you have hitherto commanded, and it is with the most profound and acute sorrow that I find that graver interests force me to remain in Europe.

"NAPOLEON."

Our readers will, we think, be thankful to us for the following account by the baron, of the reasons of the causes which led to the non-execution of this plan of campaign, the principal of which it will be seen was the objection entertained to it by the late Lord Raglan. This is assigned as the chief

reason for General Canrobert's resignation. We are, however, still of the opinion we expressed in recording that event—that the general resigned because he felt himself scarcely equal to deal with the gigantic difficulties by which he was surrounded. His resignation was, we believe, agreeable to the emperor, and probably sent in on account of some hint to that effect from the French government. We are unable to convince ourselves that General Pelissier felt the surprise and regret which the baron makes him express on hearing that he was to assume the command. A little apparent reluctance was probably dictated by a generous courtesy; but undoubtedly he knew of the honour which was to be conferred upon him.

"If the emperor renounced with regret the idea of his visit to the Crimea, it was also with profound grief that the army, which attended his arrival with impatience, learned that that hope was to be given up. When Commandant Favé brought the emperor's instructions from Paris, events had hurried onwards; and already there appeared the germ of those differences which afterwards arose among the commanders of the allied troops.

"The plan of operations was, according to the orders of the emperor, communicated to the generals-in-chief; but General Canrobert, by a presentiment which soon after was realised, did not shut his eyes to the difficulties which were about to arise; and in consequence, he wrote the following private despatch:—

"The three generals-in-chief are about to be called on to assume the offensive against the exterior army, their point to proceed against being Simpheropol and Baktchi-Serai; but, in these grave circumstances, I cannot help deploring here the absence of a generalissimo, some man of great authority, high position, and sufficiently old experience, to dominate everything."

"That will always be in every army the essential point, as from the want of unity in the chief command, must always result delays, hesitations, and differences. That, it cannot be denied, was the great stumbling-block in the way of the Crimean expedition; it existed always, at every moment creating obstacles and delays, and throwing insurmountable difficulties around the expedition.

"Lord Raglan had a decided dislike to



the plan of operating on the exterior. At first he desired, in concert with Omar Pasha, to operate by Eupatoria; but the disadvantages of that movement were so evident, so incontestable, and so clearly enumerated in the plan of campaign, that the allied generals were constrained to yield to the just observations of the French general.

"Then arose in the council a new difficulty—the road from Alouchta to Simpheropol appeared to Lord Raglan too exposed, and he considered that from Baidar to Baktchi-Serai preferable. But it was evident that Lord Raglan yielded from weariness of discussion, and not from conviction; and the consequence was, that at each instant, and in every question of detail, the tacit opposition of his mind made itself felt without his intending it.

"In face of the terrible and doubtful chances of a general assault, and of the perpetual menace of the north side of the town, which our attacks could not attain, and which would always escape from us, General Canrobert, after so many disappointed hopes, and so many unexpected and unfavourable events, attached to the projected operation so great an importance for the success of the campaign, that he did not hesitate to make the sacrifice of himself to what he regarded as the capital point of the situation.

"In order to arrive promptly at a successful result, he proposed to Lord Raglan to give up to him (the English general) the supreme command, and he entreated Omar Pasha most earnestly to follow his example, and to act under the orders of Lord Raglan.

"His lordship was for an instant astonished at this proposition, for there was in it a self-denial for the public good, often difficult for even the most elevated minds. It was, besides, a heavy responsibility, the sudden weight of which, perhaps, terrified the English general. He at first refused, then hesitated, then accepted, and afterwards demanded that the French troops should undertake to occupy and defend the English trenches.

"That strange proposition could not be accepted. The development of our lines already demanded for daily guard a large number of troops, and it was not possible, without serious inconvenience, and an increase of the daily loss of life, to augment the number. The English trenches could

alone be occupied by the English. The general refused. From that moment there were no means of coming to an understanding. Two conferences, the first of which lasted nearly seven hours, could not vanquish the repugnance of Lord Raglan. The first blow sustained by the good relation which until then had existed between the two generals-in-chief, was the recall of the Kertch expedition; and the refusal of Lord Raglan to co-operate with the plan of attack proposed to him by General Canrobert was the last. In consequence of this refusal, the position of the general-in-chief of the French army, with respect to the troops whom he commanded and to the chief of the allied army, became almost untenable.

"The resolution of General Canrobert in this circumstance was speedily taken; he did not hesitate to sacrifice himself for the public welfare, and to descend, of his free will, and in the interest of the common weal, from the elevated rank to which he had been raised by his sovereign. If General Canrobert kept the real cause of his sudden determination secret, by ascribing it to his ill-health, he stated the truth to his sovereign. He thus writes to the emperor on the 19th of May:—

"The little relative effect produced by the numerous and excellent batteries of the allies against Sebastopol; the non-attack of our external lines by the enemy; the re-opening of the fire, an aggressive measure which had appeared very probable, and on which I had founded hopes of a success more decisive than that of Inkermann; the arduous difficulties which I have experienced in preparing the execution of the plan of campaign of your majesty, now become nearly impossible by the non-cooperation of the chief of the English army; the very false position towards the English in which the latter has placed me; the sudden recall of the Kertch expedition, to which I have since discovered they attached a great importance; the extraordinary moral and physical fatigues to which for nine months I have not ceased to be subjected—all these reasons, sire, have produced in my mind the conviction that I ought not to direct in chief an immense army, the esteem, affection, and confidence of which I have been enabled to obtain. From that moment, my duty towards your majesty and towards the country was to demand my being replaced by the general for whom, in



his intelligent foresight, the emperor had confided to me a letter of commander-in-chief, and who united the conditions of capacity, moral authority, habit of conducting great undertakings, with the energy necessary to bring to a fortunate and serious result, the vast enterprise with which the death of my predecessor and the will of the emperor had charged me. The soldiers and the officers are all well acquainted with the warlike qualities of General Pelissier; they will give him all their confidence, and the co-operation of us all is secured to him; and I know that your new general-in-chief has the strongest faith in his success. Your majesty will allow me to observe, that my name is too well known to the troops, whose confident affection has never ceased to do me honour, for me, under existing circumstances, not to remain in the midst of them, in order, in their fatigues and dangers, to set them an example of devotedness to the service and glory of the emperor and of France. I therefore request your majesty to allow me to command a simple division in this fine and heroic army, the conduct of which has conferred, and will continue to confer so much honour on France.'

"To the minister of war he wrote thus:—

"'The army which I leave to my successor, has come out of the rude and perilous trials it has had to undergo, fuller of ardour and confidence than ever. It is a glory for France, and has never ceased to be to me a source of consolation, from the devotedness which it has shown towards me up to this day, and it is ready to accomplish the greatest undertakings which may be enjoined for the glory of the emperor.'

"After General Canrobert had dispatched by telegraph the communication recorded above, he requested the presence of General Pelissier in his tent, to whom he confided his intention of laying down the chief command. The language of General Canrobert greatly impressed General Pelissier, who in vain attempted to shake his resolution. 'General,' exclaimed the latter, 'I implore you not to carry out your intention; later you will bitterly regret having done so.' General Canrobert simply replied, 'To have performed my duty can never become to me a subject of regret.' He then described to his successor the position in which he was

placed, and the difficult relations which existed between him and Lord Raglan, and which rendered his further presence at the head of the French army almost impossible. General Pelissier listened to his late commander with emotion, and once more requested him to delay the execution of the step he had decided on. 'The despatch has left,' replied General Canrobert, and he handed to his successor a copy of it. General Pelissier read it, and then, in silence, shook the two hands of General Canrobert, and the generals separated.

"On quitting the command-in-chief there remained to General Canrobert to fulfil a duty which his heart dictated to him; it was to take care of those who were attached to him. At an early hour in the morning he called the officers of his staff to him, and announcing to them that he was about to leave the command-in-chief he proposed to each what he thought best suited to him. Every one bowed his head with a feeling of deep regret, but also with warm gratitude for his having thought of them at the last moment."

The instructions given to General Pelissier were, says Baron Bazancourt—"Conform as closely as possible to the instructions given to General Canrobert. If it is necessary to modify them, let it be done with the concurrence of Lord Raglan. Act in concert.' Whatever ulterior decisions might be adopted, General Pelissier was not bound by the past, or by the acts of his predecessor, and he therefore preserved full liberty of action and of resolution. The projects of external operation, which the non-co-operation of the English army rendered impracticable, were momentarily set aside, to give to the offensive works against the place a new and a threatening activity; and an attack upon the Mamelon and the other works which completed this part of the defences of the enemy, was resolved upon. Those attacks General Canrobert had always refused to make, in spite of the reiterated demands of Lord Raglan, whose works were annoyed and stopped by these works of counter-approach; for, as we have formerly explained, everything which brought us nearer to the place engaged us more completely in the direct siege, and was consequently in opposition to the instructions which he had received, and the settled plan of investment."



## CHAPTER XI.

## THE GREAT DEBATE ON THE SURRENDER OF KARS, AND TRIUMPH OF THE MINISTRY.

WE pass over, for the present, incidents connected rather with the peace that was being concluded, that we may more effectually group together events connected with the war, and turn our attention to a remarkable debate in the House of Commons concerning the fall of Kars. It is better to relate all that we have to say concerning the struggle, before we speak of the close of it; better fully to illustrate the heroism, the endurance, and the horrors displayed in the battle-field, the lonely vigil, and the famished camp, before we turn from the blood-red past, to greet the white-robed angel of peace.

The contest was over and peace proclaimed, when Mr. Whiteside arraigned the government of England before the judgment-bar of the people, concerning its neglect of the gallant defenders of Kars. The three nights' debate that followed was, notwithstanding, both a necessary and a memorable one. A great reverse had been suffered, which most men believed might have been averted. The surrender of Kars had sullied the *prestige* of England more than it had injured the interests of the sultan. Were the English ministry responsible for this wound received by her reputation in Asia, where it is so necessary that the British arms should be deemed invincible? A solemn question, which posterity will discuss as well as our present legislators, and probably settle better.

The debate commenced on the evening of Monday, the 28th of April, when Mr. Whiteside moved the following resolution:—"That while this house feels it to be its duty to express its admiration of the gallantry of the Turkish soldiery, and of the devotion of the British officers at the siege of Kars, it feels it to be equally a duty to express its conviction that the capitulation of that fortress, and the surrender of the army which defended it, thereby endangering the safety of the Asiatic provinces of Turkey, were in a great measure owing to the want of foresight and energy on the part of her majesty's administration." Mr. Whiteside's speech in support of this motion occupied nearly five hours in delivery,

and the report of it extended over thirteen columns of the *Times* newspaper. Its voluminousness exposed the orator to much attack; and it was generally felt, that if the ministry were so culpable as Mr. Whiteside contended they were, it would not have required a five hours' effort to prove them so. He dwelt at first on the policy and designs of the Russian government with respect to Asiatic Turkey and Persia; and contended, that when war broke out between Russia and Turkey, it was the duty of English ministers carefully to watch the state of things in Asiatic Turkey, as being of the highest concern to the permanent interests of England. "I am not," he observed, "in a condition to say whether or not that singular document, the will of Peter the Great, is genuine; but it is bequeathed to the successors of that monarch as a policy fixed and never to be forgotten, that they should march towards the East and conquer Persia and Asiatic Turkey; the same document declaring that the power which rules in the East and at Constantinople, must govern the world." In 1853, the people of Turkey were full of enthusiasm, and eager for the approaching war. England, from motives of policy, arrested the uplifted arm of Turkey, and having prevented her from taking the field when she was herself convinced that her time had come to strike, and to strike hard, at her remorseless enemy, every consideration of duty, honour, and magnanimity, bound England to assist her in her extremity.

After reviewing the campaigns of the Turks in Asia in 1853-'4, during which period Turkey suffered several serious defeats, Mr. Whiteside observed—"The English ministry, seeing the case of the Turks as calamitous as can be well imagined, resolved to send out a commissioner, who was to pick up what information he could, and communicate it to the foreign secretary, Lord Raglan, and the British ambassador at Constantinople. He was likewise to report on the condition of the army. He was to leave England on the 4th of August. The next day—or, it may be, the very same



day—the foreign secretary wrote a second letter to him, apprising him that it would also be his duty to restore the Turkish army to efficiency by all the means in his power. Unfortunately, the noble lord at the head of the foreign department forgot, or neglected to mention, what means for that purpose were at the command of the commissioner. Except his indomitable courage, his innate energy, his sense of duty, his mother wit, and his English heart, I know of none that were at his disposal. Instead of powder and shot, they provided him with a plentiful supply of paper and ink; and I will do him the justice to say that from the moment he reached Erzeroum, he bombarded his correspondents as vigorously, though not, unhappily, with so much success, as he has ever done the Russians. The house will not fail to admire the notable expedient of regenerating Turkey by means of a commissioner, to whom was confided the task of collecting information with which the government ought themselves to have been acquainted. The passage in Dr. Sandwith's narrative, in which he describes the duty assigned to the commissioner, is as well worth reading as anything in that interesting volume. 'He seized upon an authority. He usurped an authority. He trampled upon etiquette, and saved Asia Minor.' May God bless him for that, say I. If that commissioner had been in the Crimea, and had seen ten thousand soldiers perishing with cold opposite to the store in which were the garments to clothe them, but the keyhole of which was stopped with red tape, he would have kicked open the door and saved their lives. Had he had the care of the limejuice, he would, without an order, have distributed it to his countrymen before they were plunged in the charnel-houses called hospitals to die. No doubt he had these high qualities; but is this, let me ask the house, the way in which a foreign secretary ought to send out a gentleman to assert the authority of England, to vindicate her power, and to assist her ally? Hence arose his first difficulty; because no one knew what he was. It gave rise to disputes, and was certainly the cause of much inconvenience; that for a long time nobody could tell exactly what this extraordinary Englishman was who had appeared suddenly at Erzeroum, and did everything without asking any one's permission. I think a commission which means, 'Do what you can, but you have no pos-

sible authority from me to do anything; if you do anything wrong I will disown you; if you do anything clever and energetic I will take the credit of it; but I will undertake to say that as long as you are there, nobody shall, from my instructions, ever be able to say why or wherefore you are sent there;'—is not such a commission as the foreign minister ought to give to an English gentleman who was sent upon a service so difficult and so important as that which was assigned to Colonel Williams.

"On arriving at the head-quarters of the Turkish army," continued Mr. Whiteside, "the British commissioner wrote long despatches describing its constitution, the state of the hospitals, and the condition in which he found things; and above all, he warned Lord Clarendon that there were due to the soldiers, fifteen, seventeen, eighteen, and nineteen months' arrears of pay. In December, 1854, a quarrel appears to have commenced between the commissioner and Lord Stratford de Redcliffe,—that is, if it can be called a quarrel, when one party gave no cause of offence to the other, and when the one who seemed to be incensed concealed his feelings, and never explained why he should have those feelings towards the gentleman with whom he was directed to correspond. Let us understand the relation in which these persons stood towards each other. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, as the ambassador of England at Constantinople, is ordered by his government to correspond with Mr. Commissioner Williams, to whom he is also directed to give his countenance and support. Commissioner Williams is ordered to correspond with Lord Stratford, and Lord Stratford is commanded to forward his despatches to the English government and to Lord Raglan. It was at first arranged that the commissioner should write to Lord Raglan, Lord Raglan to the ambassador, the ambassador to the foreign secretary, and the foreign secretary back to the ambassador at Constantinople. Fortunately, Lord Clarendon discovered in time that this would prevent anything being done, and he said that the commissioner might correspond with the ambassador directly, and not circuitously through Lord Raglan. So he did. He did accomplish wonders for the time. He was joined first by Major Teesdale—a name never to be mentioned but in terms of honour; and two other British officers were afterwards added to the party. I



wish to do the fullest justice to her majesty's government; I will not willingly deprive them of anything which is their due, and I admit that they did contribute to the war in Asia Minor, as between the Turks and the Russians, four men and a doctor—and no more. I defy any man—let him ransack this blue-book through from one end to the other—to say that anything in the way of assistance was extended by this great and powerful empire to an ally whom it was said we wished to save, beyond four men and a doctor; but four such men they were as are rarely met with. They did more for you, to give you an honourable peace, to save you from ignominy, to maintain the honour, and to sustain the power and fame of England, than all the members of her majesty's administration put together. The latter occupied themselves in trifling, resisting, evading, denying, hesitating, vacillating always, while these noble specimens of our race and country, under difficult and trying circumstances, gained the affections of an army which was ready to follow them to the death, declaring that such leaders they had never seen before—an army which endured all the horrors of famine, sustained by the words, and fired by the example of those gallant men whom you have abandoned to a dismal prison."

Mr. Whiteside then referred at great length to the insulting disregard with which Lord Stratford treated the despatches of General Williams, leaving no less than sixty-two of them unanswered. He asked—"Was the ambassador, by his silence or misconduct, the cause of the calamity which occurred at Kars?" and then continued—"I beg to ask the house one or two plain questions upon that point. Is the ambassador responsible to the House of Commons? I say, 'No!' Who appoints him? The crown. Who exercises authority over him? The minister. Who can call him to account? The minister. Can we call him to account? No. We operate upon public servants through the medium of the minister; and to call upon the house to enter upon the consideration of the misconduct of a public officer, is to ask the house to assume the executive. The house can neither appoint nor dismiss. We can only exercise control by making known our opinion of a minister that fails in the performance of duty in a matter of great public interest. How does this case stand?

Take it as put in the strongest possible manner for the government. 'Lord Stratford de Redcliffe is an extraordinarily intractable and clever man. He was our ambassador at Constantinople. He failed to perform duties required of him, and the foreign secretary censured him.' But where, I ask, is the ambassador? He is there still. He misconducts himself, and therefore the government retains him. It is in exact consistency with that principle of government, latterly adopted, which rewards a man according to his demerits, and, in daring defiance of public opinion, promotes him in exact proportion to the excess of his fault. \* \* \* Does the government justify the conduct of Lord Stratford? Clearly not! The argument is, that his conduct was unjustifiable, and, if we believe General Williams, was dangerous to the public cause. If the effect of that conduct was to prevent a deserving man accomplishing great reforms in the army in Asia Minor—if that army was disorganised by the unaccountable behaviour, the apathy, and the neglect of the ambassador, what is the condition of her majesty's government who still retain him in office? It is thorough cliquism to declare, that no other man in the world can do the duty of ambassador at Constantinople but Lord Stratford de Redcliffe; and for the government to say, 'No matter how he misconducts himself, since we censure him, therefore, the House of Commons must acquit us,' is to maintain that the most marked misconduct of a public servant, if he be in a high position, is certain to be screened by authority, when, in truth, that authority should no more shelter the man in a high position than the humblest official in the country. If this system is to be pursued, a man may be appointed the general of an army; he may refuse to obey instructions; and therefore he may be continued in his responsible position. An admiral may be ordered to sail to a particular point; he may go in exactly the opposite direction; and therefore he may be allowed to retain the command of his fleet. By such a system you put an end altogether to constitutional government; and if the House of Commons sanction it, the sooner you abandon the principle of exercising any authority or control over the conduct of the executive the better. It is an imposture to talk of public opinion and not to respect it, and it is most indefensible when men engaged in



the public service are guilty of a dereliction of duty to shelter them from censure because they are persons of eminence in the state."

Turning to the proceedings of the war secretary, Mr. Whiteside then said, he found it impossible to avoid the conviction that, from first to last, it was the deliberate purpose of Lord Panmure not in any way to contribute to the prosecution of the war in Asia Minor. This he endeavoured to prove by numerous extracts from the official correspondence. While Lord Panmure was writing that it was too late to relieve Kars, he declared in the House of Lords, that in that locality Turkey was able to maintain herself against the enemy. "If," said the orator, "the house will pardon such conduct on the part of a minister who is bound to speak the truth, if it will tolerate such conduct as that, then ministerial responsibility is a farce—an idle ceremony. That statement was made to lull the public suspicion—to calm the public mind. It was made as this parliament was about to break up for the session. I impeach this minister for shameful neglect, and I charge him with having perverted his duty, not only to his allies and to his sovereign, but to the sacred cause of truth." Mr. Whiteside thus concluded his charge against the government, and then sat down amid loud and prolonged cheering:—"No men could be more daring than our ministers as long as there is nothing to be done; but when you come to facts—when the question is how to relieve the garrison of Kars in the speediest and most practicable manner—what is the result? Nothing; weeks and months are permitted to pass away unheeded, and the end is disaster and disgrace. Do not let it be said that I wish to screen Lord Stratford de Redcliffe. I believe his conduct to be deeply blamable; but the attempt to ride off upon the notion that the question is one merely affecting an ill-tempered and intractable public servant is so transparent a delusion that it never can impose upon the house. I ask you now, as men of business and of common sense, are you satisfied with the conduct of the war? There are not two merchants in this house who, if they had retired to the library for half-an-hour, could not have devised a plan for saving Kars, and preserving its garrison and their gallant commander. But we are told in the public newspapers, that it is useless to inquire into the past. It is true, sir, that we cannot

redeem the past; but we may take precautions for the future. Peace, with its blessings, may disappear; war, with its horrors, may break forth again; yea, a more terrible war may lurk under a hollow peace—*Mars latet in pace*. It is now our duty to provide for the conduct of the next war in which we may unhappily be engaged. It was a maxim of the ancients never to pardon a second blunder in the conduct of war—a prudent maxim, and one which we ought to adopt. Can you refuse to affirm the resolution which I have placed before you? I ask you fearlessly—not appealing to one party more than another, because I believe that all parties are equally desirous and resolved to maintain the honour and uphold the glory of our country—are you satisfied with the prosecution of the war? How is it possible that you can be so? Are you prepared to say that England could do no more than send four men and a doctor to cope in Asia with the resources of the colossal empire of Russia, leaving them, moreover, to perish without the least atom of assistance? Will you refuse before Europe to acknowledge your obligations to the Turkish army? I have placed that point first in the resolution, because it deserves the best and most prominent place. The Turkish troops are worthy of your thanks. They gave to your countrymen all they could; they shed their blood for them; they endured famine and suffering in every form and shape; they followed the gallant Williams, proclaiming to the last, 'Such a pasha we never saw before!' Once only were they observed to use the language of murmur and complaint. When commanded to surrender to the victorious enemy, it is recorded that they dashed their muskets to the ground, and cursed the country which they served and the country which had betrayed them. But in that moment of distress and anguish they mistook the government for the people of England. There is not an artisan in the country who would not have shared his last crust with them—who would not have shed his blood to save them from destruction. Will you refuse to make public and joyful acknowledgment of your debt of gratitude to the English officers who took part in the defence of Kars? I hardly think there will be a dissentient voice against that proposition. The gallant Williams speaks to you from his captivity—from his bed of suffering—telling you in penetrating tones,



that the fall of Kars endangered the Asiatic territories of Turkey, and involved even larger interests in a great and terrible peril. Can you hesitate further to say that there was a want of foresight on the part of her majesty's government? Where is the foresight—where the ability—where the brilliant enterprise, well conceived and ably executed—where the comprehensive design—where the judicious use of the wealth of the world, or of that mighty fleet which is said to be able to sweep the seas? Search through this mass of jargon, and you will look in vain for the evidence of wisdom or vigour. Here you have idle words for brilliant deeds—polished phrases for prompt and decisive actions. Turkey expected and deserved more from England, and therefore, sir, I place this resolution in your hands, invoking in its support the votes of a patriotic parliament, as I anticipate the approving voice of an indignant people."

The attorney-general, in replying to Mr. Whiteside, said he did not intend to follow that gentleman in his discursive range over the earlier history of Russian policy or of Russian aggression; but he should confine himself to the question as to how far the English government were responsible for the catastrophe of Kars? In doing this it was necessary to remember the condition in which General Williams found the Turkish troops—without discipline, without proper clothing or stores; in fact, a rabble and not an army. These were circumstances to be taken into consideration when the house was called upon to judge how far the British government were responsible for the discomfiture of the army at Kars. He did not think Lord Stratford de Redcliffe blameless for his omission to correspond with General Williams; indeed, such conduct could not be defended; but ought the government, therefore, to have recalled him? "Recollect," said the learned gentleman, addressing the opposition, "that the noble lord is one of the most distinguished diplomatists whose services England can command. He is no partisan of the present government. They have no interest in protecting him. He was your statesman, he was of your own creation; and when your party had the opportunity of power, you offered him the place of secretary of state for foreign affairs; and when you named another afterwards to that post, Lord Derby himself created Lord Stratford de Redcliffe a viscount, leaping

over the first and subordinate step in the peerage, and thereby marking, in the highest degree, his sense of the value of his services, and of the position to which he was entitled. It is also perfectly well known to every one, that there is no one who ever filled the post of British ambassador at Constantinople, who stood so well with, or who exercised so much influence with, the Porte as Lord Stratford de Redcliffe. I ask honourable gentlemen opposite fairly to grapple with this question—Are you prepared to censure the government, because Lord Clarendon did not think it right or expedient, under the circumstances, at a time of great emergency, and when it was of the last importance to this country to have as ambassador at the Porte one who stood upon friendly terms with the government of Turkey, to recall that distinguished diplomatist? Can you stand up and say that you are prepared to censure the government for the course which they pursued in that respect?"

The attorney-general then put forward arguments in palliation of the English government not having sent troops to the assistance of Kars. "This country," he said, "awakened from a peace of long duration, and never a great military power, found it necessary to avail herself of every disposable man for the purpose of carrying on the war in the Crimea. The Turkish government proposed that the British contingent of Anglo-Turkish troops and General Beatson's cavalry corps should be landed on the Circassian coast, to effect a diversion on the rear of the Russians; but the English objected, on the ground that these troops consisted of perfectly raw levies, with whom such an experiment would have been extremely dangerous." He continued—"Just conceive what might have occurred if an army of from 30,000 to 40,000 men had been thrown upon the coast of Circassia without knowing what dangers it would have to meet, or what means there were to maintain it. Would the British government have been justified in entering, without further knowledge, upon so desperate an expedition? What if it had been tried and failed? What would then have been said of the want of foresight and prudence on the part of her majesty's government? But her majesty's government said this—'Although we are not prepared to hazard the destruction of the contingent in so desperate an enterprise, if Omar Pasha will hazard a portion of his



own army we shall be very happy to co-operate to the best of our ability.' Omar Pasha made certain proposals to the allied generals. He went to Constantinople to see his own government. Lord Stratford assisted at the council which took place, and the Turkish government made this proposition,—that, instead of the British contingent, Omar Pasha should take the Turkish force then at Eupatoria, that to that force should be added 10,000 men from Bulgaria, and that the whole, under the command of Omar Pasha, should be landed in Circassia, and endeavour to make a diversion in favour of the army of Armenia. To that proposition her majesty's government were prepared to accede, but it was necessary to obtain the concurrence of the French government to the withdrawal of the Turkish force from Eupatoria. And here, though I readily admit what the honourable and learned gentleman has asserted so very triumphantly, that this house will not shrink from the discharge of its duty from any false feeling of regard for the French alliance; yet I think the house, as a matter of justice, will not forget that her majesty's government were bound to take into consideration the position in which they were placed with reference to the government of our imperial ally, who has stood by us so faithfully in the war. The British government was not justified—and I do not believe any honourable gentleman opposite will stand up and say it would have been justified—in agreeing with the Turkish government that a certain portion of the army then in the Crimea should be withdrawn, and raw levies, such as the Turkish contingent, substituted, without asking the consent of the ally with whom we were acting in co-operation. Accordingly, application was made to the French government for their concurrence. What was the answer? The French government at first declined to concur. The principle adopted by that government in the conduct of the war was, that all the efforts which the combined and allied armies could make should be concentrated upon Sebastopol, believing that on the fate of that city depended the issue of the war. The French government, upon the representation of Lord Cowley, gave way, and acceded to the proposition, but in these terms—'The French government agrees to the proposition that Omar Pasha, instead of rendering his assistance at Sebastopol, shall proceed to Circassia and make a diversion in favour

of the army at Erzeroum and at Kars, upon the condition that the number of troops before Sebastopol shall not be diminished.' It may be supposed that all difficulties were then surmounted. But no! It turned out that Omar Pasha, instead of being willing to take, as was proposed, the Turkish troops at Eupatoria, peremptorily refused unless he could take those at Balaklava. The difference was this. The troops at Eupatoria were Egyptians, and not part of his conquering army on the Danube, whereas the troops at Balaklava had followed him throughout the campaign upon the Danube, and were sharers of his successes. Therefore Omar Pasha insisted upon taking his own army instead of the troops at Eupatoria, in whom he could place no confidence. This changed the aspect of things. What did the British government do? They endeavoured to obtain the concurrence of the French government in that new proposition. Lord Clarendon sent Lord Cowley a telegraphic despatch proposing that what had been offered by Omar Pasha should be accepted. This is the despatch; it is dated the 28th of August, 1855:—

" 'Her majesty's government trust that the government of the emperor will agree to the following answer to the despatch from Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe, dated Balaklava, the 26th of August, in which case your excellency will send it on immediately from Lord Panmure to General Simpson, who will inform Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe, if he is still at Balaklava. 'Omar Pasha is at liberty to take such of his own troops as he pleases from Balaklava to Asia. They must be replaced in equal numbers by Lieutenant-general Vivian's contingent, or by troops from Eupatoria, as the allied generals may decide; and instructions accordingly must be given, in conjunction with the admirals, as to transporting them.'

"That direction is dated the 28th of August, 1855, and if it had been acted upon promptly Kars might have been saved. Lord Cowley, however, sent back this telegraphic message:—

" 'The emperor has no objection to the removal of the Turkish troops from Balaklava, and to their being replaced by others, provided that the allied commanders-in-chief have no objection; but he will not take upon himself the responsibility of saying more. Under these circumstances, I send the telegraphic despatch to General Simp-



son, inserting, after the word 'Asia,' the words, 'provided that you and General Pelissier have no objection.'

"It turns out that both General Simpson and General Pelissier entertained the strongest objection to the removal of troops from Balaklava, and General Simpson protested against the Turkish contingent, in its then incomplete state of discipline, being sent to join the troops before Sebastopol, or indeed to its being added to the army in the Crimea. Under these circumstances what were the government to do? What is the shape which the accusation against us really assumes? We objected to the Turkish contingent, which was then in a state of imperfect discipline, and without stores or means of subsistence, being added to the army before Sebastopol; but the Turks were told that they were at liberty, if they chose, to send their own army to Asia. Omar Pasha, however, objected to take the troops which were stationed at Eupatoria, and wished to have his veterans from Balaklava. The English government applied to the French government for its concurrence. The Emperor of the French declined to give any direct order, and the allied generals said they were ready to allow troops to be taken from Eupatoria, but not from Balaklava. The generals said, however, that if troops were sent from Balaklava and were replaced by Turkish troops from Eupatoria, the latter place would be garrisoned solely by the Turkish contingent, who in the opinion of these officers had not attained a state of discipline which would render it safe to entrust them with the defence of so important a post. What, then, were the British government to do? The allied generals said—'You shall not remove a single man before Sebastopol.' Were we to fly in the face of our allies and dissolve the alliance? Were we to tell our generals that we at home were better judges of what ought to be done than they who were on the spot? Suppose that notwithstanding the objections of the French government, the remonstrances of General Simpson, and the vigorous resistance of General Pelissier, her majesty's government had sent out orders to remove the Turkish forces from

Eupatoria and to replace them by the Turkish contingent, and that the enemy had attacked Eupatoria, and that place, thus imperfectly defended, had fallen into their hands, who then would have been the objects of blame? Undoubtedly the British government. But when the French government clearly indicated their policy, and when the allied generals declared they could not spare men from Sebastopol, the British government at home were left powerless with reference to Kars." The attorney-general concluded by observing—"Ought the house to censure the government which has obtained an honourable peace, and still left our war establishments in a condition in which they would be capable of sustaining, if necessary, an arduous and protracted struggle? It is impossible not to feel that this country has the strongest ground for rational exultation; yet the honourable and learned gentleman, amid the general rejoicings at the restoration of a peace which achieves all our objects, discovers in his retrospect of the past one little dark spot, and eagerly seizes upon it. Yet no fatal consequences followed the event on which he dwelt so gloomily. It did not for a single moment retard the attainment of your great end—a happy and honourable peace. The learned gentleman, however, thinks it may be made the instrument of a successful attack upon the government. I do not blame him, if he believes he will do himself and his party any good; but I am convinced that the house and the country will be too just and too generous to affix the brand of their censure upon the present administration."

Lord John Manners replied to the attorney-general in a better speech than those who had read his poetry only, would have believed him capable of delivering.\* He assented to the proposition of the attorney-general, that the small speck spoken of by that gentleman might have produced no effect on the result of the negotiations for peace. "But," he added, "the true import of the fall of Kars was this—that the star of England in Asia had paled before that of Russia; that Persia had morally become a Russian province; and Russian supremacy

\* Lord John Manners has at least written a couplet which will probably be remembered for half a century after the author is no more. The following often-quoted extravagance will doubtless be long cited as an instance of exclusive insolence, vulgar arrogance, and downright stupidity:—

"Let laws and learning, arts and commerce die,  
But God preserve our old nobility."

Anything more offensive in its supercilious exclusiveness and petty narrowness of mind could scarcely have been written. Truly, "the force of nonsense could no farther go."

been re-established from the Caucasus to Hindoo-Koosh." He would not admit that the Turkish authorities, either at Constantinople or in Armenia, could be held responsible for the fall of Kars; but he contended that it was to her majesty's government, and to them alone, that the blame should be imputed. This he considered his honourable and learned friend the member for Enniskillen (Mr. Whiteside) had proved to demonstration. He contended—"It was idle to think of implicating Lord Stratford; for, though the conduct of that noble lord in not taking notice of General Williams's despatches was no doubt very reprehensible, no sooner had the English and Turkish governments become sensible of the necessity of relieving Kars, than he exerted himself most zealously to promote that object; and had his advice been taken the fortress would never have fallen. It had been said that that calamity was attributable to the unfortunate position of the government, who, though they had the whole resources of the nation at their command, were so absorbed by the siege of Sebastopol, that they could not spare a gun, a guinea, or a man for the salvation of Kars. If this was the true version of the story, the sooner we agree to any terms of peace the better, for we had ceased to be a nation who under any circumstances could prosecute a war. But no; the government were alone responsible. It was their incompetency, their want of system, their want of energy, that had ruined all. No one could suppose that if the honourable member for Aylesbury (Mr. Layard) had been foreign secretary, and Lord Ellenborough at the head of the war department, any such disaster would have occurred. The Commons, acting with characteristic generosity, had guaranteed a loan to replenish the exhausted treasury of the Porte; but Kars was sacrificed to the routine and red-tapism that had destroyed a gallant army at Balaklava; and the Turkish government now complained that long after the fortress had fallen, not one farthing of the loan had as yet found its way into their coffers. The Turkish contingent never having been employed in any effective service, its embodiment, so far from being a benefit, was an injury to the Turkish army, from the ranks of which it had withdrawn some thousands of men who otherwise might have been a source of strength to it. He maintained that the absorption of 20,000 Turkish troops in the

Turkish contingent, placed as it was under the control of the incompetent man by whose hand the war resources of the country were directed, was one of the chief causes which led to the fall of Kars." His lordship concluded by stating that his charge against the government was, that while they did nothing themselves to relieve Kars, they prevented others from doing anything which might have had that effect; and that through their supineness and short-sightedness, Russia had been able to regain in Asia what she had lost in Europe. A by no means brilliant speech on behalf of the government, from the lord-advocate, closed the debate for that night; and it was adjourned until the next.

The following evening (April 29th), Mr. J. G. Phillimore, in reopening the debate, complained that Mr. Whiteside had acted rather as an advocate than as a senator in dwelling upon everything that was favourable to his own views, and excluding the reverse from his consideration. Mr. Phillimore exonerated Lord Clarendon from blame, but implicated Lord Stratford; and then terminated a brief speech in favour of the government. He was followed by Mr. Ker Seymour, who moved an amendment, which, if carried, would have entirely nullified the sense of the motion proposed by Mr. Whiteside. It was the substitution of other words after that of Kars, instead of the original ones. The alteration made the amendment read thus—"That while the house feels it to be its duty to express its admiration of the gallantry of the Turkish soldiery, and of the devotion of the British officers at the siege of Kars, it is of opinion that it is not expedient to offer any judgment upon the causes and consequences of the capitulation of that fortress until the house has had the opportunity of considering the terms of peace and the protocols of the conferences recently held at Paris, and now laid upon the table." He wished both the opposition and the government to lay down their arms, and act like friends, as he did not see that the conflict would lead to any good result. The Turkish officials were apathetic and procrastinating almost beyond belief, and Lord Stratford had suffered an infirmity of temper to lead him into conduct which did not admit of defence. No one could be surprised at the motion before the house; for the loss of Kars was felt to be a disgrace to the country. It might, however, have had no influence on the terms of



peace; but there was not yet sufficient information to enable them to form a decision upon that point. Turkish speculation and apathy had contributed to the fall of Kars; but he would not deny that very great energy on the part of the government might have saved it. The sum of £50,000, sent direct to General Williams, might have had that happy effect; and it was a proceeding which a very zealous government would probably not have hesitated to adopt. What he wished the house to consider was, whether a case had been made out which called so loudly for condemnation that, before they were in a position to consider the whole conduct of the government in reference to the conclusion of peace, they ought to adopt a vote of censure in the terms proposed by his honourable and learned friend?

After Mr. Seymer, the chancellor of the exchequer rose and made a very effective speech on behalf of the government. The elaborate speech of Mr. Whiteside was, he said, founded on the assumption that her majesty's government were responsible for the conduct of the war in Asia Minor, and for the defence of Kars. Without this assumption, all the accusations of the honourable and learned gentleman fell to the ground. The only tie between the English government and the defenders of Kars; the only circumstance that gave a colour to the assumed responsibility of the former, was that they had appointed General Williams as commissioner to the Turkish army. For this appointment no blame could attach to the government; nor could they be censured because they did not furnish him with an authority which could emanate only from the Porte. The French government might, had they pleased, have sent a commissioner to the Turkish army; but they omitted to do so because they did not attach so much importance to the operations in Asia Minor as we did. He continued—"All that can be said is, that, by doing the utmost which was in their power, appointing a commissioner to act in concert with the Turkish authorities at Kars, they made themselves apparently responsible for a defence to which they were unable to contribute troops or other valuable assistance. General Williams was not the only person who acted as commissioner to a foreign army. We sent a commissioner to the French army, who was in constant communication with the French head-quarters; while at the same time the French government sent to our

army a commissioner, who communicated with Lord Raglan, and afterwards with General Simpson. Although the position of these officers might seem anomalous, and might be subjected to the criticism of the honourable and learned gentleman, it was precisely similar to that of General Williams, who was also commissioner with the army of an allied power. Circumstances, however, gave to the position of General Williams an importance which that of the other commissioners did not possess. He was a man of extraordinary energy and ability, and found himself acting in concert with Turkish officers who were destitute both of these qualities and of all others the possession of which was most important to the commanders of a besieged fortress. It was owing to that circumstance that his conduct attracted so much attention, and that he was enabled to assume something like the command of the fortress of Kars, and of the garrison which defended it; and it was this circumstance also which had led the honourable and learned gentleman to make it appear almost as if Kars was defended by an English army, for the failure of which the English government was responsible. Nothing could be more remote from the truth or more at variance with fact. From the beginning the English government attached to the operations in Asia Minor much more importance than was attached to them by our allies, the Emperor of the French and the King of Sardinia; but we did not think it prudent, acting in concert with our allies and looking to the main object of the campaign, to divert our attention from the Crimea. There was great justice in the opinion of the French government that the Crimea was the principal point to be considered, and that the operations in Asia Minor were of only secondary importance. Any one who had listened to the speech of the honourable and learned gentleman yesterday would have supposed that Asia Minor was the main theatre of operations. He said that Kars was the key of the communication with Constantinople; and if any practical inference was to be drawn from his speech it was that, from the beginning, the war in Asia Minor ought to have been made the primary object; that we ought to have at once withdrawn troops from the Crimea to have carried on the operations in that country, and to have resisted the course of General Mouravieff. Is there the slightest

reason for acceding to that doctrine of the honourable and learned gentleman? What are the rules for the conduct of a campaign which have been laid down by the greatest masters of the military art, and have received signal illustration from the practice of Napoleon? Are they not reducible to this single principle—‘Strike at the key of your enemy’s position; strike at his heart, and let the extremities take care of themselves?’ What was the heart? what was the centre of the Russian power in that region? Can anybody doubt that it was Sebastopol, and not Kars? Can anybody doubt that the English and French governments were perfectly right in making Sebastopol the main object of the campaign; and that if they had weakened the army which besieged that place before it was taken, they would have sacrificed that object, and would have thrown away the means by which the key of the Russian position was to be taken, in order to fritter away their strength in assaulting outworks? All the military judges agree that the main object of the campaign was to take Sebastopol. We had staked our reputation on its capture; and every one remembers that when the negotiations were going on at Vienna last year, both this house and the country were most reluctant that any terms should be accepted while that great stronghold of the Russian power in the Black Sea remained untouched. Her majesty’s government, therefore, would have neglected their first duty had they withdrawn troops from before Sebastopol for the secondary object of relieving Kars. Upon this policy her majesty’s government, in concert with their ally, the French emperor, consistently acted; but when Sebastopol was taken, a movement was made in the direction of Kars. This, however, was unfortunately too late; the place fell, but still the principal object of the campaign had been attained. The honourable and learned gentleman says, that when General Mouravieff obtained possession of Kars he was master of the road to Constantinople, and all Asia Minor was at his mercy; and he calls upon this house to censure the government for having allowed him to gain so great a military advantage. But what are the facts? General Mouravieff obtained possession of the road to Constantinople in November last; but what use did he make of it? None whatever. He remained perfectly inactive at Kars; and this great military

success was not of the slightest advantage to him. Suppose we had had another campaign this spring, to what use could he have turned his conquest? The road to Kars is much shorter for the French, English, and Turkish governments than for the Russians. If the difficulties of land transport decimated the Russian troops before they reached Sebastopol, how much more would they have suffered from the difficulties of a march over the Caucasus! The most easy military operation would have been all that was needed to recapture Kars, to deprive the Russians of this mighty advantage, and to drive them beyond the Caucasus. Whether we look, therefore, at the probable or the actual result of the fall of Kars, it must be admitted that, in a strategical point of view, it was not of first-rate importance. It was clearly secondary to the capture of Sebastopol; and, when that great stronghold fell, the allies would naturally become masters of all that part of the Russian empire. It may be said, however, that the capture of Kars was of great importance in a political point of view. Russia took Kars, it is said, from the Ottoman empire, and thereby acquired an opportunity of extorting concessions from the allies which we should not have granted had that town not fallen into her hands. Therefore, it is argued, though it may not be important in a military point of view, in a political point of view it is of the utmost importance. I shall meet that charge as distinctly as possible. The first plan for the pacification of Europe was digested and reduced to writing at Vienna in the beginning of the month of November by the French ambassador and the Austrian minister for foreign affairs. Thus sketched out, it was sent to Paris for the consent of the government of the French emperor, and it was then transmitted to her majesty’s government for their consideration and approbation. It underwent certain alterations here; but in substance the plan proposed by Austria and France to her majesty’s government was adopted by them, and may be seen in the protocols now lying on the table, in the shape of the preliminaries of peace which were ‘initialed’ at Vienna. Those preliminaries were written before Kars had fallen—at any rate, before any news of its capture could have been received. The house therefore is in possession of a plan of pacification which was agreed to by the three governments of Austria, France, and England, which was



reduced to writing, and which received a definite form, before the capture of Kars was thrown into either scale. That preliminary plan, and the treaty itself, afterwards signed by the plenipotentiaries at Paris, both lie on the table; and I defy any man on a comparison of the two, item by item and article by article, to show that the treaty falls short in any respect of the preliminary articles. On the contrary, I maintain with the utmost confidence that the treaty goes beyond the preliminary articles, and that it will be found to contain more conditions favourable to this country, and to impose upon Russia more securities and guarantees for the tranquillity of Europe. If, therefore, the result of this examination did convince the house, as it must, that the treaty, so far from falling short of the preliminary articles, goes beyond them—if it be the fact that those plenipotentiaries were put into shape without reference to the capture of Kars by the Russians, then, I ask—not any candid, fair, and honest person, but any man of common reasoning powers—whether it can be said that the capture of Kars had any political effect? I would also ask honourable gentlemen, after they have had time to read through the protocols laid on the table, to state whether they could find in them any trace of any concession having been made by England or France in consideration of the capture of Kars. I positively affirm that no such trace can be found, and I deny that any concession was made in consequence of the capture of that place. I assert positively that the doctrine we held was, that from the beginning the integrity of the Turkish empire was the principle which was to be asserted by us as the basis on which any pacification was to be consented to. We said that any question of bargaining about Kars was inconsistent with the principle of the integrity of the Turkish empire, and we would not consent to its being thrown into the scale. Of course, with respect to the temper of the plenipotentiaries—with respect to any disposition to conciliate which might have been shown in the negotiations, I am ready to admit the frank manner in which Russia gave up the point and did not insist on any equivalent for the cession of Kars. I have no doubt that that tended to the successful and harmonious result of the negotiations; but what I maintain is, that no person who scrutinizes these protocols will be able to

find any proof that we made any concession in the way of territory or otherwise in consequence of the capture of Kars by the Russian army."

The learned gentleman then defended the manner in which the Turkish loan was paid; but we think unsuccessfully; inasmuch as no part of the money was delivered to the Turkish government in time to permit it to be applied for the relief of Kars. Indeed, the loan of five millions which was advanced to Turkey with the express object of enabling her to carry on the war, was not paid until the war was in effect concluded. The chancellor of the exchequer stated, that the delay which occurred arose from the known untrustworthiness of the Turkish pashas to whom the money was to be confided for use, and the unwillingness of the Turkish government to submit to those reasonable precautions for the due application of the money, which in the first instance they had signified their intention to agree to. With regard to the amendment of Mr. Seymour, he would not support it, because he was desirous that the original motion should be referred to the decision of the house. The government felt it to be their duty to meet that motion. They believed that it had been wholly unsupported by the truth and facts of the case, and they were desirous the question should be fully discussed and sifted. They did not shrink from the most jealous scrutiny; for they felt confident that if the members assumed a judicial frame of mind, and did not vote as upon a party question, the result would be an entire and complete acquittal.

Sir G. C. Lewis was followed by Sir James Pakington, who considered the address of Mr. Whiteside wholly unanswered. Sir James criticised the speech of the chancellor of the exchequer with no brilliancy, and with but little judgment. In referring to the remark of that gentleman, that the best maxim in war was to strike at the heart, and leave the extremities to take care of themselves, he inquired—"Why, if Kars and Erzeroum were taken, what was to prevent the Russian forces from marching on Constantinople?" A reference to the map of Asiatic Turkey, will convince the reader that Sir James had not looked at the map before making his inquiry. Not only had they an enormous tract of hostile country to traverse, but they must cross the Bosphorus also before they could arrive at Constantinople. As Lord Palmerston afterwards said—"Gentlemen must imagine



that the Russian army was an army of Leander's, who could swim across the Bosphorus as he did across the Hellespont. They forgot the existence of the Bosphorus, and the presence of the Turkish, the French, and the English fleets." Sir James Pakington considered that the fall of Kars was not attributable to the conduct of Lord Stratford, to General Williams, or to the corruption of the Turkish pashas, but to the want of vigour and prudence on the part of the English ministry.

Mr. Layard thought the government had been strongly attacked and weakly defended. On the previous evening of debate, the cause of the ministry was entrusted to a lawyer who had not quite got up his brief; and he would venture to say, he believed that he could make a much better defence for the government, although it was not his habit to speak in favour of gentlemen on the treasury bench. Three years ago he had called the attention of the house to the events then passing in Asia Minor, the condition of which he, for two reasons, regarded as a matter of the utmost importance. On the European side Turkey could be protected by her allies, and even by an empire which though not actually her ally, would have been sorry enough to have seen Russia within the Turkish territory—he meant Austria. On the Asiatic side, however, Turkey was completely exposed. There she had neither allies nor friends, but was confronted by a Christian population which could easily be acted upon by Russia, and might become a very formidable element in sustaining a Russian invasion. The army, also, of Turkey in Asia Minor was disorganised, badly officered, and the troops were greatly in arrear of pay. When he drew attention to this subject three years ago, he had appealed in vain for support to those gentlemen who now came down and made war speeches. Mr. Whiteside had now made an admirable speech; but why did he not then point out these facts? The desire seemed to be rather to beat the government than to beat the Russians. He considered Lord Aberdeen to be the original cause of all the evil that had happened; for the defence of Asia Minor should have been the very first consideration of the government. In conclusion, Mr. Layard stated that since he had possessed a seat in the house he had never given a factious vote; and he hoped he should receive credit for sincerity in stating, that he thought the

charge by the honourable and learned gentleman against the ministry was far too wide. It was unfair to assert that the fall of Kars was solely attributable to the want of foresight and energy on the part of the English government alone. That provision entirely passed over the French government, which might, after all, have had some share of the responsibility for that event. Had the motion been couched in other language, he might have regarded it in a different light; but, taking it as it stood, although he believed the government had committed serious mistakes, and had never sought to conceal that opinion, yet he could not conscientiously vote on that occasion with the honourable and learned member for Enniskillen.

Mr. Maguire then made a speech, which, by its superabundant earnestness and comical profusion of vehement superlatives, created much amusement. He considered the great offender was Lord Stratford de Redcliffe; that no language could adequately express the admiration he felt for General Williams, "by whose side the poor little Simpsons were dwarfed to such puny dimensions as to be scarcely visible;" that the Turkish officers were villains, every man of them—"atrocious miscreants, drunkards, traitors, blackguards, robbers; everything that was abominable under the sun." These and similar announcements created roars of laughter, much to the astonishment of the honourable and energetic member, who could not understand why statements he made with so much seriousness should be productive of such an amount of mirth. Sir W. Heathcote then rose and explained, that he thought it better to adopt the amendment proposed by Mr. Ker Seymour, as for himself he was unwilling to consent to a vote of censure on the government, though at the same time he could not conscientiously give a vote of not guilty. If he looked at their conduct before the siege was formed, he could not see that they had exerted themselves to throw those supplies into Kars which would have enabled it to hold out against the enemy. The correspondence showed that they had paid considerable attention to the subject; but the more their "foresight" was proved, their claim to energy became less; because the more their attention was roused, the less they seemed to have done. On resuming his seat, Mr. Warner, amid repeated cries for a division, expressed an opinion that no censure could be too strong for the reckless and heartless inhumanity of Lord Stratford



towards General Williams and the brave men shut up in Kars, while at the same time he trusted that the attack made on the government would be repelled by an overwhelming majority.

Mr. Serjeant Shee said that, without any partiality towards either the honourable and learned member for Euniskillen, or the noble lord the member for Tiverton, he had arrived at a clear conviction of the merits of the question, and he ventured to give a word of advice to the noble lord. He had prosecuted a glorious war to a successful termination; and if he adopted the amendment of the member for Dorsetshire, he would be a traitor to his own fame, and disappoint the just expectations of the house and of the country, whose desire it must be to give him by a large majority the full measure of their approbation. The fate of Constantinople was not dependant upon the fall of Kars, or upon any movement of General Mouravieff. It was perfectly clear to military men, indeed, that the advance of that general into Asia Minor was meant for the express purpose of a diversion, and intended to detach a portion of the English, French, and Turkish army from Sebastopol. If the British government had been so unwise as to withdraw any of their army from Sebastopol, to send it into Asia Minor, they could not have played more effectually the game of the Russian emperor. He defended the government for not having sent the British contingent into Asia Minor, to effect a diversion which he considered would have ended disastrously, in consequence of the undisciplined and unprovided state in which the Turkish troops in the British service then were. The plan also was opposed both by General Vivian and by Omar Pasha. With reference to the withholding the latter general and his troops from entering upon an expedition to Asia, Mr. Serjeant Shee observed—"Omar Pasha, who was tired of his inactivity at Balaklava, and anxious to carry on the same course of successful warfare in Asia Minor by which he had so much distinguished himself upon the Danube, proposed to leave the Crimea with his disciplined troops, and make an effort to relieve Kars. But the allied commanders had so much reason to apprehend a repetition of the fierce onslaught of Balaklava, and of the still fiercer onslaught of Inkermann, which would have tried and broken down any but British courage, that

they wished to retain Omar Pasha and his troops to keep in check the Russian battalions; and without his knowledge, when he resolved to go to Constantinople, to humour the ministers there, and gratify his own desire for service in Asia Minor, they sent two officers with him for the purpose of making their opinion prevail over his at the Ottoman Porte. On his arrival at Constantinople, he found the Turkish government anxious to adopt his plan for the relief of Kars; but he distinctly stated—and the statement was a very important one—that he would not go to Asia Minor with such troops as those which it had been proposed to place at the disposal of General Vivian, and corroborated the opinion expressed by that officer, that the expedition should not be attempted with any but the best soldiers." Notwithstanding the very strongly expressed wish of Lord Palmerston that the debate should be decided that night, it was again adjourned.

It was resumed on Thursday, the 1st of May, by Sir Bulwer Lytton. He did not ascribe the fall of Kars exclusively to the English government; but the question was whether, among other causes, the want of energy and foresight on their part did not, in a great measure, contribute to that disaster? Several honourable members had referred to the despatches of Lord Clarendon with great praise, and seemed to think them a sufficient proof of the energy and foresight of the government. "I grant," said the eloquent and gifted baronet, with a delicate irony that was much enjoyed by the opposition, "that if despatches alone could have saved Kars, Lord Clarendon would have saved it. But if one thing could be more clear than another to the excellent understandings of those honourable gentlemen, it is that despatches alone were of no avail whatever, and that the inventive genius of the British government should have devised some other mode for the defence of Kars and the security of Asia. If," continued Sir Bulwer, "you could not send men to the assistance of General Williams, you could have sent money by which ammunition and provisions might have been thrown into Kars sufficient to defy and outlast the Russian blockade. For Kars did not fall for want of men; it was conquered by famine. We are told that the Russian general would have raised the siege when Omar Pasha entered Georgia, if he had not learned from an Armenian spy, that there



was not more than a fortnight's provisions in the garrison. When Lord Panmure was applied to for the surgeons, he replied, that he did not see much prospect of being able to send medical aid to the province of Anatolia, and this at a time when an advertisement in the public journals, offering good remuneration to young surgeons, would have brought applications by the hundred. You say that the Turkish government is alone to blame for not attending to the requests of your commissioner; and here, when your commissioner sends a request direct to you, backed by the foreign minister, to the secretary for war, for what is entirely under his own control, the laziest pasha in Asia could not have treated the request with more supreme indifference. And while you are laying the whole blame on the government of the Porte, do not forget that that Turkish administration, with all its oriental languor and institutional defects, had achieved vast things without the mighty aid you sent to its defence in Asia. When it stood alone, before you came to denounce its deficiencies without supplying them by adequate resources of your own—when no jealousies of the foreign Christian obstructed its action and divided its responsibilities, it had coped gallantly with the might of Russia. What is your aid, and what is its result? 'Oh,' says the attorney-general, 'we took 20,000 Turkish soldiers into English pay.' Yes, and when those soldiers are wanted for the defence of Kars, they cannot budge a step. In the spring, General Williams writes, that if he is to have no aid from the allies, he shall require 20,000 Turkish soldiers for reinforcement. You have taken these 20,000 Turkish soldiers to yourself; that is the reason why they cannot be sent to Kars.' This is your aid, and this is your result."

With respect to the uncourteous conduct of Lord Stratford, Sir B. Lytton observed—"Those who heap all the blame on the agent, do not understand the English constitution if they acquit the employer." After dwelling upon the omissions of the English government, the orator continued—"Just as you let the war drift to the Crimea, so you had let it dribble into Armenia. Unwarned by the past calamities—exactly on the same principle which allowed you to land in the Crimea without tents, without knapsacks, without winter provisions, without an army of reserve—you throw General Williams into Kars; you

leave him to the mercy of the corrupt system, the vices of which you know beforehand; you provide no requisite by which the faults of that system are to be counteracted; and when an army is to be sent to his aid, you are not even furnished with a strategy, or the conception of one; for if you would refer to your first plan by Trebizond, which you hastily proposed, it is clear that that plan was never premeditated, since you were not aware of any of the objections which would be made against it. Why was General Williams at Kars? To defend it from the Russians. Early in the spring of 1855, preparations for a Russian army had commenced at Gumri. Did it ask the vision of a prophet to know that that army would besiege Kars,—that, if besieged, an army of relief or diversion would be required? Did you once think beforehand what you would do in such a contingency? Had you one scheme for the raising, for the transport, for the movement of such an army? Did you mean to leave it entirely to the Porte to effect all these operations? If so, you had no right to obstruct the operations which the Porte advised. There seems to me no excuse for the want of some premeditated scheme of your own. You had Omar Pasha in your own camp. He was surely as sincere as you for the defence of Asia. You might have communicated with him from the first in the spring of 1855; discussed beforehand and settled all the objections which paralysed you at the last; arranged some plan for a relieving army—whether under him, if he could be relieved from Sebastopol, or some other general if he could not—some plan to be adopted if Sebastopol was taken, another if it was not; and when you allege as an excuse for procrastination in July and August the necessity of consulting France and obtaining her consent, that is no excuse if in the month of April or May you could have consulted with France on some contingent scheme for a relieving army to be modified according to varying circumstances, but equally to be acted upon whenever the time arrived, and so prevented all that scramble and bewilderment of cross purposes which close this melancholy record with one medley of hopeless confusion and inevitable disaster."

Sir B. Lytton further said—"It might be urged that the affair was over, and the evil irremediable. But it was not over. Discredit and its consequences remained. It would cast its shadow over any future war



that might arise with Russia for the defence of Turkey; nor must we hold the doctrine that because the offence is past, the offender is to go free. When it is asked, on the side of the ministry, what more could we have done, I rather ask what less could you do? Don't turn to the despatches for an answer: I grant you could not write better; I don't see how you could well act worse. The ministry might obtain a majority against the resolution then before the house, but he believed many would vote with them merely from the loyal affection of party; but he did not think a majority would be tantamount to a verdict of acquittal. Certainly other causes conspired to the fall of Kars. Let the government have the full credit of them; but," said the honourable member in conclusion, "tell me, in turn, do you not honestly think among the main causes is the want of zeal and comprehension, of energy and foresight, on the part of your minister for war? In all cabinets there must be a division of labour; but since in none there can be a division of responsibility, whatever my respect for individuals, I think the charge against you as a government has not been rebutted. In almost every letter from General Williams he warns you of evils and dangers; in almost every letter from Lord Stratford he proves to you that against these evils and dangers no reliance is to be placed upon the Ottoman resources alone. On those resources do you continue to rely. Not a step do you take, not a conception do you originate, not a strategy prepare, until you are overwhelmed by the logical consequences of your own improvidence and neglect; and the stain of the fall of Kars will cling to your memory, as a government, as long as history can turn to the book,\* for the record of a fortitude which, in spite of your negligence and languor, still leaves us proud of the English name."

The house was then addressed successively by Mr. V. Smith, Mr. Vansittart, Captain Laffan, Colonel Dunn, Mr. Cowan, and Mr. Liddell. At this period the debate flagged, a pause ensued, and cries of "divide" were heard.

Sir James Graham then rose and addressed the house for a considerable time, in a style which left an impression that he was merely speaking against time. Much of what he said resembled the efforts of a drunken man, vainly employed in the impossible task of walking on both sides of the

pathway at once. Sir James had, he said, doubts how he ought to vote, and therefore he should lean towards the government. He then quoted a letter from the late Duke of Wellington, and a saying of the first Emperor Napoleon, to show the difficulties of a divided command. By some inexplicable association of ideas these great warriors reminded him of Lord Raglan, on whom he pronounced a sentimental eulogium; and also glanced at General Williams, whom he seemed to consider a very promising and superior sort of person. He hazarded the profound remark, that if Kars could have been saved by General Williams, he believed it would not have fallen; but on the other hand, he thought Lord Clarendon had fully supported the authority of that general. After an episode about Mr. Layard and Lord Aberdeen, he (Sir James) considered the blame imputed to the government divided itself into two parts—first, that there being cause for dissatisfaction with Lord Stratford, they failed to recall him; and, secondly, that they omitted to send aid to Kars in the summer of 1855. It was impossible altogether to vindicate the conduct of Lord Stratford in neglecting to answer the letters of General Williams; but, having said thus much, he thought there were circumstances with reference to the past life and conduct of Lord Stratford, which would have made it a fatal error on the part of the government to have recalled him. "Recollect," said Sir James of Lord Stratford, "how he stood as a sentinel, almost alone, opposing a constant front to the spirit of Russian aggression in that quarter, and to what was no less dangerous than Russian aggression—the corruptive influence of Russia in a capital where her seductions have not always been thrown away. Let me also remind the house of the influence acquired by Lord Stratford over the Turkish government. He himself tells us of the corruption which prevails in every department of that government; and let us not forget how his honesty and integrity have stood proof against the baleful influence, and to what noble purposes he has directed the influence gained by honour and uprightness. The papers which have just been presented to parliament show how successfully he has exerted himself in favour of the Christian subjects of the sultan. I attribute mainly to the influence of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, constantly and nobly exerted, that hattı-scherif which gives such important privileges to the Christian popula-

\* The "Blue-Book."



tion in Turkey. He assures us that henceforth no subject of the Turk will be molested on account of his religious opinions, or punished on account of the abandonment of any faith which he shall renounce. That establishes religious liberty in Turkey; and that hattı-scherif, so important, is referred to by name in the treaty which has been laid on our table; it is the condition on which Turkey is admitted within the pale of civilized Europe; it will give to the European powers, if it be not observed, either collectively or individually, a right of remonstrance; and I do not think, all circumstances considered, a better or more salutary arrangement could have been made."

With regard to the second point, Sir James Graham considered it would have been folly and weakness to disregard, in any degree, the primary object of capturing Sebastopol, for the secondary one of saving Kars. He thought men could not have been spared for the relief of that city, but that money might have been. In conclusion, he said, it might be from prejudice, or it might be from kindly feeling towards old friends, but he could not bring himself to say, as an abstract proposition, that he thought Lord Clarendon deficient in foresight, or Lord Palmerston deficient in energy; therefore he should vote for the ministry.

Mr. Disraeli commenced a sparkling speech by saying—"The right honourable gentleman, the member for Carlisle, has this night tempered justice with mercy. He has spoken against the ministers, and he intends to vote for them. He seems to have put, with considerable force and parliamentary experience, the main points that tell against the ministers; but, remembering that they were once his colleagues, and still his friends, he says that he will resist the irresistible inference that on this occasion they are to blame. They are, in the opinion of the right honourable gentleman, sinners to be condemned; but that abstractedly considered, they are innocent." Mr. Disraeli then vindicated the opposition from the charges of pursuing a factious course, and of having brought forward the motion under discussion merely for the purpose of defeating the ministry. "The latter had endeavoured to make a scape-goat of Lord Stratford; and the people of England were asked, whether an ambassador who left sixty-two despatches unanswered on so important a subject, had not

betrayed his country? The conduct of Lord Stratford was indefensible; but if he sinned so grievously, you (the ministry) did not recall him; and therefore you, and you alone, are responsible for his conduct. My honourable and learned friend," continued Mr. Disraeli, "refuses to include Lord Stratford in the motion which he asks the house to adopt, because the government, by not recalling the ambassador, has made itself responsible for his conduct."

After inquiring, "Did you assist General Williams?" Mr. Disraeli thus replied to his own question—"We have been told that you had it not in your power to do so. I protest that, had I not myself heard this excuse from the lips of ministers of the crown, and from those of the right honourable baronet the member for Carlisle—I say nothing of the other members who, like mocking-birds, repeated the words of those high authorities—I should have found it difficult to believe that any man of position would have had the courage to stand up in his place and use such language. We have been assured, that all the energies of the nation were concentrated on Sebastopol, and that the stake was too great, the conflict too arduous, to admit of your undertaking any other enterprise. That the stake was great I freely confess; that the energies exerted were no greater than the occasion demanded events have testified; that mighty efforts were required to be made even by the leading nations who were embarked in the struggle, is beyond all controversy. But what armies were assembled on that remote peninsula? France was there, imperial France; England was there, free and patriotic England; you had by your side the Turkish army, a gallant band whose valour had been proved on many a well-contested field; you had brought from the north of Italy a body of men, dauntless and intrepid, for whom I trust that the glorious destiny is yet reserved of exercising a high and salutary influence on the fortunes of their country; and, not content with these assembled hosts, you had entered into conventions, enabling Austria to call up from the banks of the Danube all the chivalry of Hungary to protect your interests in Wallachia and Moldavia. You were five nations allied in a common cause—England, France, Turkey, Sardinia, Austria. That you were playing a high game, and that you had a great stake in Sebastopol, I do not for one moment dispute.



But was there not another power who had also a great stake in that mighty fortress? Had not Russia everything at stake in Sebastopol? And did she not prove by her policy that she knew well how to gauge the value of the prize she set her heart on in Asia Minor? Now that peace has been concluded, we can afford to speak of Russia with the respect and admiration due to the prowess, the valour, and the foresight, of which she gave such abundant evidence throughout the recent contest. Russia, I repeat, had everything at stake in Sebastopol. Her pledge was as grave—her interest in the fate of the struggle as momentous as it is possible for language to describe. Yet Russia could at the same moment defend Sebastopol and invade Asia Minor. And now we are to be told that the combination of two such enterprises exceeded our powers! What a tribute to our country! What a compliment to our great and faithful ally! What an encouragement for these rising Sardinians! What an animating reflection for Turkey in her future conflicts with the czar, to tell her that the banded nations of Europe made common cause against Sebastopol, and that Russia, unaided and alone, not only baffled them for a year, but sent an army of diversion to Kars, while you could not afford 900 guns to General Williams! I will not believe that we are so fallen that the House of Commons will tolerate such a defence. I tell you that you ought to have sent forces to Asia Minor—however grave the responsibility that devolved on you—however great the stake for which you were contending—however arduous the difficulties that encompassed you. Yes, even though you had not had these true and gallant allies by your side—even though you had stood against Russia single-handed and alone at Sebastopol, it still would have been your duty to have sent assistance to General Williams in Asia Minor. We have upon the table of this house a despatch from that heroic officer, written about the time when the ministry of the modern Chatham was formed, on the principle of carrying on with vigour the war in Asia Minor. I believe I am correct in stating that that despatch bears the date of the very day on which the noble lord took his seat as first minister of the crown. In that most interesting document, General Williams gave you an estimate of the forces necessary, not only to secure his communication with Erzeroum, but also to destroy

the Russian army in those regions. It was no such extravagant calculation; it was less than 20,000 men. Yet this aid could not be granted. Our army was engaged at the siege of Sebastopol; and we are to be told, that with all the resources of England as completely at his command as if he had been an autocrat, with an enthusiastic nation ready to pour their treasure into his exchequer, the noble lord at the head of the government could not afford to send 20,000 men to the relief of the beleaguered garrison in Armenia! It exceeds belief. Say, if you choose, that as a matter of high policy, you did not think it necessary to interfere; say, as the chancellor of the exchequer had the intrepidity to assert the other evening, that the fall of Kars was neither a military nor a political disaster—say that or anything like it; and, however the facts of the case may be, you will at least have a plausible case for argument; but, in the name of common sense, and if you would not insult the intellect of the house, do not ask us to believe that you were prevented from vindicating the honour of our army in Asia Minor, because, forsooth, your energies were concentrated on Sebastopol. On the treaty of peace which the right honourable baronet thinks so satisfactory, I shall express no opinion, except to say in general terms, that peace is a great blessing where war has been carried on so inefficiently; and that for my part, after all I have seen, I should be disposed to welcome any peace which is not disgraceful."

Mr. Disraeli then censured the ministry severely for having withheld money as well as men from General Williams. Not a piastre of the Turkish loan went to the relief of Kars—it was too late. But such a sum as that was not necessary to have saved Kars. "We all know," said he, "the amount necessary to have done that. The sum that you raise as a testimonial to a successful railway speculator—the sum that every hour of our lives we are called upon to contribute to some meritorious, but obscure instance of excellent conduct—would have saved Kars. Why, sir, the cabinet might have themselves have subscribed the money." He also alluded, in a sharply sarcastic tone, to the manner in which General Williams's demand for aid upon the British government was treated. "Why, communication was bandied from public office to public office, and tossed from one under-secretary



to another. The two under-secretaries corresponded with each other, from either side of Downing-street, like two wooden puppets pulled by strings. The principle of existence was not necessary to such beings. To accomplish such results vital power was not essential. The *animula vagula blandula*—that evanescent thing—animated not those mechanical and frigid forms. Ought it not to have been one of the grounds of censure of the government, that they should, with fatal accuracy, have published this correspondence—that they should have revealed to Sardinia (to which this country ought to be a model) that this is the mode in which our public business is conducted—that they should have damped the rising energies of the Turks by showing that the great nation which has saved them conducts its affairs in such a manner? Well, the under-secretaries communicated from either side of Downing-street at intervals of about a fortnight, the principal secretaries animating them with instructions quite worthy of the occasion. The demand of General Williams was tossed back to Constantinople; at Constantinople it was tossed back by our ambassador to the divan; and the Turks were asked to do that which British gold and British valour ought to have accomplished. I ask the ministers this question—a very simple one—was that energy?" Mr. Disraeli concluded by regretting that the routine of the house precluded a vote of thanks to General Williams. There was no precedent for thus complimenting an unsuccessful general. It would have been well if they had made a precedent to show their sense of the conduct of men who, though not successful, were at least triumphant. There were heroes in adversity, and there were prisoners, not to say it profanely, who have proved even more than conquerors, by leading captivity itself captive.

After an address in favour of the ministry by Lord John Russell, Lord Palmerston rose to speak upon the question. In reply to Mr. Whiteside, he denied that England had entered into the war rather for the defence of India than for the protection of Turkey. Amidst loud cheering he exclaimed—"If India be attacked, we are capable of defending her alone. We do not require allies to help us to defend any part of the British dominions; we are quite equal to that task ourselves. We entered upon the war to defend a friendly state, not able

to defend itself; and, by giving security for the future to Turkey, to maintain the balance of power in Europe. He was perfectly willing to take his share of any responsibility that might devolve upon those who did not think it right to recall Lord Stratford. He lamented that that nobleman had omitted to answer the letters of General Williams; but he contended that, in other respects, the ambassador acted with great energy, and that he was of all men the fittest for the position he occupied. With regard to the ministry not having sent men or money to General Williams, it never undertook to carry on war in Asia. They had concentrated all their efforts against Sebastopol, for the purpose of capturing that fortress and getting possession of the Russian fleet, and they did not think it would have been wise to have divided their power. It was not the want of money that led to the surrender of Kars; but the misapplication, by the pasha of Erzeroum, of the money provided. That pasha purchased provisions, but failed to obtain carriers to convey them to Kars. They were stored at a place half-way between Erzeroum and Kars; and the result was, that they were seized by the Russians." Lord Palmerston criticised the plans for the relief of Kars, proposed both by the Turkish and English governments. The ministry disapproved of the former plan, and stated their reasons for that disapproval; "but," added his lordship, "when we were told in reply, that those reasons having been considered by the council of war and the government at Constantinople, the Turkish government adhered to their opinion, it was not for us to maintain the contrary. We had nothing more to say. Sebastopol was the great object of the campaign, and it had resisted us for eleven months. If Sebastopol were taken, we might get back Kars if it had fallen; but if we failed to take Sebastopol, the calamity would be great, and the object of the campaign entirely lost. I think that no man of reasonable views will maintain that the governments of England and France were not right in upholding the decision of their generals—that no portion of the troops should be taken from Sebastopol until it had fallen before the attack of the allies." He concluded by saying—"Those who take the trouble to look at the conditions of peace, will find that we have foreseen all those matters with respect to which provisions could be included in a treaty, and that we have provided against any future dangers



to the Turkish empire, whose protection was the object of the war. Yet at the very moment when, as I contend, the government have proved their energy in the prosecution of the war, and their foresight in the stipulations of peace,—when the country is satisfied with the results of the war, and with the peace that has been concluded, the honourable and learned gentleman steps in with a vote of censure—a vote, I undertake to say, not more at variance with the general feeling of the country than, as the division of to-night will show, it is at variance with the opinion of the House of Commons.” Mr. Whiteside replied, and Mr. Ker Seymer’s amendment was put and lost by an overwhelming majority. The original motion brought forward by Mr. Whiteside was then put, and the result was as follows:—Ayes, 176; noes, 303: majority against the

motion, 127. The ministry had been tolerably confident of acquittal; but they had scarcely anticipated such a triumph. The house felt, and the public also, that the surrender of Kars to a beaten enemy was a calamity; that Lord Stratford had acted superciliously, and the ministry somewhat negligently; but that on the conclusion of peace they would not permit a feeling of party spirit or of vindictiveness to influence their decisions. That the error did not lie altogether at the door of the British ministry, will be seen by those who have perused this abstract of the discussion: one member of that ministry, at least, had exerted himself to save the beleaguered city; but the obstructiveness of Lord Stratford, and the timidity, vacillation, and probably corruption of Turkish pashas, had rendered his efforts barren.

## CHAPTER XII.

COUNT WALEWSKI AND THE PEACE CONGRESS; SIGNATURE OF THE TREATY; RAISING OF THE BLOCKADE OF RUSSIAN COASTS; PEACE MANIFESTO, AND ADDRESS OF THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA; ANECDOTE OF ALEXANDER II.; SEPARATION OF THE CONGRESS, AND RATIFICATION OF THE TREATY; SPEECH OF COUNT WALEWSKI ON THE STATE OF EUROPE; THE TREATY.

THE scene of our great historical drama changes from London to Paris. We have mentioned that the peace congress assembled there on the 25th of February, at the hotel of foreign affairs.\* At that august council, Count Colonna Walewski took the chief seat. He was generally credited for the possession of talents which rendered him peculiarly qualified to act as president of such a distinguished assembly. He is a polished man of the world, gifted with a conciliatory disposition and with amiable and courteous manners. It was presumed, and it appears correctly so, that under his presidency the discussions would not exceed the limits sanctioned by legitimate ardour and patriotic zeal. It was however matter for strange reflection, that the politician who occupied the chief seat at such an assembly should be a Pole by birth, and that one who first drew breath in a land

curled by despotic power, and where the suppressed but not extinguished fires of revolution still smouldered, should be first in a congress which was to settle the claims of the great powers of Europe.

Count Walewski was born on the 4th of May, 1810, in the castle of Walewice. He received his education in Geneva, and returned to Poland in 1824. Three years later he desired to visit France, but was refused permission by the Grand-duke Constantine. He succeeded, however, in escaping to Paris, where he was present during the July revolution. At that period he received a delicate mission from General Sebastiani to the Polish government. Having accomplished it, he served as aide-de-camp to the Polish generalissimo, and earned the military cross of Poland at the battle of Grochow. After the fall of Warsaw Count Walewski became naturalised in France, and was appointed captain in the foreign legion; he afterwards entered the *chasseurs d’Afrique*, and then the 4th hussars. Subsequently

\* See *ante*, pp. 74—76. There the reader will find a list of the plenipotentiaries composing the congress.



he became proprietor of the *Messenger des Chambres*, under the auspices of MM. Thiers and Remusat; and he also published several pamphlets, in one of which he advocated the English alliance. In 1840 he accomplished a mission to Mehmet Ali, confided to him by M. Thiers; later, M. Guizot dispatched him to the province of La Plata. In 1849 he was minister plenipotentiary of France to the court of Tuscany; the following year he occupied the same position at Naples, where he remained until 1852, when he was nominated ambassador to the court of the Queen of England. The origin of Count Walewski is regarded as illustrious; a circumstance always an advantage to a gentleman in a diplomatic assembly. He is descended from a branch of the Italian family Colonna, which has given a pope and many cardinals to the church, and many celebrated generals and diplomatists to the courts of Rome, France, and Spain.

The proceedings of the peace congress naturally excited great curiosity, but they were carried on in profound secrecy until after their conclusion. Solemn questions were to be discussed; but all the great states concerned, with the exception of England, longed for peace, and the conferences were merely intended to settle details: the assent to peace had gone before. We have already mentioned that, at the first sitting of the congress, an armistice was concluded between the belligerent states. So well was it known to the great actors on the scene that peace would be the result of the proceedings about to take place, that the order for a suspension of hostilities was sent to the Crimea a day or two before the opening of the conferences.

We may fairly presume that the labours of the plenipotentiaries on the occasion of their first meeting were not very severe; but they were varied by a concert given at the ministry, and a dinner, to which they and the resident ministers of the governments they represented, as well as other distinguished personages, were invited. The festivities on that interesting occasion were thus described by the Paris correspondent of a leading journal:—"In the evening the magnificent saloons of the hotel of the minister for foreign affairs were thrown open, and from 600 to 800 of the *élite* of Parisian society filled them, and the noble room in which the twelve diplomatists accredited to the congress meet, namely, the *salon des ambassadeurs*, was

thrown freely open like the rest. It is separated from the minister's cabinet by another fine room, called the *salon des attachés de service*. The *salon des ambassadeurs* receives its light from three large windows opening to the north, and looking towards the Seine. Opposite the windows are hung two fine full-length portraits of the emperor and empress. The curtains and furniture of the room are of crimson satin, with a rich Aubusson carpet on the floor, and the ceiling is richly painted. The table at which the diplomatists sit is circular, and covered with a green cloth, twelve arm-chairs being round it. Between the windows are tables, one for the two gentlemen who are to act as secretaries, and the other for the use of any of the plenipotentiaries who may wish to write in private. The table of the secretaries can be moved close to the round table in the centre, if necessary. It was hardly expected that this mysterious apartment, where matters of such moment are discussed, and on which such profound secrecy is observed that, even to their nearest and dearest, the plenipotentiaries must not breathe a word, should be allowed to be trod by the steps of the uninitiated. It is difficult to give an accurate notion of the curiosity of those who thronged to that interesting spot, and who earnestly explored every part, glanced over and under the table, gazed on the blank sheets of paper lying on it, and touched the pens which had a few short hours before been handled by those who are deciding the questions involving the peace of the world, in hopes of guessing at what had passed around the *tapis vert*. Where were now the table-turners, to evoke some spirit who might be cajoled or intimidated to reveal those secrets? At the banquet Count Walewski proposed a toast to the success of the conferences, to which I presume all present heartily responded. Afterwards the concert took place, to which, as I have already said, the principal personages of the highest society in Paris were invited. Count and Countess Walewski received their guests, as they always do, with that urbanity of manner which makes each guest think that the *fête* was for him alone. In this brilliant assemblage the plenipotentiaries were the greatest objects of curiosity, and among these was unquestionably Count Orloff. Count Orloff is said to be seventy years old. It may be, but he certainly looks fifteen years younger. He is what



may be called a portly-looking person, of a military aspect, and, whether from associations connected with his name or not, people remarked something like an expression of sternness on his countenance. He conversed with several persons, and his deportment was extremely quiet, and his whole manner one of repose. He was in a plain evening dress, and wore two stars composed of brilliants on his left breast, with a broad blue riband *en écharpe*. There was no court dress, nor indeed any sort of uniform; and even Marshal Magnan and General Canrobert were habited *en bourgeois*. Ali Pasha, the Ottoman plenipotentiary, was also an object of some curiosity. He has the reputation—a well-established one, I believe—of much intelligence and of cultivated mind; but there is nothing remarkable in his exterior. Prince Napoleon arrived at about half-past ten o'clock, also in non-military costume. He, as well as the generals who have been lately decorated by Queen Victoria, wore the insignia of the Bath. The company was composed of about 700 persons. It would be difficult to describe the effect of these gorgeous saloons, which are perhaps the finest of their extent to be seen anywhere. In one of the most spacious were the *artistes* who were to delight the assemblage with the 'concord of sweet sounds.' In this room the great majority were ladies, and in the adjoining ones, which opened into it, the men collected in groups to listen to the soft strains of Mario, Borghi, Graziani, and Frezzolini. Choice passages from the favourite operas were performed with great effect, and Mario was greatly applauded in a sweet song, the '*Ange si pur*,' from the *Favorita*. Refreshments were abundantly served in the large banqueting-room, and every one appeared contented and even happy. The company began to retire about midnight, and there were few who did not wish that every sitting of the congress, and particularly the last, may terminate as harmoniously."

Many surmises were made as to the proceedings of the congress; but what really passed was kept remarkably secret until the time when it was intended that it should be made public. At length its labours approached completion. At two o'clock on Sunday, the 30th of March, a salvo of 101 guns announced the conclusion of peace to the citizens of Paris. It was at the same time officially announced that "the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, of

Austria, of France, of Russia, of Sardinia, and of Turkey, have affixed their signatures to the treaty which puts an end to the war; and which, while definitely settling the eastern question, establishes the tranquillity of Europe on solid and durable bases." The news was received with an intense satisfaction in Paris and throughout France, and with a more modified satisfaction in England. Indeed, in this country a large party clamoured for a continuance of the war, which they considered necessary for the vindication of the military glory of England, and also for the attainment of a peace that would be permanent in its nature. Many extravagant articles, advocating these views, were issued by the press; and one paper (the *Sun*) surrounded its insertion of the news of peace with a black mourning border. All this, however, was premature and thoughtless; and when the articles of the treaty of peace became known, they were generally considered tolerably satisfactory. The following passage from the *Debats*, gives in a very explicit manner the views taken of the peace by the great body of politicians in France:—"The peace is French, because it is European, because it is impartial, and because France has not sought by it any territorial aggrandisement. If France finds her moral ascendancy increased by this peace, it is because her sentiments admirably respond to those of Europe, and because with them no personal or exclusive interest has been permitted to mingle; it is because France desired with all Europe the maintenance of European equilibrium against Russia, desired with all Europe the independence of the East. Europe, which longed for these two great principles of international order, was afraid to pay their price, afraid to incur the risks of war. France and England dared to do this; they constituted themselves the champions of European order; they consolidated it against Russia; they will also consolidate it against the interior troubles of the East; they will profit by the power they have acquired to assure the progress of Christian civilisation in the East. They have carried on the war rather against Russia than for Turkey. The peace has the same character as had the war. The peace is a barrier interposed between Russia and the East. But this barrier is not a limit opposed to Christian civilisation. The peace guarantees the future of the East against Russia, but only a future



worthy of such warrant. The peace declares, in a solemn manner, that the East shall not be Russian; but it also says, in a manner as solemn, that the East shall be civilised by the West. To arrive at this great result, which during the war from time to time escaped attention, but which peace brings again into prominent notice, the maintenance of the Anglo-French alliance is more necessary than ever. This has been our principal wish and demand from the hour when we first had the hope of peace; and happy are we to know that the conferences at Paris have drawn the bonds of that union closer, instead of loosening them, as some persons seemed to fear. Without, indeed, an alliance between France and England, nothing of good is possible in the East. With it, nothing is impossible. And let none pretend that these countries, with respect to the East, have conflicting interests. They might in connection therewith become antagonistic in war; but in peace they enjoy a common interest, not difficult of definition."

Immediately after signing the treaty of peace, the plenipotentiaries proceeded to the palace of the Tuileries, to communicate the circumstance to the emperor in person. His majesty received them in the *salon des ambassadeurs*, where he was attended by the officers of his household. He welcomed the plenipotentiaries with great kindness, and expressed his thanks to them for having come in person to him with such agreeable tidings. He observed, that the peace which the allies were determined on concluding, was one which carried with it no humiliation to Russia, and which did not compromise the dignity or independence of any one; it was, in fact, such as a great nation might propose or accept without degradation; and it therefore had all the elements of solidity and durability; and he added, that so favourable a result was, in a great measure, owing to the conciliatory spirit and moderation which marked the policy of England, and which was particularly felt in the course of the conferences.

The labours of the congress extended beyond the signature of the treaty of peace, and some further sittings took place for the settlement of "secondary questions." Of these, one was the condition of the Danubian principalities; and another, the future of Italy. On the Tuesday following the day on which the treaty was signed, a very grand review took place in the Champ de

Mars, at Paris. During it the Russian Count Orloff was placed at the right-hand of the emperor, possibly that he should the better understand, that whatever might have influenced France in making peace, want of men was not the cause. The emperor was also actuated by a sense of politeness to the representatives of Russia; and many compliments passed between him and the envoys of that state. Count Orloff either was, or assumed to be, quite fascinated with the Emperor Napoleon. It is said that he was so impressed with the manner of the emperor, that he remarked, had the late czar the good fortune to have been acquainted with his majesty, he would have thought twice before he entered into a conflict with such a man.

One of the immediate results of peace must have been a great boon to Russia. The allied governments sent orders to raise all measures of blockade which kept the commercial vessels of that state in neutral ports. The trade of Russia was unbound, and her merchants breathed freely again. The Russian ships of war in the Baltic were released from the fortified harbours in which they had so long been imprisoned; and the enormous navy of England, destined to operate in that direction, the advanced part of which already breasted the waters of the north, and, by its presence, cast a shadow of disgrace on the naval power of Russia, was arrested in its course, and retained at home. Whatever was the power of Russia on the land, the progress of the war had shown that she dared not even stand in the presence of England on the sea. We had gained no laurels in that direction, it is true; but it is difficult to smite a foe who crouches in dogged fear in unapproachable lurking-places, and dares not face the power that casts defiance and insult in his teeth. It will be long before Russia clears from her naval power the deep stain that blotted and disgraced it. A gentleman of much experience in naval matters, who had an opportunity of observing the Russian Baltic fleet in 1811, when it visited England on the rupture of the Emperor Alexander and Napoleon, and remained for some time in the Medway, spoke of their naval officers as follows:—"Little skill was requisite to discern that these gentlemen entertained no great love for their profession. A sea life, or at least such portion of it as falls to their lot, is certainly not popular among the Russian people;



neither does it form that ready avenue to favour and advancement common to the army. It was a kind of amateur occupation, rather their fate than their choice, which some of the younger men, as we became more familiar, did not hesitate to avow. Two expressed their determination to quit it for the land service immediately on return to port. The purport of their remarks may be comprised in a few words. Nature, as all the world knew, confined their activity to the Black Sea and the Baltic, and the latter for only six months in the year. Proficiency in their art was therefore difficult to attain. Enemies in those seas were few; Turks in the one, and chiefly Swedes in the other; and though in contests with both, their navy had acquired success and reputation, still these opportunities occurred at such distant intervals, that officers grew old before they became known. In the navy they were out of the way of general observation; they came little under the eye of the emperor. It was otherwise in the sister service; for there, paraded, visited, and noticed by the imperial fountain of honours, and almost constantly employed on some frontier advancing the interests of the empire, there existed fair chances of distinction and reward. Had a naval armament been fitted out against France during the recent war, her ports were too remote from the Gulf of Finland to be blockaded, or her fleets pursued through the Atlantic. Their seamen, though hardy, courageous, and active as any in the world, required experience; and their ships were insufficiently supplied to face the wintry weather of the British Channel or the Bay of Biscay. Finance, also, has much to do with the subject. Russia cannot support an expensive navy, in addition to an enormous army. Such were their admissions."

The signature of the treaty of peace was announced to Russia by the Emperor Alexander II., in an imperial manifesto. It is pervaded by that calm dignity usually characteristic of the distinguished nature in time of adversity. Admitting that the war was a period of severe trial to Russia, and that the peace was a necessity for that empire, the czar yet consoled himself with the profound loyalty and unquestionable bravery of his people. Some triumphs also he had to allude to; and while he dwelt upon the heroic defence of Sebastopol with enthusiasm, he did not forget the surrender

of Kars. Russia, he considered, had obtained the object for which she went to war, for the rights of the Christians of the East were henceforth recognised and guaranteed. Losers are allowed the privilege of speech; and we can readily forgive the czar the romance that our ships had been driven back from the ramparts of Sweaborg. All Europe knows that the allied fleets retired only after having committed a terrible destruction, and that they spared the neighbouring town of Helsingfors only from motives of pity. However, let us at once to the manifesto, which will not be read without considerable interest:—

"The obstinate and sanguinary struggle which for nearly three years has subverted Europe has at last ceased. It was not Russia that commenced it. Even before it broke out my late august father, of imperishable memory, solemnly declared to his faithful subjects, and to all the foreign powers, that the sole object of his desires and of his efforts had been to protect the rights of our coreligionists in the East, and to put an end to the persecutions to which they were subjected.

"A stranger to all interested views, he never expected that his just complaints (*réclamations*) would have resulted in the scourge of war; and, considering its calamities with a deep feeling of sorrow as a Christian, and as the father of the people intrusted by Providence to his care, he did not cease manifesting his inclination in favour of peace. But the negotiations which were opened shortly before his death on the subject of the conditions of that peace, which was a necessity for us all, remained without success.

"The governments which have formed a hostile coalition against us had not discontinued their armaments; pending the negotiations they had even increased them; the war had to follow its course, and we continued it with a firm hope in the protection of the Most High and firm confidence in the unshaken devotion of our well-beloved subjects. Our expectations were justified. During that period of hard trials our faithful and brave soldiers, as well as all our people, without distinction of class, proved themselves, as always, worthy of their high calling. Along the whole extent of our empire, from the shores of the Pacific Ocean to the shores of the Baltic and Black Sea, one single idea, one single impulse, animated all, and made them spare neither life nor



fortune in the defence of their country. Labourers, leaving the plough and their fields, eagerly took up arms for our holy cause, rivalling in courage and self-denial our veteran soldiers. New and striking deeds of renown have marked this last struggle with powerful adversaries.

"The enemy has been driven back from the coasts of Siberia and from those of the White Sea, as well as from the ramparts of Sweaborg; the heroic defence for eleven months of the fortifications of the south side of Sebastopol, erected in the face of and under the fire of the assailants, will be handed down as a record to the remotest posterity.

"In Asia, after the glorious victories of the two preceding campaigns, Kars was compelled to surrender with its numerous garrison, forming the whole army of Anatolia, and the *élite* of the Turkish troops sent to relieve the place were compelled to retreat. Nevertheless, by the impenetrable and wise decrees of Providence, a fact was preparing conformable to the wishes of our well-beloved august father, to our own, and to those of all Russia, and which realised the objects of the war. The future condition and the privileges of all the Christians in the East are henceforth guaranteed. The sultan solemnly recognises them, and, consequent upon this act of justice, the Ottoman empire enters into the family of European states.

"Russians! your efforts and your sacrifices have not been in vain. A great work has been accomplished, although by other and unforeseen means, and we may now with a quiet conscience put an end to those efforts and to those sacrifices by restoring to our dear country the inestimable blessings of peace. To hasten the conclusion of the treaty of peace, and to dispel, even for the future, the very idea of ambitious views or projects which might be attributed to us, we have consented to the adoption of certain precautionary measures destined to prevent a collision of our ships of war with those of Turkey in the Black Sea, and to the establishment of a new frontier line in the southern part of Bessarabia, nearest to the Danube.

"The concessions are not great when put in comparison with the charges of a prolonged war, and the advantages promised to us by the tranquillity of the empire the destinies of which it has pleased God to intrust to us. May all those advantages be

obtained by our efforts, united to those of all our faithful subjects! May (with the aid of the Almighty, who has always protected Russia) its internal organisation be consolidated and perfected! May justice and clemency preside over its judgments—may the advancement of civilisation and of all useful activity spread with renewed force—and may every one enjoy in peace the fruits of his labour under the protection of laws equally just and watchful for all! Finally—and this is the most important and most ardent of our hopes—may the salutary light of faith, by enlightening the mind and strengthening the heart, maintain and improve more and more that social morality which is the surest pledge of order and happiness!

"Given at St. Petersburg, the 19th (31st) of March, 1856, and in the second year of our reign. ALEXANDER."

The emperor shortly afterwards visited Moscow, accompanied by the Grand-dukes Constantine, Michael, and Nicholas, and a numerous staff. The reception he obtained was enthusiastic. Soon after his entrance into the city, he gave audience to Count Zakrevoki, the military governor, and various deputations from the nobles and civil and military authorities. When all these persons had assembled around him, the emperor addressed to them the following speech, which, we trust, reveals the future policy of Russia:—"Gentlemen, —The war is over; for I ratified the treaty of peace which had been signed at Paris before I left St. Petersburg. I am happy to be able to announce the news to you officially, and to repeat to the nobility of Moscow the words which I addressed to my people in my last manifesto. Russia was able to defend herself for many years to come, and I believe that, no matter what forces were brought against her, she was invulnerable on her own territory. But I felt that it was my duty, in the real interests of the country, to lend an ear to proposals compatible with the national honour. War is an abnormal state, and the greatest successes obtained by it scarcely compensate for the evils it occasions. It had caused an interruption of the commercial relations of the empire with most of the states of Europe. I should certainly have carried it on had not the voice of neighbouring states pronounced itself against the policy of late years. My father, of imperishable memory, had his reasons for acting as he did. I



knew his views, and I adhere to them from my very soul; but the treaty of Paris has obtained the object which it was his ambition to obtain, and I prefer this means to war.

"Many of you, I am aware, regret that I should have so readily accepted the propositions made to me. It was my duty, as a man and as the head of a great empire, either to reject or accept them frankly; I have honourably and conscientiously fulfilled that duty; I am sure that allowances will be made for the difficult position in which I was placed, and that shortly every devoted friend of Russia will render justice to my views and intentions for the welfare of the country.

"Supposing the fate of arms should have remained constantly favourable to us, as it has been in Asia, the empire would have exhausted its resources in keeping up large armies on different points, the soldiers of which would in a great measure be taken away from agriculture and labour. In the government of Moscow itself many manufactories have been compelled to close. I prefer the real prosperity of the arts of peace to the vain glory of combats.

"I have thrown open the ports of Russia to the commerce of the world, the frontiers to the free circulation of foreign produce. I wish, henceforth, that the greatest facility shall be afforded in our markets for the exchange of ware of every origin, and of the raw materials and manufactures of our soils. Various projects will shortly be communicated to you, the object of which will be to give an impulse to home industry, and in which, I trust, every nobleman will take a share."

This pacific address was followed by the disbanding of the Russian militia, and by an order from the admiralty of that empire that the lighthouses should be lit, and all the buoys relaid in the gulfs of Bothnia and of Finland, and in the Baltic and White seas.

The reception given the emperor by the ancient capital of Russia, is spoken of as peculiarly sympathetic and affecting. The feelings of the inhabitants of this famous city may be in some degree estimated by the following address (which, notwithstanding its bombast, must have been both eloquent and touching to Russian ears), with which the metropolitan of Moscow welcomed the emperor when the latter visited the tomb of St. Alexis:—

"Most Pious Sovereign!—Towards thee,

as in the past, we to-day turn our eyes and our hearts, when thou appearest amongst us in the second year of thy reign. Thou didst inherit an obstinate contest against us and against peace, but thou hast restored us peace. Thy justice and thy valour were not refused to war; thy humane sentiments were not refused to the peace which they offered thee.

"The enemy has not vanquished Russia; thou hast vanquished enmity.

"Thou didst animate war with a Christian spirit, and in a Christian spirit thou hast realised peace. The country is grateful to thee; foreigners also render thee justice, and will do so yet more completely when passion has subsided.

"With fervour will we pray to God to come to thy aid, in order that with ability and care thou mayest heal the wounds which accompany war, and that, according to the words of the prophet, justice and peace may be bound together in thy power, and that prosperity may be the immediate fruits."

The following anecdote of the Russian emperor is calculated to raise the opinion held of his intellectual qualifications, and to confirm the reports of his discriminating justice and mildness of disposition. At a certain dinner party at St. Petersburg, a number of remarks had been made unfavourable to the emperor and his measures, and particularly depreciatory of the peace. A complete report of all took place, including the names of the host and his guests, to the number of fifteen; and this was forwarded to the empress-mother in an anonymous letter. That lady presented the document to the emperor, who sent for the giver of the party, told him what he had heard of him and his friends, and asked for the names of all the guests assembled at his table on the occasion in question. This list of names included sixteen guests; the one among them that had not been found in the denunciation was, of course, that of the anonymous writer. This social traitor, a colonel in the guards, was summoned to the presence of the emperor, who thus addressed him:—"You seem to have an inclination, as well as some talent, for service in the police force or the *gendarmerie*; if you like to enter it you can; but the guards is not the place for you. If, on the other hand, you prefer to leave the service altogether, you shall find your *congé* ready for you." The giver of the party, however,



only came off with a few words of reproof and warning from the emperor.

The peace congress at Paris held its last sitting on the 16th of April. The protocols of the conferences were eventually published, and filled a parliamentary paper of 112 pages. The protocols were twenty-four in number. The terms in which they are drawn up are, as may be supposed, dry and formal, and relate almost exclusively to the details of the treaty of peace. One, reporting a speech of Count Walewski's in the congress on the 8th of April, however, excited much attention, and threatened to have some results. The subject was the condition of Europe, with especial reference to the states of Greece and Italy. That, however, which excited most remark, was an attack on the Belgian press, in which proceedings of an arbitrary character were recommended to the Belgian government, and something very like a threat held out unless they were adopted. We introduce a copy of this remarkable document, taken from protocol No. 22.

"Count Walewski says that it is desirable that the plenipotentiaries, before they separate, should interchange their ideas on different subjects which require to be settled, and which it might be advantageous to take up in order to prevent fresh complications. Although specially assembled for settling the eastern question, the congress, according to the first plenipotentiary of France, might reproach itself for not having taken advantage of the circumstance which brings together the representatives of the principal powers of Europe, to clear up certain questions, to lay down certain principles, to express intentions, in fine to make certain declarations, always and solely with the view of ensuring the future tranquillity of the world, by dispelling the clouds which are still seen looming on the political horizon before they become menacing. It cannot be denied, he says, that Greece is in an abnormal state. The anarchy to which that country was a prey has compelled France and England to send troops to the Piræus at a time when their armies, nevertheless, did not want occupation. The congress knows in what state Greece was; neither is it ignorant that that in which it now is, is far from being satisfactory. Would it not, therefore, be advantageous that the powers represented in the congress should manifest the wish to see the three protecting courts take into serious consideration the deplor-

able situation of the kingdom which they have created, and devise means to make provision for it? Count Walewski does not doubt that the Earl of Clarendon will join with him in declaring that the two governments await with impatience the time when they shall be at liberty to terminate an occupation to which nevertheless they are unable without the most serious inconvenience to put an end, so long as real modifications shall not be introduced into the state of things in Greece. The first plenipotentiary of France then observes that the pontifical states are equally in an abnormal state; that the necessity for not leaving the country to anarchy had decided France as well as Austria to comply with the demand of the holy see by causing Rome to be occupied by her troops while the Austrian troops occupied the legations. He states that France had a twofold motive for complying without hesitation with the demand of the holy see, as a catholic power, and as an European power. The title of eldest son of the church, which is the boast of the sovereign of France, makes it a duty for the emperor to afford aid and support to the sovereign pontiff; the tranquillity of the Roman states and that of the whole of Italy affects too closely the maintenance of social order in Europe for France not to have an overbearing interest in securing it by all the means in her power. But, on the other hand, it is impossible to overlook the abnormal condition of a power which, in order to maintain itself, requires to be supported by foreign troops. Count Walewski does not hesitate to declare, and he trusts that Count Buol will join in the declaration, that not only is France ready to withdraw her troops, but that she earnestly desires to recall them so soon as that can be done without inconvenience as regards the internal tranquillity of the country and the authority of the pontifical government, in the prosperity of which the emperor, his august sovereign, takes the most lively interest. The first plenipotentiary of France represents how desirable it is for the balance of power in Europe that the Roman government should be consolidated in sufficient strength for the French and Austrian troops to be able, without inconvenience, to evacuate the pontifical states, and he considers that a wish expressed in this sense might not be without advantage. In any case he does not doubt that the assurances which might be given by France and Austria as



to their real intentions in this respect would have a salutary influence. Following up the same order of ideas, Count Walewski asks himself if it is not to be desired that certain governments of the Italian peninsula, by well-devised acts of clemency, and by rallying to themselves minds gone astray and not perverted, should put an end to a system which is directly opposed to its object, and which instead of reaching the enemies of public order, has the effect of weakening the governments, and of furnishing partisans to popular faction. In his opinion it would render a signal service to the government of the Two Sicilies, as well as to the cause of order in the Italian peninsula, to enlighten that government as to the false course in which it is engaged. He is of opinion that warnings conceived in this sense, and proceeding from the powers represented in the congress, would be the better received by the Neapolitan government, as that government could not doubt the motives which dictated them. The first plenipotentiary of France then says that he must call the attention of the congress to a subject which, although more particularly affecting France, is not the less of great interest for all the powers of Europe. He considers it superfluous to state that there are every day printed in Belgium publications the most insulting, the most hostile against France and her government; that revolt and assassination are openly advocated in them; he remarks that quite recently Belgian newspapers have ventured to extol the society called 'La Marianne,' the tendencies and object of which are known; that all these publications are so many implements of war directed against the repose and tranquillity of France by the enemies of social order, who, relying on the impunity which they find under the shelter of the Belgian legislation, retain the hope of eventually realising their culpable designs. Count Walewski declares that the intention and sole desire of the government of the empire is to maintain the best relations with Belgium; he readily adds that France has reason to be satisfied with the Belgian government, and with its efforts to mitigate a state of things which it is unable to alter, its legislation not allowing it either to restrain the excesses of the press, or to take the initiative in a reform which has become absolutely indispensable. We should regret, he says, to be obliged ourselves to make Belgium comprehend the strict neces-

sity for modifying a legislation which does not allow its government to fulfil the first of international duties, that of not assailing, or allowing to be assailed, the internal tranquillity of the neighbouring states. Representations addressed by the stronger to the less strong have too much the appearance of menace, and that is what we desire to avoid. But if the representatives of the great powers of Europe, viewing in the same light with ourselves this necessity, should find it useful to express their opinion in this respect, it is more than probable that the Belgian government, relying upon all reasonable persons in Belgium, would be able to put an end to a state of things which cannot fail sooner or later to give rise to difficulties, and even real dangers, which it is the interest of Belgium to avert beforehand. Count Walewski proposes to the congress to conclude its work by a declaration which would constitute a remarkable advance in international law, and which would be received by the whole world with a sentiment of lively gratitude. The congress of Westphalia, he adds, sanctioned liberty of conscience; the congress of Vienna, the abolition of the slave-trade and the freedom of the navigation of rivers. It would be truly worthy of the congress of Paris to lay down the basis of a uniform maritime law in time of war as regards neutrals. The four following principles would completely effect that object:—1. The abolition of privateering; 2. The neutral flag covers enemy's goods except contraband of war; 3. Neutral goods, except contraband of war, are not liable to capture even under enemy's flags; 4. Blockades are not binding except in so far as they are effective. This would indeed be a glorious result, to which none of us could be indifferent."

On Sunday, April 27th, the congress assembled to exchange the ratifications of the treaty; and thus peace was formally restored to Europe. On the following day Lord Palmerston, by command of her majesty, laid upon the table of the House of Commons the papers of the conferences recently held at Paris, and copies of the treaty of peace. Then, amidst loud cheers, he announced his intention of moving that it should be taken into consideration that day week.

We will here follow the example of the premier, and lay a copy of the treaty before our readers for their consideration, that they may know with certainty what were the



results purchased at the cost of so much blood and treasure. The original treaty is in French; but it will necessarily be more convenient to the great majority of our readers, to present it in an English dress.

GENERAL TREATY BETWEEN HER MAJESTY, THE EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA, THE EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH, THE KING OF PRUSSIA, THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA, THE KING OF SARDINIA, AND THE SULTAN.—[Signed at Paris, March 30th, 1856. Ratifications exchanged at Paris, April 27th.]

In the name of Almighty God!

Their majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of the French, the Emperor of all the Russias, the King of Sardinia, and the Emperor of the Ottomans, animated by the desire of putting an end to the calamities of war, and wishing to prevent the return of the complications which occasioned it, resolved to come to an understanding with his majesty the Emperor of Austria as to the bases on which peace might be re-established and consolidated, by securing, through effectual and reciprocal guarantees, the independence and integrity of the Ottoman empire.

For this purpose their said majesties named as their plenipotentiaries, that is to say:—

Her majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Right Hon. George William Frederick, Earl of Clarendon, Baron Hyde of Hindon, a peer of the United Kingdom, a member of her Britannic majesty's most honourable privy council, knight of the most noble order of the Garter, knight grand cross of the most honourable order of the Bath, her majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs; and the Right Hon. Henry Richard Charles, Baron Cowley, a peer of the United Kingdom, a member of her majesty's most honourable privy council, knight grand cross of the most honourable order of the Bath, her majesty's ambassador-extraordinary and plenipotentiary to his majesty the Emperor of the French;

His majesty the Emperor of Austria, the Sieur Charles Ferdinand, Count of Buol-Schauenstein, grand cross of the imperial order of Leopold of Austria, and knight of the order of the Iron Crown of the first class, grand cross of the imperial order of the Legion of Honour, knight of the orders of the Black Eagle and of the Red Eagle of Prussia, grand cross of the imperial orders

of Alexander Newski, in diamonds, and of the White Eagle of Russia, grand cross of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, decorated with the imperial order of the Medjidie of the first class, &c., his chamberlain and actual privy councillor, his minister of the house and foreign affairs, president of the conference of ministers; and the Sieur Joseph Alexander Baron de Hübnér, grand cross of the imperial order of the Iron Crown, grand officer of the imperial order of the Legion of Honour, his actual privy councillor, and his envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary to the court of France;

His majesty the Emperor of the French, the Sieur Alexander Count Colonna Walewski, a senator of the empire, grand officer of the imperial order of the Legion of Honour, knight grand cross of the equestrian order of the Seraphim, grand cross of the order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus, decorated with the imperial order of the Medjidie of the first class, &c., his minister and secretary of state for foreign affairs; and the Sieur Francis Adolphus, Baron de Bourqueney, grand cross of the imperial order of the Legion of Honour and of the order of Leopold of Austria, decorated with the portrait of the sultan in diamonds, &c., his envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary to his imperial and royal apostolic majesty;

His majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, the Sieur Alexis, Count Orloff, his aide-de-camp-general and general of cavalry, commander of the head-quarters of his majesty, a member of the council of the empire and of the committee of ministers, decorated with two portraits in diamonds of their majesties the late Emperor Nicholas and the Emperor Alexander II., knight of the order of St. Andrew, in diamonds, and of the orders of Russia, grand cross of the order of St. Stephen of Austria of the first class, of the Black Eagle of Prussia in diamonds, of the Annunciation of Sardinia, and of several other foreign orders; and the Sieur Philip, Baron de Brunow, his privy councillor, his envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary to the Germanic confederation and to the Grand-duke of Hesse, knight of the order of St. Wladimir of the first class, of St. Alexander Newski, enriched with diamonds, of the White Eagle, of St. Anne of the first class, of St. Stanislaus of the first class, grand cross of the order of the Red Eagle of Prussia of the



first class, commander of the order of St. Stephen of Austria, and of several other foreign orders;

His majesty the King of Sardinia, the *Sieur Camille Benso, Count of Cavour*, grand cross of the order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus, knight of the order of Civil Merit of Savoy, grand cross of the imperial order of the Legion of Honour, decorated with the imperial order of the Medjidie of the first class, grand cross of several other foreign orders, president of the council of ministers, and his minister secretary of state for the finances; and the *Sieur Salvator, Marquis de Villamarina*, grand cross of the order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus, grand officer of the imperial order of the Legion of Honour, &c., his envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary to the court of France;

And his majesty the Emperor of the Ottomans, *Mouhammed Emin Aali Pasha*, grand-vizier of the Ottoman empire, decorated with the imperial orders of the Medjidie and of Merit of the first class, grand cross of the imperial order of the Legion of Honour, of St. Stephen of Austria, of the Red Eagle of Prussia, of St. Anne of Russia, of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus of Sardinia, of the Polar Star of Sweden, and of several other foreign orders; and *Mehemmed Djemil Bey*, decorated with the imperial order of the Medjidie of the second class, and grand cross of the order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus, his ambassador-extraordinary and plenipotentiary to his majesty the Emperor of the French, accredited in the same character to his majesty the king of Sardinia.

Which plenipotentiaries assembled in congress at Paris.

An understanding having been happily established between them, their majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, the Emperor of all the Russias, the King of Sardinia, and the Emperor of the Ottomans, considering that in the interest of Europe, his majesty the King of Prussia, a signing party to the convention of the 13th of July, 1841, should be invited to participate in the new arrangements to be adopted, and appreciating the value that the concurrence of his said majesty would add to a work of general pacification, invited him to send plenipotentiaries to the congress.

In consequence, his majesty the King of Prussia named as his plenipotentiaries, that is to say:—

The *Sieur Otho Theodore Baron de Mantuffel*, president of his council, and his minister for foreign affairs, knight of the Red Eagle of Prussia of the first class, with oak-leaves, crown, and sceptre, grand commander of the order of Hohenzollern, knight of the order of St. John of Prussia, grand cross of the order of St. Stephen of Hungary, knight of the order of St. Alexander Newski, grand cross of the order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus, and of the order of the *Nichan-Iftihar* of Turkey, &c.; and the *Sieur Maximilian Frederick Charles Francis Count of Hatzfeldt Wildenburg-Schoenstein*, his actual privy councillor, his envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary to the court of France, knight of the order of the Red Eagle of Prussia of the second class, with oak-leaves and badge, knight of the Cross of Honour of Hohenzollern of the first class, &c.

The plenipotentiaries, after having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles:—

Art. 1. From the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty there shall be peace and friendship between her majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, his majesty the Emperor of the French, his majesty the King of Sardinia, his imperial majesty the Sultan, on the one part, and his majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, on the other part, as well as between their heirs and successors, their respective dominions and subjects in perpetuity.

Art. 2. Peace being happily re-established between their said majesties, the territories conquered or occupied by their armies during the war shall be reciprocally evacuated.

Special arrangements shall regulate the mode of the evacuation, which shall be as prompt as possible.

Art. 3. His majesty the Emperor of all the Russias engages to restore to his majesty the Sultan the town and citadel of Kars, as well as the other parts of the Ottoman territory of which the Russian troops are in possession.

Art. 4. Their majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of the French, the King of Sardinia, and the Sultan, engage to restore to his majesty the Emperor of all the Russias the towns and ports of Sebastopol, Balaklava, Kamiesch, Eupatoria,



Kertch, Yenikale, Kinburn, as well as all other territories occupied by the allied troops.

Art. 5. Their majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of the French, the Emperor of all the Russias, the King of Sardinia, and the Sultan, grant a full and entire amnesty to those of their subjects who may have been compromised by any participation whatsoever in the events of the war in favour of the cause of the enemy.

It is expressly understood that such amnesty shall extend to the subjects of each of the belligerent parties who may have continued during the war to be employed in the service of one of the other belligerents.

Art. 6. Prisoners of war shall be immediately given up on either side.

Art. 7. Her majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, his majesty the Emperor of Austria, his majesty the Emperor of the French, his majesty the king of Prussia, his majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, and his majesty the King of Sardinia, declare the Sublime Porte admitted to participate in the advantages of the public law and system (*concert*) of Europe. Their majesties engage, each on his part, to respect the independence and the territorial integrity of the Ottoman empire; guarantee in common the strict observance of that engagement; and will, in consequence, consider any act tending to its violation as a question of general interest.

Art. 8. If there should arise between the Sublime Porte and one or more of the other signing powers any misunderstanding which might endanger the maintenance of their relations, the Sublime Porte and each of such powers, before having recourse to the use of force, shall afford the other contracting parties the opportunity of preventing such an extremity by means of their mediation.

Art. 9. His imperial majesty the Sultan having, in his constant solicitude for the welfare of his subjects, issued a firman which, while ameliorating their condition without distinction of religion or of race, records his generous intentions towards the Christian population of his empire, and wishing to give a further proof of his sentiments in that respect, has resolved to communicate to the contracting parties the said firman, emanating spontaneously from his sovereign will.

The contracting powers recognise the high value of this communication. It is clearly understood that it cannot, in any case, give to the said powers the right to interfere, either collectively or separately, in the relations of his majesty the Sultan with his subjects, nor in the internal administration of his empire.

Art. 10. The convention of the 13th of July, 1841, which maintains the ancient rule of the Ottoman empire relative to the closing of the Straits of the Bosphorus and of the Dardanelles, has been revised by common consent.

The act concluded for that purpose, and in conformity with that principle, between the high contracting parties, is and remains annexed to the present treaty, and shall have the same force and validity as if it formed an integral part thereof.

Art. 11. The Black Sea is neutralised; its waters and its ports, thrown open to the mercantile marine of every nation, are formally and in perpetuity interdicted to the flag of war, either of the powers possessing its coasts or of any other power, with the exceptions mentioned in Articles 14 and 19 of the present treaty.

Art. 12. Free from any impediment, the commerce in the ports and waters of the Black Sea shall be subject only to regulations of health, customs, and police, framed in a spirit favourable to the development of commercial transactions.

In order to afford to the commercial and maritime interests of every nation the security which is desired, Russia and the Sublime Porte will admit consuls into their ports situated upon the coast of the Black Sea, in conformity with the principles of international law.

Art. 13. The Black Sea being neutralised according to the terms of Art. 11, the maintenance or establishment upon its coast of military-maritime arsenals becomes alike unnecessary and purposeless; in consequence, his majesty the Emperor of all the Russias and his imperial majesty the Sultan engage not to establish or to maintain upon that coast any military-maritime arsenal.

Art. 14. Their majesties the Emperor of all the Russias and the Sultan having concluded a convention for the purpose of settling the force and the number of light vessels necessary for the service of their coasts, which they reserve to themselves to maintain in the Black Sea, that convention



is annexed to the present treaty, and shall have the same force and validity as if it formed an integral part thereof. It cannot be either annulled or modified without the assent of the powers signing the present treaty.

Art. 15. The act of the congress of Vienna having established the principles intended to regulate the navigation of rivers which separate or traverse different states, the contracting powers stipulate among themselves that those principles shall in future be equally applied to the Danube and its mouths. They declare that this arrangement henceforth forms a part of the public law of Europe, and take it under their guarantee.

The navigation of the Danube cannot be subjected to any impediment or charge not expressly provided for by the stipulations contained in the following articles; in consequence, there shall not be levied any toll founded solely upon the fact of the navigation of the river, nor any duty upon the goods which may be on board of vessels. The regulations of police and of quarantine to be established for the safety of the states separated or traversed by that river shall be so framed as to facilitate, as much as possible, the passage of vessels. With the exception of such regulations, no obstacle whatever shall be opposed to free navigation.

Art. 16. With the view to carry out the arrangements of the preceding article, a commission, in which Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia, and Turkey shall each be represented by one delegate, shall be charged to designate and cause to be executed the works necessary below Isatcha, to clear the mouths of the Danube, as well as the neighbouring parts of the sea, from the sands and other impediments which obstruct them, in order to put that part of the river and the said parts of the sea in the best possible state for navigation.

In order to cover the expenses of such works, as well as of the establishments intended to secure and to facilitate the navigation at the mouths of the Danube, fixed duties, of a suitable rate, settled by the commission by a majority of votes, may be levied, on the express condition that in this respect, as in every other, the flags of all nations shall be treated on the footing of perfect equality.

Art. 17. A commission shall be established, and shall be composed of delegates of Austria, Bavaria, the Sublime Porte, and

Wurttemberg (one for each of those powers), to whom shall be added commissioners from the three Danubian principalities, whose nomination shall have been approved by the Porte. This commission, which shall be permanent:—1. Shall prepare regulations of navigation and river police. 2. Shall remove the impediments, of whatever nature they may be, which still prevent the application to the Danube of the arrangements of the treaty of Vienna. 3. Shall order and cause to be executed the necessary works throughout the whole course of the river. And 4. Shall, after the dissolution of the European commission, see to maintaining the mouths of the Danube and the neighbouring parts of the sea in a navigable state.

Art. 18. It is understood that the European commission shall have completed its task, and that the river commission shall have finished the works described in the preceding article, under Nos. 1 and 2, within the period of two years. The signing powers assembled in conference, having been informed of that fact, shall, after having placed it on record, pronounce the dissolution of the European commission, and from that time the permanent river commission shall enjoy the same powers as those with which the European commission shall have until then been invested.

Art. 19. In order to insure the execution of the regulations which shall have been established by common agreement, in conformity with the principles above declared, each of the contracting powers shall have the right to station at all times two light vessels at the mouths of the Danube.

Art. 20. In exchange for the towns, ports, and territories enumerated in Art. 4 of the present treaty, and in order more fully to secure the freedom of the navigation of the Danube, his majesty the Emperor of all the Russias consents to the rectification of his frontier in Bessarabia.

The new frontier shall begin from the Black Sea, one kilometre to the east of Lake Bournasola, shall run perpendicularly to the Akerman-road, shall follow that road to the Val de Trajan, pass to the south of Bolgrad, ascend the course of the river Yalpuck to the Height of Saratsika, and terminate at Katamori, on the Pruth. Above that point the old frontier between the two empires shall not undergo any modification.

Delegates of the contracting powers shall fix, in its details, the line of the new frontier.



Art. 21. The territory ceded by Russia shall be annexed to the principality of Moldavia under the suzerainty of the Sublime Porte.

The inhabitants of that territory shall enjoy the rights and privileges secured to the principalities; and during the space of three years they shall be permitted to transfer their domicile elsewhere, disposing freely of their property.

Art. 22. The principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia shall continue to enjoy, under the suzerainty of the Porte and under the guarantee of the contracting powers, the privileges and immunities of which they are in possession. No exclusive protection shall be exercised over them by any of the guaranteeing powers. There shall be no separate right of interference in their internal affairs.

Art. 23. The Sublime Porte engages to preserve to the said principalities an independent and national administration, as well as full liberty of worship, of legislation, of commerce, and of navigation.

The laws and statutes at present in force shall be revised. In order to establish a complete agreement in regard to such revision, a special commission, as to the composition of which the high contracting powers will come to an understanding among themselves, shall assemble without delay at Bucharest, together with a commissioner of the Sublime Porte.

The business of this commission shall be to investigate the present state of the principalities, and to propose bases for their future organisation.

Art. 24. His majesty the Sultan promises to convoke immediately in each of the two provinces a *divan ad hoc*, composed in such a manner as to represent most closely the interests of all classes of society. These *divans* shall be called upon to express the wishes of the people in regard to the definitive organisation of the principalities.

An instruction from the congress shall regulate the relations between the commission and these *divans*.

Art. 25. Taking into consideration the opinion expressed by the two *divans*, the commission shall transmit without delay to the present seat of the conferences the result of its own labours.

The final agreement with the suzerain power shall be recorded in a convention to be concluded at Paris between the high contracting parties; and a *hatti-scherif*, in

conformity with the stipulations of the convention, shall constitute definitively the organisation of those provinces placed thenceforward under the collective guarantee of all the signing powers.

Art. 26. It is agreed that there shall be in the principalities a national armed force, organised with the view to maintain the security of the interior and to insure that of the frontiers. No impediment shall be opposed to the extraordinary measures of defence which, by agreement with the Sublime Porte, they may be called upon to take, in order to repel any external aggression.

Art. 27. If the internal tranquillity of the principalities should be menaced or compromised, the Sublime Porte shall come to an understanding with the other contracting powers in regard to the measures to be taken for maintaining or re-establishing legal order. No armed intervention can take place without previous agreement between those powers.

Art. 28. The principality of Servia shall continue to hold of the Sublime Porte, in conformity with the imperial *hats* which fix and determine its rights and immunities, placed henceforward under the collective guarantee of the contracting powers.

In consequence the said principality shall preserve its independent and national administration, as well as full liberty of worship, of legislation, of commerce, and of navigation.

Art. 29. The right of garrison of the Sublime Porte, as stipulated by anterior regulations, is maintained. No armed intervention can take place in Servia without previous agreement between the high contracting powers.

Art. 30. His majesty the Emperor of all the Russias and his majesty the Sultan maintain in its integrity the state of their possessions in Asia, such as it legally existed before the rupture.

In order to prevent all local dispute the line of frontier shall be verified, and, if necessary, rectified, without any prejudice, as regards territory, being sustained by either party.

For this purpose a mixed commission, composed of two Russian commissioners, two Ottoman commissioners, one English commissioner, and one French commissioner, shall be sent to the spot immediately after the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between the court of Russia and the Sublime Porte. Its labours shall be



completed within the period of eight months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty.

Art. 31. The territories occupied during the war by the troops of their majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, and the King of Sardinia, according to the terms of the conventions signed at Constantinople on the 12th of March, 1854, between Great Britain, France, and the Sublime Porte; on the 14th of June, of the same year, between Austria and the Sublime Porte; and on the 15th of March, 1855, between Sardinia and the Sublime Porte, shall be evacuated as soon as possible after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty. The periods and the means of execution shall form the object of an arrangement between the Sublime Porte and the powers whose troops have occupied its territory.

Art. 32. Until the treaties or conventions which existed before the war between the belligerent powers have been either renewed or replaced by new acts, commerce of importation or of exportation shall take place reciprocally on the footing of the regulations in force before the war; and in all other matters their subjects shall be respectively treated upon the footing of the most favoured nation.

Art. 33. The convention concluded this day between their majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of the French, on the one part, and his majesty the Emperor of all the Russias on the other part, respecting the Aland Islands, is and remains annexed to the present treaty, and shall have the same force and validity as if it formed a part thereof.

Art. 34. The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Paris in the space of four weeks, or sooner, if possible.

In witness whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at Paris, the 30th day of the month of March, in the year 1856.

CLARENDON.	C. M. D'HATZFELDT.
COWLEY.	ORLOFF.
BUOL-SCHAUENSTEIN.	BRUNNOW.
HUBNER.	C. CAVOUR.
A. WALEWSKI.	DE VILLAMARINA.
BOURQUENEY.	AALI.
MANTEUFFEL.	MEHEMMED DJEMIL.

#### ADDITIONAL AND TRANSITORY ARTICLE.

The stipulations of the convention respecting the Straits, signed this day, shall not be applicable to the vessels of war employed by the belligerent powers for the evacuation by sea of the territories occupied by their armies; but the said stipulations shall resume their entire effect as soon as the evacuation shall be terminated.

Done at Paris, the 30th day of the month of March, in the year 1856.

CLARENDON.	C. M. D'HATZFELDT.
COWLEY.	ORLOFF.
BUOL-SCHAUENSTEIN.	BRUNNOW.
HUBNER.	C. CAVOUR.
A. WALEWSKI.	DE VILLAMARINA.
BOURQUENEY.	AALI.
MANTEUFFEL.	MEHEMMED DJEMIL.

#### CONVENTIONS ANNEXED TO THE PRECEDING TREATY.

1.—*Convention between her Majesty, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, the King of Prussia, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Sardinia, on the one part, and the Sultan on the other part, respecting the Straits of the Dardanelles and of the Bosphorus.*—  
[Signed at Paris, March 30th, 1856.  
Ratification exchanged at Paris, April 27th, 1856.]

In the name of Almighty God!

Art. 1. His majesty the Sultan, on the one part, declares that he is firmly resolved to maintain for the future the principle invariably established as the ancient rule of his empire, and in virtue of which it has at all times been prohibited for the ships of war of foreign powers to enter the Straits of the Dardanelles and of the Bosphorus, and that, so long as the Porte is at peace, his majesty will admit no foreign ship of war into the said Straits.

And their majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, the King of Prussia, the Emperor of all the Russias, and the King of Sardinia, on the other part, engage to respect this determination of the Sultan, and to conform themselves to the principle above declared.

Art. 2 The Sultan reserves to himself, as in past times, to deliver firmans of passage for light vessels under flag of war, which shall be employed, as is usual, in the service of the missions of foreign powers.

Art. 3. The same exception applies to the



light vessels under flag of war, which each of the contracting powers is authorised to station at the mouths of the Danube, in order to secure the execution of the regulations relative to the liberty of that river, and the number of which is not to exceed two for each power.

Art. 4. The present convention, annexed to the general treaty signed at Paris this day, shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in the space of four weeks, or sooner, if possible.

In witness whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at Paris, the 30th day of the month of March, in the year 1856.

CLARENDON.	C. M. D'HATZFELDT.
COWLEY.	ORLOFF.
BUOL-SCHAUENSTEIN.	BRUNNOW.
HUBNER.	C. CAVOUR.
A. WALEWSKI.	DE VILLAMARINA.
BOURQUENEY.	AALI.
MANTEUFFEL.	MEHEMMED DJEMIL.

2.—*Convention between the Emperor of Russia and the Sultan, limiting their naval force in the Black Sea.*—[Signed at Paris, March 30th. Ratifications exchanged at Paris, April 27th, 1856.]

In the name of Almighty God!

Art. 1. The high contracting parties mutually engage not to have in the Black Sea any other vessels of war than those of which the number, the force, and the dimensions are hereinafter stipulated.

Art. 2. The high contracting parties reserve to themselves each to maintain in that sea six steam-vessels of fifty mètres in length at the line of floatation, of a tonnage of 800 tons at the *maximum*, and four light steam or sailing vessels, of a tonnage which shall not exceed 200 tons each.

Art. 3. The present convention, annexed to the general treaty signed at Paris this day, shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in the space of four weeks, or sooner, if possible.

In witness whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the same and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at Paris, the 13th day of the month of March, in the year 1856.

ORLOFF.	AALI.
BRUNNOW.	MEHEMMED DJEMIL.

3.—*Convention between her Majesty, the Emperor of the French, and the Emperor*

*of Russia, respecting the Aland Islands.*—[Signed at Paris, March 30th, 1856. Ratifications exchanged at Paris, April 27th, 1856.]

In the name of Almighty God!

Art. 1. His majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, in order to respond to the desire which has been expressed to him by their majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the Emperor of the French, declares that the Aland Islands shall not be fortified, and that no military or naval establishment shall be maintained or created there.

Art. 2. The present convention, annexed to the general treaty signed at Paris this day, shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged within the space of four weeks, or sooner, if possible.

In witness whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at Paris, the 30th day of the month of March, in the year 1856.

CLARENDON.	BOURQUENEY.
COWLEY.	ORLOFF.
A. WALEWSKI.	BRUNNOW.

*Declaration respecting maritime law, signed by the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia, and Turkey, assembled in congress at Paris, April 16th; 1856.*

(Translation.)

The plenipotentiaries who signed the treaty of Paris, of the 30th of March, 1856, assembled in conference,—

Considering,—

That maritime law, in time of war, has long been the subject of deplorable disputes;

That the uncertainty of the law and of the duties in such a matter gives rise to differences of opinion between neutrals and belligerents which may occasion serious difficulties, and even conflicts;

That it is consequently advantageous to establish a uniform doctrine on so important a point;

That the plenipotentiaries assembled in congress at Paris cannot better respond to the intentions by which their governments are animated than by seeking to introduce into international relations fixed principles in this respect;

The above-mentioned plenipotentiaries, being duly authorised, resolved to concert among themselves as to the means of attaining this object; and, having come to an



agreement, have adopted the following solemn declaration:—

1. Privateering is, and remains, abolished.

2. The neutral flag covers enemy's goods, with the exception of contraband of war.

3. Neutral goods, with the exception of contraband of war, are not liable to capture under enemy's flag.

4. Blockades, in order to be binding, must be effective—that is to say, maintained by a force sufficient really to prevent access to the coast of the enemy.

The governments of the undersigned plenipotentiaries engage to bring the present declaration to the knowledge of the states which have not taken part in the congress of Paris, and to invite them to accede to it.

Convinced that the maxims which they

now proclaim cannot but be received with gratitude by the whole world, the undersigned plenipotentiaries doubt not that the efforts of their governments to obtain the general adoption thereof will be crowned with full success.

The present declaration is not and shall not be binding, except between those powers who have acceded, or shall accede, to it.

Done at Paris, the 16th of April, 1856.

CLARENDON.

C. M. D'HATZFELDT.

COWLEY.

ORLOFF.

BUOL-SCHAUENSTEIN.

BRUNNOW.

HUBNER.

DE CAVOUR.

A. WALEWSKI.

DE VILLAMARINA.

BOURQUENEY.

AALI.

MANTEUFFEL.

MEHEMMED DJEMIL.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### THE INQUIRY AT CHELSEA HOSPITAL INTO THE ACCURACY OF THE CRIMEAN REPORT BY THE GOVERNMENT COMMISSIONERS.

WE have already stated\* that the report of Sir John M'Neill and Colonel Tulloch on the condition of the British army in the Crimea, during the terrible winter of 1854-'5, was charged with inaccuracy by the Earls Cardigan and Lucan, on whom it, in some measure, reflected. Each of these noblemen considered it necessary to enter into an explanation and defence of his conduct; and to afford them an opportunity of clearing their military characters of the stains which rested upon them, a royal warrant was issued, appointing a board of general officers to inquire into the statements contained in the report, and the evidence upon which it was founded.

The warrant was dated the 25th of February; but the opening of the commission was delayed for some time. It was presumed that Lord Hardinge, then commander-in-chief, would willingly have had the matter forgotten; but it had excited too much attention to be settled—or rather to be left *unsettled*—in that way. The *Times* sarcastically observed—"There is great difficulty in convening such an assemblage of ancients as the Chelsea commis-

sioners. They are, for the most part, men on the wrong side of seventy, and the east wind is very keen. The nipping and unkind blast has for the last few days searched out all the weak points in the shattered frames of the veterans who have been told-off for duty at Chelsea. Two of these old gentlemen (if we are correctly informed) have already sent in certificates of ill-health; nor can we blame them for their evasion of so thankless an office."

The first meeting of the Crimean board of inquiry, which assembled in the hall of Chelsea Hospital, did not take place until the 3rd of April, when, however, it merely arranged the mode in which its business was to be conducted. The commissioners were General Sir Alexander Woodford, General Earl Beauchamp, General Sir George Berkeley, Lieutenant-general Sir John Bell, Lieutenant-general Sir W. Rowan, Major-general Peel, and Major-general Knollys. Mr. C. P. Villiers, M.P., attended as judge-advocate, Colonel Douglas represented the adjutant-general's department, and Lieutenant-colonel Bagot officiated as secretary to the board. The object to be obtained, was the consideration

\* See p. 56.

of so much of the "Reports on the supplies to the British army in the Crimea," as animadverted upon the conduct of certain officers in her majesty's army. The officers thus referred to were the Earls of Lucan and Cardigan, Sir Richard Airey, and Colonel Gordon.

The investigations of the board were carried on during three-and-twenty sittings, and elicited much excitement at the time, many of the meetings being numerously attended even by ladies. As, however, the interest attached to the inquiries was necessarily of a transitory nature, we shall speak of them but briefly, and, indeed, refer only to passages of a remarkable character. The second meeting of the board took place on Monday, the 7th of April, when a considerable number of the public were present as spectators. The case of Lord Lucan was the first proceeded with, and he was desired by the judge-advocate to state by what parts of the report he considered his conduct animadverted upon. The earl replied, that he should be able to establish, to the entire satisfaction of the board, the groundlessness of every charge made by the commissioners (Sir J. McNeill and Colonel Tulloch), and show that their report, as far as the cavalry was concerned, was most unsatisfactory, unsupported by evidence, and totally at variance with both fact and truth. "I am not," said the earl, "I trust, too sanguine when I express a hope and expectation that I shall succeed in convincing you, not alone that any loss of horses cannot justly be charged upon myself, or upon the cavalry officers generally, but that, on the contrary, we did all in our power to mitigate it, but which, unhappily, under the circumstances in which we were placed, and the orders to which we owed submission, proved entirely beyond our control." In a querulous speech of considerable length, his lordship recapitulated the difficulties he had to contend with in erecting stabling for the horses, and contended that he had not shown any want of energy in the accomplishment of that work. This energy, however, did not lead to the hutting of the horses until the 11th of February. Even several days' delay occurred because no one had thought of providing nails; and his lordship added—"I must say that, instead of the stabling having been completed on the 11th of February, it might have been finished two or three weeks earlier but for these delays,

and for the want of scantlings for uprights and rafters." In justice to Lord Lucan, it must be mentioned that the construction of the stables was delayed, and the mortality of the horses much increased from the circumstance that the cavalry were compelled to act as commissariat transports—a misapplication of them, against which he earnestly protested to Lord Raglan.

Lord Lucan resumed his defence on the following days—April 8th and 9th; but the examination of the witnesses he called to exonerate himself, possess but little interest, and was not of so decided a character as to lead to any positive opinion in his favour. On the 9th, Colonel Tulloch was called, and with much moderation spoke thus in defence of the report he had prepared for the government:—"Sir A. Woodford,—In coming before you on this occasion, it is to me a subject of deep regret that I should have to appear alone; and that at a time when his assistance would have been so valuable to me I should suffer under the absence of my valued coadjutor. Had I held merely a civil position I should probably have adopted the same course as he has taken, for, to me, nothing can be more painful than such scenes as the present; but, in my capacity as an officer, it is my duty not merely to obey your call, but to be ready now and at all times to afford to any other officer who may feel aggrieved by any act of mine, the most ample explanation, and, if need be, reparation in my power. I am cheered in this part of my duty by the thought, I may say the confident expectation, that the result of my statement will have the effect of removing much of the misunderstanding which I fear unhappily prevails in some of the matters under discussion, and which has prevented at the commencement those mutual explanations which both myself and my colleague have always been ready to give, and which were so necessary, considering the great range of public duty which devolved upon us as commissioners in the Crimea. I think it necessary, however, to premise any observations I may make, or any proceedings I may take before this board, by requesting that they may be distinctly considered as in no way affecting my colleague, because I have no right, by any statement or opinion of mine, given independently here in the capacity of an officer, to affect him in his position as commissioner. Had there been no dis-



inction between us in that respect, we should have either stood here together or not at all. To have completed such a duty as was imposed on us without giving offence to some one by our conclusions was, indeed, scarcely to have been expected; but, however much I may lament the soreness and acrimony of feeling on the part of some of the officers who may feel themselves aggrieved, both myself and my colleague have at least the satisfaction of knowing that by her majesty's government and the public, their report has been considered temperate and moderate, and I have full confidence in this board ultimately arriving at the conclusion that it has done injustice to no one. Judging from the tone of the address of Lord Lucan to this board, I am apprehensive that he considers the commissioners as actuated in their remarks by some feeling of hostility against himself and the cavalry. Nothing can be more unfounded. Of his lordship I have no personal knowledge, and till the present hour have, I believe, never seen him; consequently, any ill-feeling or ground for ill-feeling, is out of the question; and I have too great respect for the officers of cavalry in the Crimea, whose acquaintance I do enjoy, to disparage in the slightest degree the fame which has been acquired by that arm of the service. But a want of promptitude and ingenuity in devising temporary expedients to supply the place of stables, is certainly not a very heavy charge against them, when it can scarcely be denied that so severe a loss of horses as they sustained was not altogether without a remedy. Even the mere comparison of the loss sustained by the cavalry, artillery, and baggage horses respectively excites Lord Lucan's indignation, though at the same time he accuses the commissioners of having concealed or misstated nearly half of the loss of the cavalry in that comparison, which they were certainly not likely to have done had they been actuated by the motives which he attributes to them."

He then proceeded to reply, at considerable length, to the aspersions cast by Lord Lucan on the report; and, we think, with crushing effect. He proved, indeed, that the mortality among the horses had been singularly understated. He had recently examined the returns made to the war-office, and thus obtained more correct information. He observed—"The loss in six months was frightful. In the heavy bri-

gade, I find that out of an average strength of 727 horses, there died 501 in the months of November, December, January, February, and March; and recollect, not one of these was lost in action. This makes an average mortality of seventy-seven per cent. After this, his lordship will hardly believe that in our original statement we wished to injure the cavalry. I have a similar return with regard to the light brigade. The strength of every month is given; the deaths in that month are taken out, and I am almost afraid to say what the mortality is. Out of an average strength of 427, no less than 394 died—*showing an average mortality of ninety-two per cent.* These are from the authentic returns, signed, if not by his lordship, by his lordship's officers; and I am certain, that when you see recorded such a frightful mortality as perhaps never occurred before, and will probably never occur again, you will not find fault with me or with my co-commissioner for expecting at that time that every possible effort would be made, everything attempted which human ingenuity could devise, for the purpose of remedying those evils."

At subsequent meetings, the board was occupied in listening to the examination of witnesses by Colonel Tulloch, his object being to establish from their lips a confirmation of the report. A perusal of these examinations leaves a painful feeling on the mind, and one by no means favourable to the officers questioned. It was sad to see that gentlemen—men possibly of courage in the field—could exhibit so much timidity, so much fear of incurring the displeasure of offending their superior officers. In some instances their evasions were perfectly unmanly and disgraceful. When asked simple questions, on which it was almost impossible for them not to be well informed and to entertain decided opinions upon, they answered, "They could not say;" "that is not a question for me to give an opinion upon;" "I cannot remember;" "I would rather not answer that question;" "I don't feel at liberty to express an opinion about my superiors." To questions which scarcely admitted of any answer except in the affirmative, the reply was seldom stronger or more explicit than "Probably so." Added to this, Colonel Tulloch was constantly interrupted by some petty and carping objection from Lord Lucan; and it soon became apparent, that though the great mass of the public be-



lieved the Crimean report to be substantially correct, it was resolved its fairness should not be vindicated in the hall of Chelsea Hospital.\*

There were of course some exceptions to the conduct we have censured; but they were few; and certainly the most direct evidence was given by gentlemen who were connected with the army in a non-military capacity. Thus Mr. Rawlingson, C. E., in answer to Colonel Tulloch, gave the following evidence, which, we think, tended to vindicate the Crimean report, and to expose the want of system and energy exhibited by the officers themselves during that terrible winter's campaign to which these inquiries refer. He said he went out to the Crimea as engineering member of the sanitary commission, and it was his duty in that capacity to make himself acquainted with the nature of the ground, and its suitability for the reception of the troops. He was well acquainted with the valley of Kadikoi, as well as with the plateau above it, and with their geological formation, and had examined most minutely the whole of the camp occupied by the British army. Speaking as a civilian, if he had had fifty men at his hand, with appropriate tools, he should have had no difficulty in providing a temporary shelter for the horses on any portion of the ground occupied by the allied camp. That ground varied materially. In the valley it was a rich loamy soil, speedily converted into mud; and there were other portions of the ground which all the armies in the world could not have made mud of. You might choose sites where, from the nature of the formation—limestone rock—quarry tools would have been required to get up any shelter. There were other sites

where ordinary earthworks might easily have been thrown up. He had seen the stables made in the valley, and, such as they were, he thought a couple of men per horse ought to have provided this shelter in a couple of days, if they had the material to make the covering. At all events, a couple of civilians, working under a contractor, would have done so. After adding, that sailcloth for making shelter for the horses might have been had from the captains of transports in the harbour, had it been applied for, Mr. Rawlingson added—"I was myself hutted above the mule camp at the head of Balaklava harbour, and for days and weeks I saw those wretched animals standing knee-deep in mud. They had no nose-bags; the forage given them was thrown down in the mud, and I don't believe they could get one-tenth of it; for it was rolled and trodden into the mud before they could eat it. In the valley of Kadikoi the earth might have been dug, and temporary shelter thrown up in one or two days; the ground might have been trenched on the very day the horses were placed on it. I don't know what may interfere with military men on service in the face of the enemy; but I can only say that any railway contractor, or any person having to do with horses, would not have lost the twentieth part of the number under the same conditions." Similar evidence was given, in an equally open manner, by Mr. E. H. Bracebridge. The frankness of their replies was quite a contrast to the petty equivocation of some officers of distinction who followed them as witnesses. The audacity of some of these men was as insolent as it was heartless; and it was evident, from the language used by some of them, that they

\* In commenting upon these examinations, the *Times*—which acted with much public spirit on this occasion—sarcastically observed—"No one is able to say exactly and confidently why the report of the Crimean commissioners has itself been called in question, put on its trial, and exposed to all the chances that time, distance, bad memory, and good interest cannot fail to create against it. For whatever purpose the commission was intended, the report might have been taken as conclusive. We are not, however, concerned with the measures by which the higher powers, after shelving that report for months, have exposed it to the risk of being finally discredited. We are not behind the scenes, where, evidently, there is some mystery. But whatever the intention, we are now sure of one result,—it is, that the men in command in the Crimea are still what they are believed to have been. Out of their own mouths they declare that they are still the men to lose any number of horses and men, and everything

else committed to their charge. Nobody can doubt, indeed they do not wish us to doubt, that in the event of another war they would do precisely what they did in the winter of 1854. They are perfectly sure they did all that could be expected from them. Indeed, what could they do? There wasn't a good shop in the place—not a tradesman calling for orders. There were no carpenters or labourers; no sailcloth or scantling, or ropes, or good tools. They were wholly neglected. What could they do in such a case? It has never occurred to these gentlemen that when a number of Englishmen go with their horses three thousand miles from home, and land in a foreign country for the express purpose of destroying, pillaging, killing, and doing all sorts of mischief, they must expect to encounter some difficulties. If they go to fight the Cossacks, they must not expect to fare much better than Cossacks, and, indeed, will probably have to do what the Cossacks have to do."



had from the first resolved to set the commissioners at defiance, and prevent, as far as possible, their labours leading to any military reform. They cared little that a noble army had perished of cold, hunger, and neglect; but their order must not be touched, their proceedings must not be inquired into. They would rather, in any future war, that the horrors of 1854-'5 should be renewed, than that their wisdom and devotion to the service should be questioned. The miserable quibbling and tricky evasiveness of certain officers of high rank, on these occasions, cannot be read without a sense of disgust and contempt.

Even Sir Edmund Lyons gave his evidence with a wariness and evident bias which exposed him to ridicule, and was truly considered as scarcely consistent with his reputation for courage and energy. He denied that sails or canvas had been applied for to make shelter for the horses, or that it was fitted for such a purpose. He also stated that the fleet was unable to spare any carpenters for the assistance of the army; and entered into a long statement as to the services rendered by the sailors to the sister service. He appeared to be labouring under the idea that the naval officers and seamen had been aspersed for not giving greater assistance to the army, and this misconception gave a colouring to his replies that evinced an antagonism towards Colonel Tulloch. When the board inquired whether he considered himself competent to speak further as to the "want of promptitude or ingenuity" displayed in providing shelter for the cavalry? he answered, "No, I do not. My opinion is, as far as it goes, that there was no want of promptitude; but I cannot constitute myself a judge in military matters." In plainer language, he refused to express an opinion.

After Lord Lucan had defended himself, attacked the report of the commissioners, and examined a number of pliant and subservient officers, with the object of supporting his views and clearing himself from all blame, Colonel Tulloch addressed the board in defence of the report. He observed—"The inquiries would have been of little use had the commissioners abstained from all indications which must turn the attention of the government in that direction where something apparently was wrong. The commissioners felt that more was required than a mere record of the sufferings of the army; and remedies could, of course, never

have been suggested nor applied unless some remote indication was given of the quarter in which the existing arrangements had proved defective. With these considerations in view, the board would not be surprised that the commissioners acted with caution in their report, and would also be satisfied that no animadversions were cast by it upon any one; but that it contained simply an expression of opinion that something had been wrong, leaving it to the government to determine who were the parties responsible, or to make any further inquiries it might deem to be necessary." After restating the frightful condition of the horses, Colonel Tulloch continued—"Lord Lucan had expressed his belief that all the horses were under shelter about the middle of February; but how had that been accomplished? Only because one-half of them had died in the interim. Had the proportion survived which might have been expected to have lived under ordinary circumstances, the whole of the horses could not have been placed under shelter until the middle of March, by which time the winter would have passed away." Many officers had given evidence in favour of the use of sail-cloth for the protection of horses; and even General Airey had admitted its advantage as a temporary shelter, provided the materials had been upon the spot. It was because the commissioners, backed by all that evidence, had felt it their duty to point out that there had been a want of promptitude and ingenuity in devising some temporary shelter for the cavalry horses, that their report had been so rudely assailed. The gallant colonel concluded a long address by saying—"In every indication as to where blame appeared to rest, the commissioners endeavoured to frame it in the most guarded manner. This precaution, however, he was sorry to find, had raised up enemies in various quarters, when a more decided opinion would, perhaps, have involved the hostility of one only. But for that there was no remedy. It was one of the painful consequences in which the honest discharge of duty to the government and the country had involved him. Cares and toils, injustice and ill-will, form, as had been truly said, a part of the burden that must be borne by every man who served the state." As he concluded, a burst of applause bespoke the conviction of the audience: the cheering sound was, however, instantly suppressed by the officers in attendance.



At the next meeting, on April 28th, the Earl of Lucan was permitted to reply upon the whole case. In this he reiterated a charge of inaccuracy against the report; restated many incidents which had been referred to; declared that his conscience told him he had done his duty; sneered at Sir John McNeill for not having attended, as Colonel Tulloch did, to uphold his report; contended that a severe animadversion had been made upon him by the commissioners, "though, by not mentioning his name, they attempted to evade the responsibility they ought to have incurred." In referring to the errors charged upon the report, Lord Lucan observed—"It would really appear as if a conspiracy had been formed against those unfortunate commissioners; and that, instead of being supplied with the information they required, only enough was given them to delude and deceive them." It is more than probable that this unguarded statement revealed the truth, and that a conspiracy on the part of the officers in the Crimea did exist for the purpose of nullifying the report. It would have been well if the government had inquired into this matter, and if any such infamous proceeding had been found to exist, severely punish those engaged in it. The singular pertinacity of Lord Lucan in imputing evil motives to the commissioners, and in persisting in statements which he was repeatedly shown were inaccurate, at length quite wearied the patience of the listeners, and elicited hisses from the body of the hall. Indeed, the extreme personality and offensiveness of his mode of argument cannot be fully estimated, except by those who will undertake the weary task of reading through all his statements. With more truth he declared that the commission had been set on foot for the purpose of exonerating the government, and making a scapegoat of the officers in the Crimea. Such really appears to have been the case; but the amount of mismanagement unequivocally traceable to military sources was actually startling, and at first incomprehensible. Abandoning personalities, Lord Lucan did himself more credit, and even won the applause of his auditors, by the peroration of his discourse, which was as follows:—  
"A civil inquiry into the conduct of general and other officers in the field was, he believed, without precedent, except in the worst days of the French revolution, and then the civil commissioners were sent

to examine into the general's fidelity, and not into his military conduct. He felt convinced the board would do justice in this case, but it had not the power to remove from the army the ridicule, from the country the scandal, and from our institutions the reproach which the Crimean inquiry will have occasioned throughout all Europe. He would refer to his own orders, to the evidence of General Searlett and others, in proof of his own anxiety for the welfare of his men and horses, and that he exercised all the promptitude and ingenuity which the circumstances suggested or allowed; and with reference to the case of Colonel Griffiths, he would rely upon his orders and correspondence to relieve him from any charge which might be imputed upon that account. He had proved that he continually visited the camp, that he was in daily communication with the commanding officers of regiments, and was most anxious for the progress of shelter for the horses; and he had a letter from Mr. Blunt, now in the consular service, but formerly his interpreter, which bore testimony to his zeal and anxiety for his troops and his horses. To those who imputed to the English cavalry a want of resource and an inferiority to other cavalry, he replied that under the pressure of insufficient forage and heavy duties, quite foreign to their ordinary ones, the English cavalry were nevertheless more successful in sheltering their horses than were either their allies or their enemies, and sustained losses infinitely smaller. He had no hesitation in saying that if, after the battle of Inkermann, the cavalry had been moved to the neighbourhood of Kadikoi, some six or seven hundred horses would have been saved, and the whole of the cavalry would have been huddled before Christmas. In the book which he had handed to the board there were seventy-two orders on the management and care of the horses. Those orders would refute the idea which the evidence of Colonel Griffith might suggest of harsh words in communications with other officers, and he believed would also meet any charge of ignorance or incapacity which some might please to make against him. He was glad to have an opportunity of meeting any animadversion upon his professional character, and only complained—and should always do so—that the inquiry which he so earnestly besought, and which common justice entitled him to, was withheld when he was so capriciously and so



unjustly snatched from his command, but which inquiry was a political inconvenience, and therefore the professional character of a subordinate general officer was not to be weighed in the balance, but he must be sacrificed to the exigencies of the moment. He would only add, in reference to the personal portion of the case, that he, being only a subordinate general officer, had certain duties to do and was responsible to, but not for, the general commanding-in-chief. In those duties he had never failed. The army was one as devoted to its country as any that had ever left England, and none in it were more devoted to duty and to its interests than himself. Colonel Tulloch concluded his observations by remarking, that 'care and toil, injustice and ill-will, formed a portion of the burden which fell on him who served the state.' If such were the fate of the civil servants of the public, how much harder was it when soldiers like himself and the gallant men he had commanded found themselves objects of obloquy and animadversion, instead of being considered deserving of their country's consideration and gratitude! Why, he would ask, were English soldiers less deserving of acknowledgment from their country than the French, the Sardinians, or the Turks, all of whom were received with ovations and triumph, while the English army only met with contumely and reproach? If all that injustice was intended for the officers alone, he could only say the private, so brave and generous, little desired an undue share of that credit and those honours which, with frankness and with pride, he acknowledged to have been as well earned by the officers as by himself."

At the next sitting (April 29th), Lord Cardigan was called upon by the judge-advocate to point out to the board the passages in the report of which he complained. The earl replied, that he had not demanded any inquiry; but that upon the publication of the report, he had addressed a letter to the secretary of state, with such observations as occurred to him upon a perusal of that report. That letter was laid before parliament, and he was then content to await with confidence the result of a deliberate consideration of facts; but it having been deemed necessary to issue a royal warrant for the present inquiry, he accepted willingly an opportunity of entering more fully into details, and shrank from no investigation of his conduct. The

earl read the following passage from the report, and indicated that it was the one he objected to as reflecting upon him—"When the supply began to fail, the commissariat officer referred to, who appears to have done everything in his power to meet the difficulties of the case, proposed—as he knew there was plenty of barley at Balaklava—that if a detachment of the horses were allowed to go down daily, he would engage to bring up enough for the rest of the brigade. This proposition appears to have been brought specially under the notice of Lord Cardigan by Lieutenant-colonel Mayou, assistant quartermaster-general of cavalry, who states that his lordship declined to accede to it, as he had previously done when a similar proposition was made to him, to send the horses down for hay before that supply failed."

The earl observed, that "the commissioners had declined to express an opinion as to the policy or impolicy of his refusal. He believed he had exercised a sound discretion, and taken the best course to maintain as much as possible the efficiency of the light brigade. When the brigade had been posted on the heights of Inkermann, General Canrobert pointed out to him the importance of the presence of cavalry at that position, in order to guard against a sudden attack of the Russians from the valley in the rear; and upon his mentioning to Lord Raglan the severity of the exposure and other difficulties, which almost rendered it impossible for the brigade to remain in that position, he gathered from Lord Raglan's reply, that his lordship was privately pledged to the French general to keep the cavalry there. Thus the board would see that the retention of that position by the light brigade, was a result of the exigencies of the service, and by order of the superior authorities; over which he had no control. That position entailed great sufferings upon the brigade, and those sufferings were increased by the distance (seven miles) from the depôts at Balaklava. Even before the storm of the 14th of November, the power of transport was not sufficient to keep the brigade wholly supplied; and after the storm the difficulties were greatly increased." After speaking at some length on the comparative mortality of the horses of the light brigade, and those of the heavy cavalry and transport, he continued—"Returning to the main question—whether it would have



been expedient to have sent the horses for forage? Had he possessed the power to send them—which he did not admit—still there was no certainty that they would have obtained any supplies.” He then referred to the evidence of several witnesses, to show the impassable condition of the roads, and appealed to the board, whether it would have been possible to have sent the light cavalry horses to Balaklava for forage, the animals being, as the commissioners themselves had said, “previously exhausted by want of hay and straw.” He believed, had he done so, it would have caused a greater loss of horses than actually occurred from the deficiency of forage. Military reasons, too, required that the cavalry should be kept in readiness to act, and he would not have been justified in sending away a large portion of the horses and men for a period of ten or twelve hours upon such a duty. The earl concluded his address by saying—“Upon the facts he had mentioned he felt justified in demanding from a military court an approval of his conduct, and a decision that there was no foundation for a charge that he had neglected to use every precaution to maintain the efficiency of the brigade; a charge which he ventured to hope was inconsistent with his whole professional career.” His lordship abstained altogether from offensive innuendoes and imputations, and conducted his defence in a gentlemanly spirit. His manner formed a peculiar contrast to that of the Earl of Lucan.

On the 1st of May, the case of General Sir Richard Airey was proceeded with. His statement occupied the greatest part of two days’ sitting, and contained much irrelevant matter. With an assumption of moderation, he observed—“He might be permitted to say that, although he should be certainly surprised to hear that a gentleman taken from the civil service of the crown, and an officer with the rank of colonel in the army, had been intrusted by the government with the duty of investigating the conduct of military officers then actively engaged before an enemy in the field, yet he could truly say that such surprise would not have been followed on his part by the smallest want of that deference which he considered it was part of an officer’s duty to pay to constituted authority; and he would add, that if a civilian was to be appointed to conduct such an inquiry, there was no one to whose judgment he

should have deferred with more confidence than to Sir John McNeill’s. In saying, too, that the selection of a civilian to sit in judgment upon the conduct of officers in the field would have given him a good deal of surprise, he was far from expressing the opinion that, because such a step would be unusual it would be therefore wrong. On the contrary, he was one of those who believed that all professions were benefited by throwing upon them some light from outside. His regret was, not that civilians discussed military affairs too much, but that they knew too little of them to be able to conduct the discussion with good effect; and this circumstance he attributed mainly to the fact, that there existed no compendious work in which civilians might acquaint themselves, in a rapid way, with the organisation of the British army. This want of acquaintance with the structure of our army, was not for an instant to be attributed to the commissioners; and he had much pleasure in assuring those gentlemen, that no thought about the position of the one as a civilian, or about the military rank of the other, would have prevented him from lending them every assistance in his power, if he had thought they had been intrusted with the duty of investigating his administration as quartermaster-general of the army. It would have been quite enough to know that they came armed with her majesty’s commission to make an inquiry of that sort; but this was precisely what he did not know, and what, strange to say, he did not know even at the present moment.” He considered the want of a shorthand writer by the commissioners to be fatal to the value of their report; and he asserted that, in the examinations they took, the process of condensation was carried so far as to render the memoranda thus obtained very nearly useless for all practical purposes. Lord Raglan had no idea that an inquiry into the military departments was to be made by the commissioners, and therefore his lordship had no opportunity of aiding an investigation which he did not know was on foot. General Airey showed how he had evaded being examined by the commissioners; he expressed an opinion that the commissioners could not have intended to inculcate him; and he believed they never were intrusted with the duty of sitting in judgment upon his conduct. “He believed, also, that in all the despatches sent home by Lord Raglan, there was no



complaint of any want of skill or energy on the part of any member of the general staff; but, on the contrary, that there were repeated acknowledgments of their services. He would proceed to give some explanations upon matters connected with his department, which had been subjects of observation on the part of the commissioners. The duties of the quartermaster-general were extensive and important. He had the direction of the quartering, encamping, and marching of the troops, their embarkation and disembarkation, and to enforce all camp regulations. He had to collect the best information he could as to the geography, climate, military and general resources of the country which was the theatre of war, to select the points of landing and embarking, and the best position for attack or defence. He must be prepared to convey that knowledge to the commander-in-chief, by laying before him the best maps and plans to be obtained from surveys or from other sources, being careful that all maps and plans are carefully corrected and extended from time to time, according to the varying exigencies of the service. He had also to ascertain, as well as he could, the strength, position, resources, and contemplated operations of the enemy. Being charged with duties of such a nature, the quartermaster-general must necessarily be more or less admitted to the counsels of the commander-in-chief; and he could say that all the officers on the general staff performed services in the field, whenever called upon to do so, with willingness and zeal. For himself, he had always acted upon the broad principle of not limiting his duties to the strict boundaries of his departmental functions; and thus it had arisen that the commissioners had found traces of his labours in every branch of the service, and which circumstance appeared to have led them to imagine that the functions of his department related to all the business of army administration. He quite agreed with the commissioners that the sufferings of the army were traceable to two causes—overwork and want of transport. It was therefore of great importance to remove some misapprehensions which prevailed upon the subject, and to show that the quartermaster-general's department had nothing to do with the apportionment of the soldier's labour, nor the very important business of supplying the transport of the army. The first

was one of the functions of the adjutant-general, and the other belonged to the commissariat department."

In a campaign of such a nature that the annals of war contained no previous example, it was to be expected that suffering would occur; but that suffering, he affirmed, had all been traced to England. Yet at the time he made this statement, General Airey thought fit to exonerate the officers of the army from responsibility by saying that, in operations of war, it was usual to depend on the soldier's labour; but that resource failed from the pressure of military necessities. It was not, he urged, too much to say that, from the 25th of October until the close of winter, there was continually going on, a kind of protracted engagement with the enemy in front and flank; for although the firing was less heavy at some periods than at others, there never was a time of repose to allow the men to be employed upon any kind of fatigue duty. It was almost inevitable that the expeditionary forces, confined during the winter to a bare hill, and at the same time carrying on continual operations against a powerful enemy, must undergo very great privations. As soon as he (General Airey) knew that the army had to winter in the Crimea, he took measures to provide shelter for the troops and horses. It had been said, "every man was doing his best." That was the truth. They were not doing one-tenth or one-twentieth part of what they wished to do; but they were doing their best; and it was beyond the limits of possibility to undertake any fresh operations involving vast additional labour. If Colonel Tulloch could have shown that the works upon which the army was then engaged were unnecessary, and that its labour was misdirected, there would be a reason for blame; but to impose an onerous task upon them which they had no means of fulfilling, would be trifling with their sufferings. He (General Airey) had done everything in his power to afford shelter for the troops; and it was the want of transport and human labour—wants not to be remedied by the quartermaster-general's department—which had caused the suffering. The general concluded his statement by a long and not very pertinent eulogy of the late Lord Raglan.

At the next sitting of the board (May the 5th), Colonel Tulloch was compelled to leave the court in consequence of illness ap-



parently brought on from the mental excitement and the irritation caused by his position. A public journal stated that the gallant colonel's health had fairly broken down under the fatigue and anxiety of this protracted inquiry. "Sir Richard Airey," said the *Times*, "can make his own statements, call his own witnesses, put to them whatever questions he pleases, and dismiss them when their testimony may be troublesome or adverse to his interests. It might, perhaps, have been better had it been so throughout; for, while Colonel Tulloch was there as counsel for the prosecution, as cross-examiner—or call his office by what name you will—there was a feeling abroad that the weight of a judicial proceeding should be attached to the Chelsea inquiry. At present, General Airey's case, as presented by himself, can only be taken for just as much as it is worth—that is to say, for General Airey's view of his own conduct, supported by the testimony of his own private friends, and of the officers who would be directly responsible, did he not shield them by taking all responsibility upon himself. It might, we say, have been better had this been so throughout; for the self-imposed task of Colonel Tulloch was above the measure of any man's strength."

On its being ascertained that Colonel Tulloch was seriously ill, and could no longer attend to be insulted by the officers who complained of the report, General Airey became anxious that Sir John McNeill should be sent for, that he might be subjected to the same harassing and offensive treatment. That gentleman, however, animated by a proper sense of self-respect, declined to attend until he had authoritative information, more definite than he had yet received, "as to the precise objects and the scope of the proceedings going on at Chelsea." This was, in reality, treating the partial proceedings of the board with the contempt (though somewhat veiled) that they deserved. In fact, the whole affair was a mere mockery; and we believe the military dotards who composed the board, arrived at their conclusion before the proceedings began. If it had not been for the palpable worthlessness of their proceedings, the board would have resented Sir John McNeill's slight; but they knew they were

transacting a "solemn sham," and they had sense enough to seem not to see the contempt with which they were treated. After one or two adjournments to give Colonel Tulloch the opportunity of recovering and being a second time worried into a nervous fever, General Airey summed up his case, and proved, entirely to his own satisfaction, that he was a most energetic and indefatigable officer, and that the authors of the report were highly blamable to infer, even in the remotest manner, anything to the contrary.

Colonel Gordon was then called upon to state his case to the board, and made several petty objections to the accuracy of the report. Of course, his devotion to the service was enthusiastic, his attention to the wants of the men most assiduous, and his military reputation spotless as the deep new-fallen snow. All was *couleur de rose*. Never had an army been so cared for, though by some strange means the men and horses rotted, pined, starved, and died; and the picked force of England became a ghastly wreck—a pitiable skeleton crowd, who suffered and then faded away like the events of a hideous dream. But of course no military authority was to blame, and the commissioners were extremely culpable for inferring, mildly enough, that something more of energy and ingenuity might have been displayed by them. Colonel Gordon considered that when the existing excitement had passed away, it would be found that no blame attached to the army; and that but for the energy displayed by the soldiers and officers in the winter of 1854, the sufferings of that army would have been far greater than they actually were;\* and he concluded his statement by handing to the board copies of letters from the late Lord Raglan, recommending him for promotion; and letters from other authorities, commending him for various military qualities. We do not doubt that he was a very good military machine—a fair routine soldier, according to the rules of a dying school, the unbending rigidity of which nearly brought disgrace upon England; but we have as little doubt that had he been otherwise—had he wearied himself and worried his superiors about the condition of the troops—had he trampled on

\* It is difficult to conceive how this could be, as it is painfully notorious that the army of this period was nearly annihilated by want and exposure, and that few of the men who left the English shores and landed at the Crimea in the eventful September of

1854, ever returned to their native land. Sickness, starvation, and death consumed them. Of course we do not allude to officers, who had better means than the privates of taking care of themselves, though the mortality amongst them was sad enough.



military formularies for bettering that condition, he would not have obtained those recommendations for promotion and testimonials for conduct. Notwithstanding the amount of vapid adulation that has been heaped upon the memory of Lord Raglan, we are mistaken if posterity, seeing by a clearer light than society does now, will place a great deal of value upon his recommendation for promotion. He did his duty as best he could, and he died at his post: we have no wish to cast contumely upon his grave, but he was evidently unfit for the great position that the absence of any really illustrious soldier had placed him in; he was not of the race of military heroes. Those who love the naked truth will pardon us for these remarks, extorted by the adulatory tone of the military and a part of the press towards one whom it would be greater kindness to let rest in silence.\* The bees of Hybla have shed no honey upon our lips; we cannot dip our pen in the perfumed dews of roses; the language of flattery is not ours—"we are nothing if not critical;" we have a faith in the healing power of truth, even when it presents itself in its sternest and most forbidding aspect: and

\* Lord Raglan's incompetence was the greatest cause of the horrors of 1854-'55. We do not stand alone in this opinion, though we should not the less publish it if we did. After the great Chelsea sham had made its report to the government, the *Times* spoke thus on this subject:—"Lord Raglan holds the first place in these transactions. The respect paid to one who is dead, who died too, if not on the field of battle, at any rate surrounded by the dangers and responsibilities of war, has hitherto closed the mouth of criticism. But the maxim of speaking only good of the dead may be carried too far. In the first moment of a family's grief, in the first days of a nation's natural regret for an old and honest soldier who has died in its cause, it is certainly well to be reserved and merciful. But a commander-in-chief is an historical character, his doings for good or ill are legitimate subjects for discussion, and the lapse of a year precludes the appearance of unseemly attacks on a newly-raised tomb. What, then, are we to say of our late commander-in-chief, as his acts are chronicled in the reports and evidence derived from two commissions? Brave with an antique bravery, of most courteous manners, and, to those of his own class, cordial and kind, he naturally has the warm sympathies of a circle who can see no defects in him. But the nation has to judge of men by the results of their actions. Let the private friends of Lord Raglan cherish his memory, and seek to communicate their enthusiasm to their countrymen. But if the country remains incredulous, they must not be surprised. We do not make heroes of good men or polite men, but of those who do great actions and advance a great cause. Now how stands the case with Lord Raglan? He had been for forty years supreme at the Horse-guards; he knew, if any one might be supposed to know, the British army,

when we approach the subject of what the military authorities did for the amelioration of the condition of our poor soldiers in the Crimea during the winter of 1854-'55, or rather of what they left undone at that awful time, we are haunted by a dark horror—a vision of dreary privation, sickness, suffering, and death; multitudinous death in every repulsive and ghastly form, and shallow graves where the rotting tenant was scarcely concealed by the crust of earth that lay above him: these things rise like an accusing spirit, and forbid us to use the meaningless accents of hollow compliment, or to believe the reiterated lie that all was done that could be done, and no one was to blame. Crimean boards and servile officers may believe that if they can, but posterity will not do so. The historians of the future will relate events without collusion, or fear of offending some superior in command.

Mr. Commissary-general Filder brought up the rear; and his was the last of the complaints against the report. Mr. Filder appears to have been a really active officer, and to have been terribly fettered by the want of both supplies and means of transport, which his reiterated applications failed with all its merits and defects, its personal bravery, the shortcomings of its commissariat, transport, and medical systems. He was, in fact, at the head of the very department which broke down most egregiously. He had been often abroad, and had enjoyed in France opportunities of seeing the details of a great military organisation; yet, under his guidance, the British army—literally the British army, for we had no reserve—was led blindly to destruction, from which only the outburst of popular feeling preserved it. For five months was this army in Turkey before it embarked for the Crimea; not a few of the deficiencies began to be felt even before it moved from Gallipoli to Varna; yet, though endowed with unlimited power, though not only requested, but even adjured, by the government to remedy every defect with a strong hand, the commander-in-chief saw nothing, heard nothing, knew nothing, until the deluge of disasters was upon his devoted troops. In all these inquiries his name hardly appears. The government of the army seems to have been a commonwealth of independent generals and heads of departments. What a quartermaster-general did in Dublin or Quebec, that he felt necessary to do in the Crimea; he did nothing more; it was not in his department, and no higher power interfered. The commissariat could not transport provisions for want of ships and horses; they made requisitions that were not complied with, men perished by hundreds, and we see no help come from head-quarters. Napoleon and Wellington dictated the minutest details of organisation; but all by which wars are made successful,—feeding, clothing, transport, shelter,—were in this British army abandoned to the fortuitous agreement of some half-dozen departments, each of which, as far as we can see, was carrying on a war of recrimination and provocation with the other."



to obtain. He said he had not foreseen, and no one could have imagined, the state of the road between Balaklava and the camp. The French had not to encounter this difficulty. Their road from Kamiesch lay over downs; from Balaklava the ground was simply a morass. The whole question relating to supplies was one of transport. The animals provided for this service died from exposure and overwork; and the real point to be established was this—could or could not these animals have been replaced as fast as they died? Had they the means of transporting a sufficient quantity of animals to the Crimea by sea, and of transporting also a sufficient supply of forage to feed them when landed? All the sailing transports, with two exceptions, were under the orders of Admiral Boxer, at Constantinople; and the commissariat officers employed all the transports they could obtain from that officer, in order to forward supplies of forage and food to the Crimea. Mr. Filder, however, read extracts from letters to prove that enough transports could not be obtained for this purpose. He proceeded to show that the casualties which had taken place among the transport animals arose from the laborious nature of the work in which they were employed; and dwelt especially on the fact that the supplies of forage from home were insufficient. In consequence of the failure of his contracts in the East, and the uncertainty he was under in obtaining adequate supplies of forage there, he had applied for pressed hay from England. In reply, it was stated to him that 357 tons per month would be sent out; but he had stated, in answer to this, that 580 tons would be required to feed the artillery, cavalry, and commissariat animals. Notwithstanding this, however, so little attention was paid to his wants, that during two months of the winter the quantity sent from England did not exceed 275 tons per month. Mr. Filder read repeated representations made by him to the treasury and to the war-office relative to the supply of forage; and observed that if the authorities in England were to assume to be the judges of the necessity of complying with such requisitions from the commissary-general, it seemed clear that the responsibility of that officer was at an end. At all events, this was the first time in his experience that he had known such demands to be disregarded, whatever the future investigations which it might be thought desirable to institute on the sub-

ject. That Sir Charles Trevelyan was not ignorant of their urgent want of forage was established by passages in his letters; and Mr. Filder proceeded to show, by documentary evidence, that the deficiencies experienced could not have been supplied by local resources, as seemed to be the impression at home; and that the utmost exertions had been made by the commissariat department, though without success, in order to obtain the necessary supplies in the East. The storm of the 14th of November deprived them of a large quantity of pressed hay; and the difficulty of landing loose chopped straw was so great, that this article was to a considerable extent unavailable. Mr. Filder, in conclusion, complained that he had been superseded in his office on account of the imputation of neglect or incompetence that had been laid upon him. For the same reason, he supposed, he had been deprived of all acknowledgment of his otherwise unquestioned services, which, in the shape of honorary rewards, had been granted in all parallel cases. The remaining proceedings before the board were destitute of interest; and the investigation terminated on Monday, the 19th of May.

Towards the end of July, the board presented to the government their report, detailing the conclusions they had come to. The summary of these military judges was, considering the bias they had exhibited throughout the inquiry, just what everybody expected. They were true to their order, and they exonerated every officer to whom "want of promptitude or energy" had been imputed. They pronounced that Lord Lucan had used every exertion to meet the difficulties with which he had to contend; and that, consequently, he was not chargeable with neglect in the important duties attached to his command. Lord Cardigan was also exonerated; and the frightful mortality among the horses committed to his charge laid to the want of means of transport and the insufficiency of forage. In like manner, no blame was to be attributed to Sir Richard Airey: he had sent requisitions to England which were not complied with until the necessity for them had almost passed away; but he himself, and all who served under him, used their best exertions to promote the welfare of the army. Colonel Gordon was not only acquitted, but commended; and Mr. Filder considered to have exercised every possible activity. The military had all done



their best; and the home government only was to blame: such was the burden of this military report. That the government was far from blameless is clear enough; but it seems perfectly evident, that the system pursued by the officers in the Crimea was mainly in fault for the sufferings of the troops. Did Lord Raglan force the condition of the army entrusted to his command upon the attention of the government, and insist upon its amelioration? By no means. If even thoroughly acquainted with its sufferings (which we doubt), he looked on with an apathy as unaccountable as the contemplation of it is painful. The government at first discredited the accounts they received of the sufferings of the soldiers; and well they might do so. Those accounts did not come from the commander-in-chief, or from any of the officers impeached of want of energy by Colonel Tulloch and Sir John McNeill. These gentlemen witnessed the destruction of our men and cavalry horses with an appalling calmness, and merely contented themselves with a requisition. No urgent demands, no peremptory expostulations were received from them. They were bound hand and foot with forms, and showed as little "promptitude or energy," as it is possible to conceive could be exercised by officers in their trying positions. They were all ordinary—not extraordinary—men, who, instead of surmounting difficulties, sat down gloomily and succumbed to them. Yet,

forsooth, no man must presume to censure them; and it must be asserted that the government only was to blame. Chelsea boards may make such statements, but England will not believe them. The people of this country know that our military system broke down in action; that our soldiers were sacrificed to aristocratic incompetence and official stupidity; and that the subject must be examined with stern severity, and reformed with an iron hand. Evasions must not be permitted, nor apologies accepted. It is not sufficient that commonplace men do their best; such men must resign posts of high responsibility to those who are fit to fill them. We must not be told that England has no such men; they abound in all professions where rewards and honours wait upon merit. This matter must be seen to, if England is to retain her position among the nations. If she would continue one of the great powers of Europe, she must address herself in earnest to military reform of a searching and rigid nature. To be wealthy and weak, is to invite attack from the strong; to be brave, yet without discipline or science, is to perish in the presence of a well-organised enemy, or to be melted away before the severity of the unconscious elements. Truly, indeed, was it observed, that if the Chelsea inquiry convinced the nation that there is no hope of improvement but in thorough reform, it will not have been held in vain.

#### CHAPTER XIV.

EVENTS IN THE CRIMEA; ARRIVAL OF THE NEWS THAT PEACE IS CONCLUDED; FRIENDLY INTERCOURSE BETWEEN THE ALLIED ARMIES AND THE RUSSIANS.

THE excitement resulting from an actual state of war had ceased in the Crimea; but three such armies as the English, French, and Sardinian, could not remain in the neighbourhood of Sebastopol without incidents of some interest occurring. The Crimea will be long memorable in the world's history; and even minute particulars of this great invasion of it will be, for very many years, preserved with avidity and read with pleasure. We shall therefore trace the progress of the allies, and

especially of the English force, until they finally abandoned the wild spot which had been the theatre of such a war as, we trust, it will be long before the world sees again. If, in doing so, we dwell upon some points which people of grand ideas deem unimportant, we trust we shall be pardoned for the sake of the subject. We must confess we linger with an undefined fondness in the footsteps of the allied armies, and upon the spot where lie the bones of so many heroes whose blood was shed in the cause

of duty, for the honour of their native land, and in defence of the feeble against the strong. Weak as it may seem to the merc utilitarian, we look upon the Crimea, despite all the hideous memories connected with it, as a sort of sacred ground—sacred to the service of justice; consecrated in that holy cause by the pouring out, not of water, but of blood—of the blood of heroes—and hallowed by such instances of endurance and painful self-denial, as cannot be surpassed in the history of the world. With such a feeling, we look with interest on the daily life of our soldiers there; and we are convinced that our emotion is general amongst our countrymen. “What a change,” said a correspondent, writing towards the close of March, “has taken place since this time twelvemonth in the aspect of our army! Just as the rows of graves, which were then black unsightly mounds, are now green with verdure, and giving early promise of rich vegetation, so our regiments, broken by war and disease, and by the trials of the siege last year, now present a cheerful military appearance, which makes us forget the past, and gives assurance that the recruits in their ranks will soon be soldiers. The dull booming of the bombardment, with its fitful throbs, has ceased; and every morning the ear is caught by the strains of the bands, as the regiments march forth for drill and exercise; and the plain flashes with countless bayonets, as the sun glances between the dark rows of the huts, and sends its rays on the parade-grounds. We have perfected the machine for its uses, just as they in all probability will cease to exist. Are we to lay it by to rust, to decay, and to grow rotten again; or, by a judicious selection of parts, to have it ready to our hands as nearly as possible fit for work, should it unfortunately be required? Great Britain must make up her mind either to maintain the costly implement in working order, or to abandon the trust confided to all great nations by the very strength and wealth with which they are gifted, and permit the strong hand to rule the destinies of the world.”

On Sunday, the 23rd of March, news arrived in the Crimea, that an imperial heir had been born to the throne of France. The information was confirmed by authorised intelligence from the British embassy at Constantinople to General Codrington, and by despatches to Marshal

Pelissier. The air was soon filled with the roar of artillery, and the English, French, and Sardinians each fired 101 guns. At the time of firing the salutes the whole of the English royal artillery were assembled on the high open ground near the guards' camp, for the purpose of undergoing an inspection by General Codrington. A twofold object was thus accomplished. An imposing character was imparted to the complimentary salute given to the house of our illustrious ally, by the assembling of such a vast array of artillery on the occasion, and an opportunity was afforded of passing in review the whole or the latter. The Russians were apparently astonished at this seeming cannonading, which the echoes repeated in all directions; and at first, some in the English camp supposed that the armistice was at an end, and that the northern forts had opened fire. In the course of the day, Marshal Pelissier issued an order of the day to his troops, congratulating them on the event. He said—“The firing you have just heard has informed you that the empress has given to France an imperial prince. Our brave and loyal allies, the English and Sardinians, have also desired to fire a salute in honour of this happy birth. Soldiers! you will be sensible on this day of the same joy that the country has felt; for, like her, you will see in this desired event another satisfaction for our emperor—a new pledge of the great destinies of France, and a striking mark of the blessings of Heaven.” Festivities were continued during the day. In the French camp, mass was celebrated in the morning, and a *Te Deum* sung at the various chapels and stations; all the troops off duty attending. A triple ration of wine was also distributed to every soldier; each ration being issued after fixed intervals of time, to avoid disorder resulting, as would probably have happened had the whole been given at once. At night, Kamiesch was illuminated, and bonfires blazed throughout the camp. Those raised by the highlanders above Kamara attracted general notice, on account of their elevated position and their size—the latter being sufficient to enable them to keep burning all night. There was a great deal of revelry and firing of muskets, and a few tents were burnt down during the jollifications. It was observed, that the Russians also lit a series of fires along the Mackenzie heights, which, in the distance, bore the appearance of a fes-



tive illumination; and it was understood were intended as a compliment to their recent enemies. Amongst the amusements of this period were the Sebastopol spring races, which excited immense interest amongst English, French, and Sardinians. Nearly all the distinguished officers of the three armies were present; but we cannot dwell upon the matter here. The Russian officers were invited, and some of them attended.

"Whatever may be the cause of it," said the writer from whom we recently quoted, "there appears to be more sympathy or less repugnance between the French and the Russians than there is between us and our late enemy. It is rare to see an English or Sardinian officer engaged in conversation with a Russian across the Tchernaya, in comparison with the frequency of such interviews on the part of the French. Were it not that the Sardinian officers speak French very well, one would imagine that the reason—allowing something, too, for our national reserve—was the proficiency in that language of many Russian officers, few of whom speak English. One officer, indeed, during the races, mounted on a wretched pony, informed us that he had 'a Englosh hoarse as was fleet as winds for the course, as would gain the reward;' and others now and then say a few words of English; but for the most part, the Russians speak French and German in preference to any other alien tongue. The exchanges of champagne bottles have ceased, and the barter across the stream is mostly confined to small brass crosses, which the 'Muscovies' purchase for a few copecks from the Jew pedlars in their camp, and dispose of for as many sixpences or shillings. General Timofief, or Tatchimoff, *chef d'état-major* of the *corps d'armée* at Khutor Mackenzie, has given very strict orders against any transgression of the boundary from his side."

On the 2nd of April, information of the conclusion of peace arrived in the Crimea. It was announced to the allied armies by salutes of 101 guns, fired from each of the three camps. Many of the ships were dressed with flags, and presented a festive appearance. The Russians heard the roar of the guns of the allies, but they made no response; maintaining, on the contrary, a stern and sullen silence. In the English camp, the news was received with far less emotion than might be supposed. Many of the officers and men longed to return

home; but there were others who regretted that, as the British army was in such splendid condition, it would not have the opportunity of again exhibiting its muscle and prowess to the enemy. A general belief prevailed, that fresh laurels would have been achieved which would have eclipsed the radiance of those already won. The conclusion of peace was announced to the French army by Marshal Pelissier, in the following proclamation:—"Soldiers!—The emperor lately said to your brethren, 'You have well deserved of the country!' You will successively hear, in your turn, the same expressions from the august lips of his majesty. Soldiers! by your energy, by your resolution, your heroic constancy, your indomitable courage, you have achieved, with our brave and faithful allies, the peace of the world. I have a right to say it, at the sight of so many fields of battle sprinkled with your blood, witnesses of your calm self-denial, and from which each time your glory rose more radiant and noble, and crowned your sublime efforts. You will shortly see again your country, happy at your return, happy at a glorious peace—a peace signed at the cradle of an imperial infant. Let us all be impressed with that augury; let us find in it a new sign of Divine protection, and, if necessary, an additional inducement to accomplish all our duties towards the emperor and the country."

The following letter of the *Times'* special correspondent, contains an interesting and varying picture of our camp in the Crimea at this period:—

"April 8th.—The weather has at last assumed the mildness of spring, and for the few weeks that the army will have to remain in the Crimea it may be expected that picnics, shooting, fishing, racing, and drill and ball practice will form the principal business of our lives, until everything is prepared for embarkation. Then there will, no doubt, be a great rush, and a great struggle to pack up, to burn and destroy, to get favourite ponies on board ships, or to smuggle away extra chests and boxes. The traces of our presence will endure for many a long year, notwithstanding the perishable nature of earthworks; and all the energy of Russia and the physical force at her disposal will be tasked to the uttermost before Sebastopol can rise from the heaps of blackened stones and shattered walls which now mark its site. In some places our mission of destruction is



not complete; and I presume the peace will prevent any measures being taken to blow up the buildings which line the quay of the docks on the eastern side; they are considerably injured by fire and by shot, but are not, so far as I can judge, rendered incapable of repair. As for the city proper, with some few isolated exceptions, it might be knocked down with a pick and carted away as rubbish. The walls, which look firm at a distance, are seen on near approach to be mere shells, which a strong man could overthrow. The desolation and silence of the grass-grown streets, the course of which is marked out by heaps of white stone in fragments or in blocks, piled confusedly on each other as they were thrown down by the shock of explosion or the actual agency of powder, are appalling. One may wander between these walls of *débris*, which look like ruinous trenches, for hours without meeting a soul, or hearing even a sparrow chirp. If a stone disturbed by his tread falls clattering among the ruin, the stranger accustomed to the profound noiselessness of this new Palmyra starts as though Sebastopol were in the Great Desert, and untrodden by any but himself. All the roar of the batteries, the smoke, the tumult, the shouting, the tramp of men, the stern life of the trenches, and the labours of the siege have died away, we cannot trust for ever, but let us hope for many a long year to come. Alone unchangeable, the blue sea sparkles in the sunshine between the white forts and the sheer headlands of the roadstead, and ripples over the sunken fleet, which just rears its mast-heads above the waters. The harbour is still there, the Dockyard Creek, the Careening Bay—all ready once more to lend their aid to man in forming a new Sebastopol. The Tchernaya still flows into the deep bay, and can bear on its bosom countless tons of freestone from the quarries of Inkermann, which are to all appearance inexhaustible; and which may well contain a new Sebastopol. Let the rotting skeletons, the heaps of human bones, the *débris* of ragged uniforms and equipments, the remains of the fierce struggle which ended in that ravine still scattered over its side, preach a lesson to whoever is about to build the city again. An engineer officer remarked the other day that he never saw a city which could be so soon reconstructed. The very ruined mansions and the stones of the houses could be used to fill up a small ravine which intersects the city, and to form

quays by the waterside. As to the sunken ships there are various opinions. Some say they are by this time utterly ruined; others contend that they can be weighed and rendered fit for service; but for the most part they are only sailing vessels of the old build, short and tubby. I have seen a piece of teak cut out of one of them, which was as perfectly sound and good as it was the first day it was used. The deal of which the submerged gun-carriages are made has, however, suffered from the ravages of the worm. All operations against the ships must now be hopeless. The preparations for the departure of the army continue actively, and already several hundreds of the army works corps have been shipped at Balaklava, and have gone on their way homewards. The carriage of provisions to the front have ceased *ad cumulandum*, and only a few days' stores are kept at the divisional commissariat yards. The quartermaster-general's department is busily engaged in making the necessary arrangements for the shipment of the large quantities of *matériel* belonging to the engineers, the artillery, and the line. There is only one department which must labour to the last, and import stores so long as our army remains here; and that is the commissariat, for the men eat just as much in peace as in war. It is difficult to make calculations when the army becomes a rapidly decreasing quantity; and serious responsibilities devolve on the officer in charge of the department under such circumstances. The French *intendance* and our commissariat have had to contend with very serious obstacles; and among them there was none greater than the mortality among the cattle purchased by their agents, which in some instances have utterly ruined contractors 'for delivery.' In nine months the French lost 8,000 bullocks out of 17,000 at Samsoun alone; and we lost at the same place 4,000 out of 10,000 bullocks. But even those who survive do not get very fair treatment on their way to the Crimea.

"Sunday, April 6th.—The reserve battalion of the land transport corps, under the command of Major Hutton, was inspected to-day, at two o'clock, by Sir William Codrington, on the plains of Balaklava. Colonel McMurdo, the director-general of the corps, was on the field, directing the movements of the train, which covered a large space of ground. General Windham, General della Marmora and staff, and a few foreign officers, were also present, and



seemed to take a great interest in the equipment of the battalion, which was in excellent order, and turned out 110 carts ready for the march, with spare wheels, forgewagon, and every requisite for their proper service in a campaign. The drivers have succeeded in obtaining the confidence of the mules to a considerable extent, and get on better with those sagacious but self-willed animals than they used to do; and perhaps the mules, having succeeded in proving to demonstration that whacks on the head don't affect them in the least, and that punches in the ribs and blows only insure the defeat of those who bestow them, have also brought round their masters to try the effect of kindness and good treatment. Certain it is that the carts were moved about with ease and in good order, and the animals were completely under control. The train was attended by a number of dismounted drivers on foot, who did credit to their drill. These men are armed and prepared to act as infantry in defence of the baggage, if required; and the mounted drivers are equipped with carbine, &c., so as to be able to defend themselves against an attack of the enemy. There is no doubt but that the old soldiers and the officers who have joined from regiments which have served throughout this siege, will soon infuse a true military spirit into this corps, notwithstanding the heterogeneous materials of which some portion of it was inevitably composed, when men were enlisted for it in all haste. As it is, the efforts of their officers have effected wonders; and the men presented a smart, clean, and soldierlike appearance in line, which gave great satisfaction to the general-in-chief, and reflected the highest credit on those through whose exertions such a change has been effected. Many of the carts were new, and looked very neat; but it must be recollected that they are open to the objections I have stated in previous letters, and that neither in materials nor details of construction are many of them fit for the service or worthy of our reputation as a mechanical people. I believe some of the bent, twisted, and rotten axles have been sent home to England for the inspection of the authorities, to satisfy them that the complaints on this subject are well founded. In addition to the ordinary duties of the land transport corps in carrying up provisions and stores from Balaklava to the various camps, there will now be the trying work of conveying

from Sebastopol all the shot and shell within the English portion of the town. As to collecting and removing these missiles, which are sown broadcast in the very soil like pebbles on a beach, for the space of seven miles in length and two miles in breadth, the task is hopeless of execution. Piles of shot have been formed in every ravine, and stand there as monuments of the uselessness of such efforts as have yet been made to gather the iron shower which fell for eleven long months in front of Sebastopol. Every watercourse is full of iron—shell, shot, and splinters of strange shapes abound in every ravine. The Russians will only have to collect what the allies leave behind them, to form large magazines of shot; but shell will not be so plentiful, as they were more sparingly used, and were generally damaged, if they did not burst. Guns, too, are buried in the earth, and peer out from the earthwork of overthrown batteries. It was only yesterday I passed some five or six fine English cannon, apparently 32-pounders, which had been flung down the side of the ravine from the French battery overlooking the Dockyard Creek, and were lying upside-down in the ground. The artillery are daily engaged in slinging guns and mortars, and sending them down to Balaklava for shipment. It is calculated that the Russians fired about 30,000 tons of iron at us. It is certain that we gave them about 11,000 tons in return; and possibly the French fired about 20,000 tons: so that between 60,000 and 70,000 tons weight of iron must be lying about on the plateau. The great objects of attraction to-day were the Russians, who crowded over the Tchernaya, and wandered into every part of our camp, where they soon made out the canteens. By one o'clock there were a good many of them 'as soldiers wish to be who love their grog.' A navy of the most stolid kind, much bemused with beer, is a jolly, lively, and intelligent being compared to an intoxicated 'Ruski.' They are the image of the men in Noah's ark—I mean that popular article constructed at Nuremberg for Young Europe—stiff and angular; and when they fall down it is done with a jerk and a rigidity worthy of Richardson's. Their drunken salute to passing officers is very ludicrous; and one could laugh, only he is disgusted at the abject cringe with which they remove their caps, and bow, bareheaded, with horrid gravity in their bleary leaden eyes and wooden faces,



at the sight of a piece of gold lace. Some of them seemed very much annoyed at the behaviour of their comrades, and endeavoured to drag them off from the eanteens; and others remained perfectly sober. Our soldiers ran after them in crowds, and fraternised very willingly with their late enemies; but the Russian officers seemed to hold with the French rather than with ourselves. Towards evening the banks of the Tehernaya presented a curious appearance at the fords. The boon companions, French and English, were shaking hands and bidding most affectionate farewells to their Ruski comrades, who had to cross over before the *rappel*. In places this is easier said than done, for the only mode of crossing was on balks of timber, which looked double to their vision, but in reality were narrow enough for a sober man to find some difficulty in crossing; so ever and anon the Ruski tumbled off amid shouts of laughter, and was pulled out half drowned. A grim guard, with fixed bayonets, envious probably of the happy condition of their comrades, was waiting for them at the other side; and the bank was patrolled by Cossacks, with ropes, all ready to tie up any 'incapable' and take him homewards. Down they came, staggering and roaring through the bones of their countrymen (which in common decency I hope they will bury as soon as possible), and then, after elaborate leave-taking, passed the fatal stream. General Codrington was down at the ford, and did not seem to know whether to be amused or scandalised at the scene; but I have no doubt he will take steps to prevent any such exhibition on the part of our men. The navvies have found their way across to the caves, and some of them have established such friendly relations with the Russians, that they have been allowed to see the chapel cut out of the rock, which they describe in terms of great praise: 'It's aal gould and eoot glass.' Some Russian engineers have gone over the allied works. They will learn little from them. The French have filled up all their trenches in front of the Malakhoff. Our men are removing the wood and gabions from the batteries and the Redan, and these now constitute our principal articles of fuel. They are placed in the divisional commissariat stores, whence they are served out to the regiments.

"Monday, April 7th.—The number of Russians about our camp to-day was, so far as I could judge, not so great as it was

yesterday; but those who did come over to visit their friends were very soon rendered incapable of returning home, and were staggering about in every direction but the right one, if they were sober enough to keep on their legs at all, or were lying about in the neighbourhood of the bazaars in utter helplessness and obliviousness. Many of these intoxicated heroes wear two ribands and orders; sometimes one sees a private with as many as three or four decorations, but that is rare. An officer, aide-de-camp to the general who commands the corps at Mackenzie, in riding about the camp, found himself close to the brigade of guards, who were out on one of the ordinary brigade field-days, and he drew up and watched the drill for some time. Lord Rokeby went up and addressed him, and the Russian was soon on the best terms with his new acquaintance. The Russians frequently visit Sebastopol, and wander about amid the ruins, as if to see what is left, or to discover, if possible, their old haunts. They come into Balaklava occasionally, and wander through its streets in a state of perplexity, or seek to identify the sites of their departed mansions. Several of the Greeks have also paid a visit to the town, and are very much puzzled to find out where they lived two years ago. One man said, 'I had three very good houses in this town, but I really cannot now tell even the place where once they stood.' Colonel Hardinge, the commandant, very properly kept all the drunken Ruskies out of the town last night; and placed sentries on the narrow road between the cliff and the waters of the harbour, to prevent them coming in after their jollification at the bazaar of Kadikoi. The storekeepers find good customers among the Russian officers for sugar, tea, champagne, and spirits, all of which are enormously dear in their own camps. Sugar is not to be had for any money, even in Simpheropol and Baktchi-Serai. Champagne, of which they are very fond, is fifteen francs a bottle, and tea is twenty francs a-pound, on the other side of the Tehernaya. At this side the price of these articles is less than one-half of those amounts, so that there is ample inducement for a Russian officer to come down from Mackenzie with his orderly and a sumpter pony to lay in a store of such luxuries. There is danger to the discipline of all the armies if the intercourse between the soldiers is not restricted; but a Muscovite general would have far more to fear



from the results produced on his men by an inspection of our camps, than the allies would have to dread from allowing their troops to draw comparisons between themselves and the Russians. If the suttlers come in from the interior with their usual attendants, there is more reason to be apprehensive for our men. The change of wind has relieved us from a more positive apprehension; and that was that we should be left without barley. There was not more than a few days' supply for our horses in the Crimea, when the wind changed, and permitted one of the fleet of sailing vessels which is laden with forage to enter Balaklava, after knocking about in the Black Sea for a fortnight. Sheep are becoming scarce. We have cleared out Roumelia altogether; but, just in the nick of time, a supply of fine oxen is promised from the plains on the south side of the Danube. This army has a fine appetite; it manages to consume 250,000lbs. of barley, 250,000lbs. of hay, and 90,000lbs. of bread *per diem*, and to eat up about 3,000 bullocks, and 15,000 or 18,000 sheep per month, beside little pickings of potted meats, preserved vegetables, private stores, poultry, geese, turkeys, and game, washed down with floods of wine and spirits and an ocean of rum. Well, it thrives on its food, and looks fat and hearty and full of fight upon its diet. It is very well for the enemy that there is no occasion for the display of its powers. Not only are the men well fed, well drilled, and well taken care of externally and internally, but the people at home are providing for their mental instruction and recreation. I have been requested to acknowledge the receipt of the following articles by the acting principal chaplain, the Rev. H. W. M. Egan:—Fourteen cases of books from Mr. Albert Smith; two cases of books from Miss Catherine Sinclair; one case of books from Mr. Darling, Great Queen-street; two cases of books from Mr. M'Andrew, Dublin; one box of books from Miss Lyons, 4, Lowndes-square; three large boxes of books from Lady Rolle; one large box of books and games from the *Times*; seven cases of tracts on temperance from the Temperance Society, and sundry cases and parcels from anonymous friends. Most of the books are very well adapted to amuse and improve the soldier; but some of the boxes contained tracts of the fiercest controversial character on religious matters, only suited to create ill-blood between comrades, and to infuse

the *odium theologicum* into the rum-and-water, which I fear the tracts of the Temperance Society will not render a bit less popular in the camp huts. These have been withheld from distribution, and can be had back by those who were so good as to send them. A number of torn and coverless Bibles can also be returned, as they are quite unfit for use. So the young ladies who were considerate enough to fill a case with interesting manuscript exercises in Italian, are informed that the sentiments expressed therein have received the very warm approval of those few who saw their pleasing compositions, but that it was not thought necessary to send their little exertations to the libraries, as it was imagined that the men would be rather lost among the angular pothooks and hangers in which the Tuscan of these fair moralists is greatly involved."

Extensive preparations were now carried on for the evacuation of the Crimea, and a considerable stream of stores was poured into the several ports of embarkation. War, and the feelings engendered by war, had passed away, and the Russians and their recent enemies met together in a very friendly manner. On the morning of the 9th of April, the following general order was issued to our troops:—"The English army is no longer restrained from passing the Tchernaya; all officers are to be present in camp at night, and all non-commissioned officers and men to be present at the usual roll-calls, unless they are in possession of written passes from their own commanding officers." This welcome intelligence contributed greatly to the growing intimacy between our troops and the Russians. After this, Russians formed part of the population which daily frequented the camps and the bazaars; and not only the Russian camp, but the towns of Baktchi-Serai and Simpheropol were visited by many of our officers, in spite of a friendly warning from the Russians that the typhus fever was raging in those places. The Russian officers came frequently to Kadikoi, Little Kamiesch, and the several bazaars and canteens for supplies, which they obtained for about half the price such articles fetched in their own camp.

We will continue our snatches of camp gossip, from the letters of correspondents in the Crimea to the daily press in England. "Every statement," said the most distinguished of these gentlemen, "made by the

Russian officers in conversation concur in this—that we might have taken Sebastopol in September, 1854; that they were not only prepared to abandon the city to its fate, but that they regarded it as untenable and incapable of defence, and had some doubts of their position in the Crimea itself, till our inaction gave Mentschikoff courage and hope of an honourable defence, which might enable him to hold us in check, or to expose us to the attack of overwhelming masses. They admit that their great error was the assumption of a simply defensive attitude after the battle of Inkermann; and they now feel that they ought to have renewed the attack upon our enfeebled army, notwithstanding the terrible loss they suffered in that memorable action. It may be mere military fanfaronade on their part to put forward such an assertion; but one and all the Russians declare, that they could have retaken the Malakhoff under the fire of their ships; but that it had been clearly demonstrated since the fire opened on September the 5th, that it would be impossible to hold the south side under the increasing weight and proximity of the bombardment. ‘It was a veritable butchery, which demoralised our men so far as to make them doubt the chances of continuing the struggle. We lost 3,000 men a day (?) No part of the city was safe, except the actual bomb-proofs in the batteries. We were content to have beaten the English at the Redan, to have repulsed the French at the Bastion of Careening Bay (the Little Redan), the Gervais Battery, and the Bastion Centrale, and to leave them the credit of surprising the Malakhoff; but even had we held it, we must soon have retired to the north side, and we had been preparing for that contingency for some days.’ Such was the speech of one of their staff to an officer of high rank in our service. There is a long song on the incidents of the war, very popular in the Russian camp, in which Prince Mentschikoff is exposed to some ridicule, and the allies to severe sarcasm. Mentschikoff is described as looking out of the window of a house in Baktchi-Serai, and inquiring for news from Sebastopol, and courier after courier arrives and says, ‘Oh! Sebastopol is safe.’—‘And what are the allies doing?’—‘Oh! they are breaking down the houses of Balaklava and eating grapes.’ The same news for a day or two. At last a courier tells him that the allies are cutting twigs in the valleys, and that

they are digging great furrows three-quarters of a mile from the place, but that they are afraid to approach it, and that the ships had begun to fire on them. ‘I declare they are going to besiege it,’ says he, ‘and if so, I must defend it.’ And so he sends for his engineers, and they at first think the allies must be digging for gold, misled by the ancient traditions about the mines; but at last they make a *reconnaissance*, and finding that the allies are really making distant approaches, they say—‘Why we shall have time to throw up works too;’ and so they draw up their plans, and Todleben says, ‘Give me five days, and I’ll mount three guns for their two;’ and Mentschikoff dances and sings, ‘Ha! ha! I’ve saved Sebastopol.’ The Russians were astonished at their own success; above all, they were surprised at the supineness and want of vigilance among the allies. They tell stories of their stealing in upon our sentries and carrying them off, and of their rushing at night into our trenches, and finding the men asleep in their blankets: they recount with great glee the capture of a sergeant and five men in daylight, all sound in slumber (poor wretches, ill-fed, ill-clad, and worked beyond the endurance of human nature), in one of the ravines towards Inkermann. \* \* \* There are some very hospitable fellows among the Russian officers, and they give and take invitations to lunch, dinner, and supper, very freely. One of our generals was up at Mackenzie yesterday, and was asked to stay to tea by a Russian of rank, whose hut he was visiting; but it so happened that madame, who presided at the tea-table, was present, and she gave such a look at her peccant spouse when he gave the invitation, and glared so fiercely at the heretical English, that our general and staff turned tail and bolted, leaving the Ruski to the enjoyment of the lecture which Madame Caudelski would no doubt inflict upon him. Perhaps the poor lady was short of spoons, or trembled for her stock of sugar. The Muscovite runs quite tame through our camps, and is to be found everywhere. One of their generals made a great sensation by driving through the camp in a neat brougham, drawn by a pair of good steppers, and worked by a servant in very handsome livery, with an extra plush, in similar uniform of laced coat and cockaded hat, behind him. Four of them went to head-quarters in a droschky, drawn by a team of handsome ponies, with an



escort of lancers, and spent some time in looking at the English roads and at the railway works, and in examining the new town of Balaklava. As one gets accustomed to the Russian face, it becomes less displeasing; and there are undeniably many of them who are exceedingly like Englishmen—more so than any foreigners I have ever seen. When drunk, they are brutish and stupid-looking; but many of them possess intelligent features, and eyes with an expression of great acuteness and cunning; and they are said to drive very hard bargains with the canteenmen. \* \* \* The Russian military band (150 strong) at Mackenzie, is a great object of attraction. It plays at four o'clock every afternoon. At the hymn of 'God preserve the Czar,' or whatever the exact translation of the title may be, to-day all the Russians took off their caps. I could have wished that our officers who were present, and who understood the occasion, had done the same; for immediately afterwards, when the band played 'God save the Queen,' the Russians uncovered their heads, and paid the same mark of respect as they had paid to their own. A Russian officer—a very young man—covered with orders, was pointed out to some of the officers as one who had never left the Flagstaff bastion for eleven months. He had been shot through the body, wounded in the head, in the arm, and in the thigh, on different occasions, and had insisted on remaining in the bastion, nor would he permit himself to be removed to hospital. Many of the soldiers wore the cross of St. George and other orders. What a phenomenon would a British private be with the riband of the C.B. on his breast! The Russians are very anxious to get some of our medals; and there are stories afloat concerning the cleverness with which some men have sold florins at high prices for Sebastopol medals."

We close this chapter with an interesting account (from the pen of an occasional correspondent of the *Daily News*) of a Russian review in the presence of the allied commanders:—"Camp, Sebastopol, April 15th.—Sunday broke with a cloudless sky—a day completely suited for the grand military spectacle which was to take place. Few, however, had been informed of the event, and English bāt-ponies were more scarce than usual at such scenes. By ten o'clock in the morning the initiated few began to leave our position for the northern

heights by three routes—viz., over the Inkermann-bridge and causeway, over Traktir-bridge, and over the Sardinian-bridge. The first and third were free to horsemen and foot-passengers during the entire day, but the Traktir was closed, by order of the French, between ten and one o'clock, to all that did not accompany the allied commanders and their staff. The road I took was by the newly repaired wooden Inkermann-bridge, which leads to the causeway, at the end of which the Russians to this day keep an advance picket inside a small earthen ambuscade. Following the track which leads to the north-east, I ascended through steep wooded glens, here and there swept by batteries almost concealed in the brushwood, in rear of the Spur battery on the Conical-hill and the most advanced Russian telegraph to Mackenzie's farm. On arriving at this point General Lüders, the Russian commander-in-chief, his aide-de-camp, Major Wehrman, and his chief of the staff (acting), General Nepoquvitchisky, a Pole, followed by a numerous staff, several Russian carriages, one containing the wife of a captain of lancers (Hulan), and also the wife of a lieutenant of the staff, were in the act of leaving for Traktir-bridge to meet their guests, and escort them back to the head-quarters of the eleventh division. The guard attending them on the occasion consisted of nine Cossacks of the Crimea, dressed in scarlet, holding long red lances; twenty-eight *gendarmes* dressed in bright blue, riding on gray horses; and twenty Cossacks of the Don, with long spears, mounted on their rough shaggy ponies. On this *cortège* arriving within view of the bridge, a salute was fired by our allies. This salute was repeated by the Russians from their grand battery—Nos. 44, 45, 46, and 47—the moment the cavalcade appeared in sight returning. Another half hour brought them to the head-quarters of the eleventh division, where they were received by Lieutenant-general Veselitsky, his three aides-de-camp—Lieutenant Yarotsky, Prince Cothouben, and Captain Tchernaiief, colonel on the staff Sabler, a young engineer of the guard, several other staff-officers, and a guard of honour—three deep, drawn up in line—120 strong, furnished by the 21st regiment, being the first of the eleventh division. On arriving at this point the band played a national air, the guard presented arms and cheered. Marshal Pelissier, who was riding a superb black



charger, with long bang tail, the trappings being of gold, and the holsters and saddle-cloth of leopard-skin, headed the procession, taking off his cocked hat on the occasion. Behind him was General Lüders, who likewise rode on a black charger, bearing an Astrachan black saddlecloth, having the emperor's cipher on each corner. This noted soldier is by birth a German. With his helmet on he appears about forty, but when I was nearer to him afterwards, in the marquee, he struck me as being about fifty years of age. His hair is short and thin, and of a grayish tinge. His figure is stout, although he is above the middle height. On his breast he wore six medals or crosses, and five stars; and here I may mention that the Russians appear to be decorated for everything. Most of the soldiers wear from five to eight orders; some I saw with sixteen; and they all were rewarded with a Silistria cross and a Sebastopol circular medal, the riband being the same for both. After General Lüders there followed in line Sir William Codrington, who was dressed, as all his staff were, in a plain blue frock-coat, with cocked hat and sword, General della Marmora, Sir Hugh Rose, General Windham, &c. Then came the different aides-de-camp, among whom I noticed Captains Ponsonby, Hall, and Earle; the whole winding up with several officers, English, French, and Sardinian, who were not on duty, and therefore ought not to have been there—an escort of the 11th hussars, about fifteen in number, a like number of the *chasseurs d'Afrique*, and the Russian escort I have before mentioned.

“By this time the Russian troops had formed up in close columns of companies, each containing seventy-five men, three deep, with the exception of the last two, which were only two deep. Each of the ten battalions had its standard, its band or bugles, its two small banners, and consisted of ten companies or 700 men. On the right was a complete field-battery of eight guns, with eight ammunition waggons. The horses were in capital condition, and the whole of the fittings appeared to be in good order. As the commanders-in-chief rode down the line, followed by a crowd of horsemen, each band and bugles struck up, the soldiers presenting arms and cheering. After this General Lüders, with his guests, took up his position in front of the mud huts, quite close to the ruins of Mackenzie's farm, so as to allow space for the 7,000

infantry to wheel and march past in open columns, with sloped muskets, at a quick pace. Each battalion consisted of five companies—four of them being three deep or 150 strong, the 5th company (*chasseurs*), being only two deep or one hundred strong. These *chasseurs* do not wear any different uniform, but they are armed with a rifle which carries 1,200 yards. Heading the division rode its general, Veselitsky (who has only one arm), and staff; then followed the general commanding the 1st brigade, Major-general Grotenplo, and his staff. This brigade consisted of the 21st (Selinginski) and 22nd (Yakulski) regiments of the line; and as the four battalions, each 700 strong, marched past to their bands, which were brigaded together, one could not help being struck with the soldierlike appearance of the men, the manner in which they swung their arms, and the air of defiance with which they strutted and pointed their feet to the ground. The 2nd (*chasseurs*) brigade, which had an acting brigadier, was formed of six battalions, each 700 strong, not including officers and sergeants, and consisted of the 21st (Okhotsk) and 22nd (Kamtschatka) light infantry regiments. The officer commanding the 2nd battalion had a broken arm. As this brigade passed one could not help being struck with the large proportion of cavalry officers, who commanded not only battalions, but likewise companies. On inquiry, it transpired that they were officers who had volunteered to serve at Sebastopol with infantry. How different from our army. A Russian staff-officer, who spoke English besides five other languages, having among other tutors had an English one—Mr. Percy Beresford—told me that the officers suffered terribly at the siege, far more in proportion than the men or our officers at Alma; and certainly the best proof of the truth of his statement was the scarcity of regimental officers at this review of the eleventh division, and what there were being very young. As the battery of artillery which belonged to the 11th brigade of the fourth artillery division went past, one could not help thinking how it is that we can never bring into the field more than 6 and 9-pounders, and yet at Alma and Eupatoria the Russians not only had 32-pounders, but they succeeded in taking them away in their retreat; for, be it remembered, at the former action we only captured two guns, and we never made use of any artillery but



6-pounders. At this moment, out of the whole of our eighty-six guns in the Crimea, there are only eight that come under the head of field artillery—viz., four 18-pounders and four 32-pounder howitzers. On this occasion the guns were drawn by four horses, and the two-wheel ammunition carts by three ponies abreast. After the artillery came the nine red Cossacks, twenty-eight *gendarmes*, double rank, twenty Cossacks of the Don, and four troops—each thirty strong—of Cossacks from the Oural. The *gendarmes* are only armed with a sword, but all the Cossacks have spears. One peculiarity in the review connected with the officers was, that none saluted except the mounted commanding officers of battalions, and that all the senior company officers marched in the centre instead of on the right, as with us. I have omitted to mention that General Otchakoff, chief of the 4th *corps d'armée*, accompanied General Lüders.

"The moment the Cossacks had gone by, the four commanders-in-chief rode to the marquee close by to take luncheon; and as by this time (2.45), the review having lasted fifty minutes, they had been nearly four hours on dusty ground, I have little doubt that a glass of champagne was most refreshing. Witnessing this curious scene, I noticed two Russian ladies in a carriage, one English lady (Mrs. Brine) on horseback, Sir Colin Campbell, Lord William Paulet, Generals Garrett, Barnard, and Cameron, several staff, infantry, and artillery officers, and rather a large number of highlanders. The moment the commander-in-chief had entered the marquee, a crowd of Russian soldiers and mounted officers gathered round to listen to the three Russian bands, each about sixty strong, which played admirably, and to look on at some dances got up by four Russian soldiers—a clarinet, tambourine, and pair of cymbals being the orchestra. One of these four, a Cossack, stood beautifully on his head, the others dancing round him. This feat was repeated twice after luncheon before Sir William Codrington. Inside the marquee, about forty-eight feet long by fifteen, which was white, tipped with green, there were three tables—two rectangular ones, and between them in the centre, a small horseshoe table. At the centre of this table sat General Lüders,

having on his left Marshal Pelissier, and on his right General della Marmora. Next to Marshal Pelissier sat General Codrington. At the two other tables there sat General Windham, Sir Hugh Rose, and all the staff. Sir Colin was asked in, but as he had come to the review uninvited he declined, until at a later time he was again sent for, when he made his appearance, apparently much to the delight of General Lüders. The marquee was lined with crimson; in the centre, round the pole, were bright-barrelled muskets, which the Russians always have. At one end was a shield, made out of swords, with the spread eagle in the centre; and at the other end a similar shield, made out of bayonets. The tables were made of deal planks, covered with white tablecloths. There were no chairs or benches, only camp-stools. As the different toasts were drunk, the bands outside played suitable airs; but it always struck me that the soldiers cheered at the wrong time, although their guides were four fellows placed close to the mouth of the tent. All the eatables and drinkables came from Baktchi-Serai, where General Lüders lives, and also the servants, who wore black coats and white waistcoats. Marshal Pelissier, in proposing the Emperor Alexander's health, alluded to the brave armies that were enemies but are now friends. Two different kinds of bread were on the table—the black ration bread and the white bread, like cake. After the company had risen cigars were handed round, and several officers who had been partaking of a capital luncheon just outside, at the end of the marquee, from the remains, together with others, were invited in. It was close upon five o'clock before the allied commanders again mounted their horses, when General Lüders and Marshal Pelissier, who were smoking, led, followed by General della Marmora, Sir Hugh Rose, General Windham, &c.; Sir William Codrington and his aides-de-camp keeping in rear among the escort, which was the same returning as coming."

The allies and the Russians had acquired a respect for each other. On the same day General Lüders was present at the French races; and on the 17th he attended reviews both of the French and English armies. The latter displays were exceedingly imposing; but the details do not call for particularisation.

## CHAPTER XV.

GREAT NAVAL REVIEW AT PORTSMOUTH; EXCITEMENT OCCASIONED BY IT, AND MISHAPS ATTENDING IT; CEREMONY ATTENDING THE PROCLAMATION OF PEACE; APPOINTMENT OF A DAY OF THANKSGIVING; EXTRACTS FROM THE SERMONS OF THE DAY, AND A FEW CRITICAL REFLECTIONS UPON THEM.

It was proudly, yet truly, said that no country in the world could produce a parallel to the scene which, on the morning of the 23rd of April, greeted the sight of the sovereign, aristocracy, and a vast assemblage of the people of England on the waters of the Solent. Other nations have capitals and cities more noble in architectural grandeur, more rich in the coveted glories of art, adorned with galleries of sculpture and paintings to which we have none to compare; while all the great continental states possess armies in number and organisation far exceeding our own. But England is proud, and may fairly be proud, of her magnificent navies. Upon the sea her power stands not only the first in the world, but it stands in a kind of solitary grandeur. It has no rival, and its seconds are far behind it. It is true that, during the long peace which prevailed in Europe, the energies of this country were directed into other channels than those of war. Science had revealed her mysteries, and given us means by which the grandest powers of nature became our servants, and commerce had increased our wealth to something more than imperial munificence. We had shown the world the profound truth of a noble sentence of our great epic poet, that—

“———Peace hath her victories  
No less renowned than war.”

All this was great, and subject for national congratulation; yet it must be admitted that our navy as well as our army had, in some measure, been permitted to fall into that decay which is the natural if not the inevitable consequence of disuse. For want of warlike occupation the giant Albion had grown indolent in the matter of defence, and the weapons which time and rust had rendered useless he had neglected to replace. To drop the metaphor, this country, when aroused to the omission it had been guilty of, atoned for it with an energy worthy of its name and its resources. Our dockyards had long resounded incessantly with the sounds of preparation; and on the morn-

ing to which we have alluded, the sovereign of England went forth to review such a fleet as no preceding monarch of these kingdoms had ever beheld.

The fleet collected at Portsmouth consisted altogether of 240 steam-vessels, including gun-boats, floating batteries, and mortar-vessels. Of these, three had more than 100 guns each, and six had 91 each. The rest varied from 80 guns each to two. Altogether, they mounted no less than 3,002 guns, and possessed 30,671 horse-power. This enormous fleet, covering a space of nearly twelve miles as it lay at anchor, was manned by not less than 30,000 men. Of these every one were volunteers; not a man of them had been forced into the service of his sovereign. This was but as it should be among a free people, but unhappily such a state of things had not always been. The press-gang, once the terror of seaport towns and the scandal of the government, had ceased to exist. England employed none but willing hands to protect herself or to chastise her foes; but perhaps no other nation could say the same. Fortunately, we have great nurseries and schools for seamen. We employ tens of thousands of men in the conduct of our mercantile marine. Instantly, and with the enthusiasm which kindles at the prospect of strife and distinction, large bodies of seamen transferred themselves to the more exciting service.

The desirc which existed in this country to witness the review, extended to the continent; and on the 21st, a French screw corvette, the *Duchayla*, arrived at Spithead to be present at the great nautical sight, having on board Rear-admiral La Gravière, and about forty other officers of the French navy. They were received with much distinction, and visited successively the *Duke of Wellington*, the *Victory*, and Portsmouth dockyard. It is said that the Americans on board the United States mail-steamer, *Hermann*, looked upon the review as especially got up as a significant hint to themselves and their countrymen. A writer in the *Daily News* observed—“As a proof of this,



I may mention that I was informed, with an air of great seriousness, by one of the principal officers, that the review had been originally fixed for the 17th, but was put off until the 23rd, the day of the mail-steamer sailing, in order that the crew and passengers, after passing through the fleet, might carry home the latest and freshest impression of the amount of British strength upon the waters. My informant was obliging enough to add, however, that war was not at all imminent; and fortunate he said it was for the old country, as there was a marine infernal machine being built in New York, that would demolish the whole British fleet the moment it appeared on the Atlantic seaboard."

The excitement amongst the Londoners was, however, the most considerable. The seaport towns of Hants were subjected to a remarkable invasion, and every train both of the South-western and South-coast railways brought thousands of new arrivals, until the streets became so densely crowded as to be scarcely passable. Hotels and lodging-houses were full to overflowing, and beds could only be obtained at fabulous prices. At midnight, three or four guineas was the ordinary price charged for one; and it is asserted that, in some instances, lodging-house keepers had the conscience, or rather the want of conscience, to demand fifteen pounds for a single bed! Under such circumstances it is not surprising that many persons sat up all night, and that others passed that lonesome period in walking about on the ramparts; a desolate and bitter occupation for an April night in England. Happily the night was clear, and the moon shed her pale rays upon the path of the wanderers.

At length the weary night was over, and the coming morning seemed inclined to repay those who had so anxiously waited for it. "The day," said a spectator, whose sparkling description we will not spoil by any meagre paraphrase of it, "broke gloriously, gladdening the external world and sending sunshine to the breast of every one. They may say what they like about our gravity and *solidité*, and all the rest of it, but no people on earth can enjoy a holiday with a keener relish than the English; and there never were hearts—if our climate would let them—better formed to be joyous and happy than ours. And really it is no such bad climate, after all. It is the best-abused in the world, but it scarcely deserves

all the reproaches heaped upon it. It is all very well to talk about 'a London particular,' and a summer that is only winter painted green, and a year that consists of eleven months wet and one month moist; but there is no country in the universe where, when there is a fine day, it is finer than in England. But, let this be as it may, it is at least certain that yesterday the weather was glorious. The sun was on his good behaviour, and it was gala-day with him as with everybody else. The guns in Portsmouth were, however, somewhat erratic in their mode of announcing the dawn. First came a fusillade of musketry, the firelocks of the sentinels on board the ships of the fleet being discharged as the minute arrived that day was 'calculated' to dawn. This seemed quite *en règle*, but several minutes—some ten or fifteen—afterwards a huge 32-pounder was fired to denote sunrise. After the lapse of another ten minutes a third explosion announced that the garrison recognised the daylight, this last visitation being accompanied by a flourish from a most asthmatic bugle. Soon after six the town was astir, and gradually the streets became peopled with anxious throngs crowding towards the various places of embarkation, many of the visitors in elegant costume. The scene at an hour later resembled the multitude of a Derby-day noon more than an aquatic spectacle.

"At eight o'clock the whole fleet, as if by magic, was 'dressed' in flags and ensigns from their main trucks to the water's surface; and now the curtain seemed to have risen upon the glorious pageant of the day. But the busiest sight in the national drama about to be enacted was that presented on the land. The myriads of human beings who poured on to the beach from every point and outlet were beyond all precedent, and the heterogeneous commixture of character was not the least remarkable feature of the whole affair. Gradually the walls, ramparts, ravelins, mounds, housetops, and even church steeples entered into bold competition with the water in exhibiting their venturous masses, until surrounding objects, even the great fleet itself in the distance, became almost insignificant items in the animated panorama. The scene from South-sea beach was magnificent. A violet sky, pure and unclouded as that of Italy—a rippling, dimpling, flashing, sparkling sea—a green elastic sward of the freshest verdure—dazzling uniforms, and many-coloured cos-



tumes—brilliant equipages, music, flags, laurel wreaths, happy human faces, and ‘ladies’ laughter ringing through the air,’ were the accessories of a scene as gay, brilliant, and animated as any that, with much experience of popular spectacles, we remember to have ever witnessed. Nor should we omit to enumerate among the sources of enjoyment the aromatic sea-breeze, that *vif et âcre parfum de la mer* of which Alexandre Dumas descants so eloquently, and which is so delightfully exhilarating to those whose fate it is to be pent up in cities. Tents and pavilions brightly dotted the green turf, and waggons, barouches, phaetons, and all manner of things that run on wheels were drawn to the margin of the water. Thousands of people sauntered over the sands or lay on the shingle of the beach watching through telescopes and opera-glasses the movements of the fleet. This multitude extended from Fort Monckton on the west to Southsea Castle on the east, a distance of three miles; and must have comprised something like 100,000 persons. Near Southsea Castle a great stand had been erected in the cause of sight-seeing; and it, like other smaller structures of the same description, was crowded with visitors. Yet, brilliant as was the scene and exuberant with life and gaiety, it was not without its ludicrous associations; and of these the most remarkable were the hideous statues erected on the Clarence esplanade in desecration of the memories of Nelson and Wellington. Even the Londoners, who ought by this time to be case-hardened in the matter of bad statues, were horrified at these atrocious figures, and expressed their indignation in no measured terms. The thought of being caricatured in this outrageous manner after death is really enough to deter a man from ever doing anything for his country. It is not too much to say that these execrable statues are as disgraceful to the Southsea islanders of Hampshire as they would be to their namesakes of the Pacific. But strange is the fate of our great men, who live in honour, but dying leave a bust at which the world grows pale! From the contemplation of such unworthy libels on art and greatness we turn with delight to the vivid and glowing picture which nature everywhere presented to the eye. The *coup d’œil* in the foreground was everything brilliant and delightful that fancy could imagine. The sea flashed and sparkled in the morning sun, and over its

waters glided every variety of craft, from the leviathan three-decker of 130 guns and 1,200 men, to the little river steamer that, by some speculative freak, found itself on the joyous bosom of the Solent. It was interesting to observe the contrast of the picture—to compare the yachts with the frigates, and to watch the tiny craft as they picked their way daintily among the mighty ships of war. The shipping was everywhere decked in the gayest colours, and upon every breeze came the strains of martial music—the commingled melodies of France and England. The order issued by the admiralty, that steam-vessels, of whatever class, should burn anthracite coal, was rigidly obeyed by all the steamers, except one; and let future historians take note of the fact—for it affords an amusing commentary on the difference between preaching and practising—that the offending vessel was no other than the admiralty yacht, the *Black Eagle*. To the horror of the ingenious Mr. Pridcaux, and to the indignation of all beholders, on she came in the full insolence of official pride, dimming the atmosphere with a volume of black smoke that burst from her funnel as from a factory chimney.”

Her majesty arrived by train shortly before twelve o’clock, and was accompanied to her yacht, the *Victoria and Albert*, by Sir William Parker, Sir Edmund Lyons, the Marquis Townshend, Admiral de la Gravière, and Mr. Osborne, secretary of the admiralty. The little vessel then steamed rapidly out of the harbour, and proceeded towards Spithead amid enthusiastic shouts from the assembled multitude, while the strains of the national anthem rose instantly from many bands both on shore and sea. As the royal yacht passed outside the first ship of the line to return down the centre of the double line of ships of war and gun-boats, the royal salute was opened by the *Duke of Wellington*, and rapidly taken up by the other vessels. All the ships also manned their yards as the queen passed by them. After the royal yacht had returned through the line there was a considerable pause in the proceedings, which were by no means so varied and exciting as had been generally anticipated. The review elicited much curiosity, but little or no enthusiasm. There was a general feeling that this mighty fleet had been produced too late—a regret that Russia had not been made to feel its power; and that peace had annihilated its terrors. Had it been about shortly to leave our



shores to engage a worthy foe, an engrossing interest would have been taken in all concerning it; but every one felt that as it had no actual work to do, the whole affair resembled a dramatic spectacle; and one, too, in which the unrelieved grandeur descended to heaviness. There was no thought of a coming conflict to excite the imagination of the spectators; no danger present or prospective. Truly was it said, that the *mori turi te salutant* of the Roman gladiators, as they descended to the arena, would have had no significance if they were only going to a rehearsal of conflict with blunted swords.

Between the hours of two and three the business of the review was resumed. The gun-boats steamed down the line two by two. On they came, "thick as autumnal leaves in Vallambrosa;" and so much time was occupied in this performance that, to many a fatigued spectator, it seemed as if they would never have done passing towards the royal station. Two vessels, the *Rodney* and *London*, had been anchored to the E.N.E. of the Nab Light, as pivot ships. Towards these the royal yacht, followed by the *Duke of Wellington* and the whole of the ships of the line, proceeded in their order of anchorage. It was a noble sight to behold the little yacht followed by the two and three-deck screw steam men-of-war, with their sides bristling with cannon, floating rapidly along without any visible means of locomotion; though certainly ships with their sails spread are more graceful and beautiful to the gaze. As they arrived at the pivot ships, some interesting evolutions were performed. Each line of steamers moved majestically, and with the utmost facility, round the moored vessels, and by their serpentine windings and turnings, won shouts of applause from tens of thousands of spectators.

Her majesty's yacht then steamed towards Portsmouth, and took up a position behind a line of gun-boats, which were about to commence a sham attack on Southsea Castle. At a given signal the gun-boats opened a fire of six rounds each upon the fort, which, however, did not return it, as it was supposed that accidents to the numerous spectators might have resulted. Some expectant glances were cast towards the sixty heavy guns which were mounted on the parapet of the fort, but they preserved their usual grim silence. The defects of this attack as a spectacle were, that it was too brief, and that, on account of the smoke, very little of it could be seen from the sea.

The cannonade over, the royal yacht was again saluted by the ships of war, when it returned to Portsmouth about five o'clock; and her majesty soon after started by special train to London. At nine o'clock at night the fleet was brilliantly illuminated; a result which was accomplished by simultaneously lighting up the yards and port-holes with blue lights. This was a most interesting sight; and as the whole fleet burst into lights as if by magic, with the jets one above another, maintop-mast high aloft, and the ports of each opened at once, showing a vivid glare between decks, a roar of cheering arose from the shore, and was given back with interest from the legion afloat. A few rockets sent up from each of the vessels, added to the beauty of the spectacle. In the evening Sir George Seymour, the commander of the fleet, entertained the admirals, captains, and other officers of the fleet at the admiralty house. Amongst the most honoured guests, were the French admiral and his staff.

We now come to detail some of the failures and vexatious proceedings of the occasion. It was intended that her majesty should, during her progress through the fleet, be attended by the members of both houses of parliament. The train in which the peers started to Southampton was delayed two hours on the line by the breaking down of an engine. On their arrival there, another delay of an hour was experienced, in consequence of only one large tender being provided for the conveyance of the members of both houses of parliament. Then the crowded state of that vessel occasioned still further loss of time in embarking them on the steamers *Transit* and *Perseverance*, provided for them. It was not until the most imposing part of the review was over that the *Transit*, the vessel containing the peers, got under weigh, and she only reached the pivot ships in time to witness the circling of the fleet around them. On returning to land the machinery would not work: in consequence of an order from the admiralty forbidding the vessels to make a smoke, the fires could scarcely be kept in; and the *Transit* lay almost like a log upon the water. Notwithstanding this, she contrived to run down a gun-boat; a collision by which both vessels were considerably damaged, and an unfortunate marine received some severe injuries. It was not until ten o'clock at night that the *Transit* reached the harbour of Southampton, where there was a

terrible jostling of ladies and gentlemen, noble lords and right reverend prelates, who at once made a rush towards the railway station. The first-class carriages were soon all occupied; bishops and lords were compelled to put up with second-class accommodation; and one right reverend prelate and a privy councillor took refuge in a third-class carriage. The London terminus was not reached until three in the morning, when noble lords and ladies were seen in an almost exhausted state, running about the platform, in the hope—in many cases a vain one—of obtaining a carriage or a cab to take them home.

The following evening, Lord Ravensworth, in the house of peers, demanded some explanation of this mismanagement from the government. Several other noblemen expressed their displeasure; and Lord Campbell made some sensible, though rather humorous than severe observations. He said—"I acquit her majesty's government of all blame for our late arrival at Southampton; and although neither my noble friend (Earl Granville), nor the first lord of the admiralty, nor the government generally, can be held responsible for what followed (for the plan traced out for us was excellent in itself), yet there certainly was gross misconduct somewhere, which really gives one an idea of what happened at Balaklava. Except the breaking down of the railway engines, nothing happened which could not have been avoided. There was gross mismanagement in having so small a tender to act with such an enormous steamer as the *Transit*. It might have been easily seen that, under the most favourable circumstances, it would have taken an hour or more to transfer the passengers from one vessel to the other. The *Transit* at last weighed anchor; but it was necessary for two learned judges, who were on board, to work at the capstan. We had three right reverend prelates on board, but I do not

know whether they lent a hand or not. One of the apostles, I believe, was acquainted with navigation; and I have no doubt that, under similar circumstances, he would have assisted in the operation. We really had great reason to complain of the *Transit*, which, though a very large vessel, was quite unfit for the service. She had two engines, but one of them was permanently disabled, and the other was soon made useless by the fires being let out. It was eleven o'clock before we left Southampton; although we ought to have left at six o'clock; and such a scene of confusion I hope I shall never witness again. It certainly reflects very little credit upon those who ought to have made better provision. Judges, prelates, and ladies of high rank were scrambling together for places in the train: one would have thought it was an excursion train to Manchester. I had the good fortune to get a place; but I was unable to get home before four o'clock this morning." The members of the House of Commons were rather more fortunate than the lords, but not much so. Some severe strictures were made in the lower house respecting the mismanagement shown by the admiralty; but no further steps were taken in the matter. A remark by Mr. Stafford, that he had witnessed the arrangements of the government at home and abroad, and desired to testify to the oneness of the system, and the similarity of the principles on which it was based, was met with prolonged cheers. The honourable member added—"It was not possible for the government, at so short a notice, to cover the docks of Southampton with mud, nor are they responsible for the sunshine; but as far as in them lies, they did their best to make that particular locality resemble Balaklava as much as possible." The subject was again spoken about on the following evening; but after numerous explanations had been offered, and in part accepted, it was permitted to drop.\*

\* From a leader in the *Daily News*, we extract the following sensible remarks upon this topic; remarks which ardent pleasure-seekers will do well to bear in mind:—"Sir Charles Wood sought to throw the responsibility of the day's misadventures on the management of the railway; Mr. Chaplin, in turn, to hand it over to the iron contractors: for our part—no offence to our patrons, the public—we are inclined to maintain that they have themselves to thank for any discomfort they may have experienced. There is a rather unreasonable disposition abroad, to expect an impossible amount of enjoyment at an impossibly low expenditure of time or money. Steam-boats and railways have done much, but they

cannot do everything. Joint-stock steam-boat jaunts and monster excursion trains are enormous delusions. People are packed together like negroes in the middle passage; they have to elbow and fight their way to their seats of little ease as if they were struggling for existence; and they have no time to see anything or to eat or drink with comfort. Such pleasure excursions are a multiplication of the disappointment experienced by the Irishman who fancied a ride in a sedan, and who (the chairmen having taken the bottom out) vowed at the end of his promenade that 'but for the honour of the thing he might as well have walked.' Our modern pleasure-seekers have a more 'frugal mind' than even Mrs.



On the 29th of April peace was formally proclaimed in the metropolis, and the inhabitants witnessed a sight which, though not gorgeous or imposing in itself, was nevertheless remarkable, from the consideration that forty years had elapsed since a similar occurrence. Such an incident might have been made the occasion of an attractive display, but it was performed in a manner which excited only the solitary sensation of disappointment. It was sarcastically, and not untruly, described as "meagre, motley, slovenly, and too late."

Information that peace was to be proclaimed with all the usages derived from ancient times, naturally excited a considerable amount of curiosity, and about ten o'clock the great thoroughfares were thronged with tides of people, who bent their steps towards Charing-cross and St. James's Palace. Shortly before twelve the procession emerged from the stable-yard, St. James's, into the open space in front of the old palace. After three blasts on the trumpet, garter king-of-arms read aloud the queen's proclamation of the restoration of peace, which ran thus:—"Victoria R.—Whereas, a definitive treaty of peace and friendship between us and our allies and his imperial majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, was concluded at Paris on the 30th day of March last, and the ratifications thereof have now been duly exchanged; in conformity thereunto we have thought fit hereby to command that the same be published throughout all our dominions; and we do declare to all our loving subjects our will and pleasure that the said treaty of peace and friendship be observed inviolably, as well by sea as by land, and in all cases whatsoever; strictly charging and commanding all our loving subjects to take notice hereof, and to conform themselves thereunto accordingly. Given at our court

at Buckingham Palace this 28th day of April, in the year of our Lord 1856, and in the 19th year of our reign.—God save the Queen." Very few people heard the words of the document, but they did not concern themselves about that, for they knew its purport well enough, and welcomed it with three cheers—as hearty as perhaps could be expected under the circumstances—which were responded to by another blast of trumpets. The procession then formed; and though it did not look very imposing, a list of the persons composing it reads well at least. It comprised a troop of the 2nd life-guards, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Ogilvy; the beadles of Westminster, walking two-and-two, with staves (a body whose appearance created a considerable amount of amusement); the high-constable, with his staff, on horseback; the high-bailiff and deputy-steward of Westminster; knight-marshal's men, two-and-two; drums, drum-major, trumpets, and sergeant trumpeter; Sir Charles Young, garter king-of-arms, on horseback; three pursuivants, habited in their tabards, flanked on each side by three sergeants-at-arms, three of whom each carried a golden mace; four heralds, also habited in tabards, riding two-and-two abreast—namely, Mr. W. Courthope, Somerset herald; Mr. G. Harrison, Windsor herald; Mr. T. W. King, York herald; and Mr. A. W. Woods, Lancaster herald; Mr. R. Laurie, Norroy king-of-arms, followed; and the rear was brought up by another troop of life-guards.

The procession directed its course to Charing-cross, where the proclamation was read for the second time, the reader, in conformity with ancient precedent, looking towards Whitehall. At this point the spectacle was really animated, on account of the immense mass of people who occupied the district of Trafalgar-square, and gave a

John Gilpin of immortal memory, and the consequence is that they have no enjoyment. On Wednesday the great mass of the sight-seers, to save money and lose as little of their business time as possible, would do no more than run down from London to Portsmouth or Southampton in the morning and return at night. At the very utmost, they started the day before. The unavoidable consequence was, a jam on the railway, and want of accommodation at the only two places into which the crowds precipitated themselves. There were only two lines of railway for the hordes of passengers, and one of them was scarcely used. Human beings are unfortunately not endowed with the contractile power which Milton has attributed to his bad angels. They are subject to the laws of space and

time, and no mere mortal railway could expand itself to meet the demands of Wednesday—for that, it would have required the qualities of the fairy *Peri Banou's* magic tent. The moral of the whole affair is, that when people are bent upon distant pleasure excursions they must make up their minds to pay a fair price in time and in money. Immense crowds can congregate with little expenditure of either in Hyde-park. Even Epsom is within the range of possibility, though the crush and collisions of the road or rail on a Derby day are not over-pleasant. But, even with railways and steam-boats, Portsmouth and Southampton are beyond the range of a comfortable twelve hours' drive, out and home, for a great part of London—to say nothing of London's country cousins."

variety and air of enthusiasm to the scene. When the procession arrived at Temple-bar, the gates of the ancient city were closed upon the western visitors. On this the junior pursuivant, after three soundings of the trumpet, gave three knocks, and the city marshal enquired, "Who comes there?" Then the pursuivant explained that he and his companions were officers of arms come to publish her majesty's proclamation of peace. The guardians of the gates then admitted the pursuivant alone, who presented the queen's warrant to the lord mayor. The document having been examined, the lord mayor consented to the gates being opened. The procession having entered the city, the proclamation was again read; and the *cortège* once more moved on, decreased by the absence of the Westminster beades, who gladly waddled home again; but increased by the lord mayor's carriage, and followed by a crowd which went on accumulating in density. A fourth reading took place at Wood-street, where the cross in Cheapside formerly stood; and the last occurred in front of the Exchange, where the ceremony ended.

Together with the proclamation of peace, her majesty issued another, in which it was stated—"Whereas, it has pleased Almighty God in his great goodness, to put an end to the warfare in which we have been engaged against the Emperor of Russia, and to restore peace to Europe; we, therefore, adoring the Divine goodness, and duly considering that the great and public blessings of peace do call for public and solemn acknowledgments, have thought fit, by and with the advice of our privy council, to issue this proclamation, hereby appointing that a general thanksgiving to Almighty God for these his mercies be observed throughout those parts of the United Kingdom called England and Ireland,\* on Sunday, the 4th day of May, &c." A day set apart for thanksgiving for the restoration of peace, was a very different thing to the appointment of a day of humiliation during the continuance of the war. The latter was likely to be misconstrued by our enemies, and no doubt was misconstrued by them, into a confession of fear and weakness. It was, we believe, an indiscretion unwillingly granted by the government to the thoughtless zeal and importunity of the clergy. Let it not be sup-

posed that we would deter even one softened and devout heart from approaching in humility the throne of the Eternal. But the prayers and prostrations of the truly religious soul are not promoted by political errors. The earnest, prayerful man—the man who lives ever in the strong belief that the omnipresent eye of God is upon all his paths and reads his secret thoughts, does not require the appointment of times and seasons when he may approach nearer to his Maker. With him life is one long act of practical worship in the zealous discharge of duty and the exercise of benevolence: thought is one harmonious and poetical prayer—a prayer devoid alike of greedy supplications or of vulgar adulation; but which, as the purest aspiration of which frail humanity is capable, forms a hallowed link between man and his God.

While, therefore, we could not but disapprove of the appointment of days of humiliation at a period when we should have presented nothing but a front of haughty defiance and unbending strength to the eyes of Europe (for the heart of the nation might secretly be prostrate before God, while its hundred thousand armed hands held their threatening weapons with a grasp of iron), yet we concur in the graceful propriety of appointing a day of thanksgiving for the return of peace. Not that England was tired of the war, or in any way exhausted by the struggle, for the contrary was notoriously the fact; not that the peace conferred more than we had a right to expect, or more than we believe we could at any time obtain at the point of the sword; but that a state of peace was in itself far preferable to a state of war (so long as that peace could be honourably obtained), and more pregnant with blessings—more creative of the elegance derived from the arts and the power over nature gathered from the sciences—more productive of all that tends to ameliorate the condition of man, to enhance the comforts of life, to subdue disease and to extirpate poverty, than a state of war could possibly be. Peace gathers, war scatters abroad; peace creates, war destroys; peace blesses labour, war lays a grinding burden upon it; peace makes the rich fields yield the full sheave of golden corn and the cottage-garden bloom with fragrant and varied beauty, war tramples them both into a blackened desert sown with human bones; peace bequeaths a surplus to posterity, war leaves an oppressive

\* In accordance with the usual practice, a separate proclamation, to the same effect, was addressed to the authorities of Scotland.



debt to it; peace promotes the brotherhood of nations, war fosters national antipathies; peace produces benevolent emotions, war bitterness, hatred, fury, and deeds of blood and horror; peace is heaven's design, war the terrible growth of evil that arises from an abuse of the natural passions of princes and peoples. Truly, then, it was well to offer up thanks to God for the return of peace.

That 4th of May should have been a memorable Sunday, for it offered a grand, indeed a sublime opportunity to the clergy and other ministers of the gospel of this great kingdom. They were to stand forward as the exponents of the devout heart of England, and to express, in the presence of the Lord of the whole earth—of the God who in one hand bears battles, and in the other peace, the gratitude of a warlike people, who yet from an aversion to pour out evil upon mankind, proclaimed their thankfulness that the Lord had made war to cease upon the earth. Such a position was a grand one, and yielded means of influencing the intellect and affections of the people of this empire to a wonderful, an incalculable extent. No doubt many a heart was touched, and religious and moral good resulted; yet it is to be regretted that, with some fine and effective exceptions, the orations of the clergy on this occasion presented little that was removed from feebleness and that customary mode of address, which, from its tameness and much repetition, has for the most part, ceased to affect a body of listeners. A tone of timidity also, and of irresolution, pervaded many of these sermons; and it might have been supposed from them, that England cowered back from the recent conflict with feelings akin to those of a whipped child, thankful that it was not subjected to further chastisement. Surely that humility which every reflective as well as devout mind must experience when it weighs its own puny existence, and considers the overwhelming grandeur of the illimitable universe—when it thinks of its own nothingness in relation to the incomprehensible Being who created it, could be as earnestly expressed in some other way. One preacher chose for his text the words, "Rejoice with trembling!" while another spoke of the war as a chastisement and judgment to this country. This is the language of the vanquished and the disgraced; and we thank God that was far, very far (as we trust it ever will continue) from being the lot of this country. Such language—and much of a

similar kind was used—ought not to have been employed; it was unseemly, and it was insincere, if it was supposed to express the feelings of any large congregation; for we are sure that no rational body of men thought that, in the war, England had been judged and punished for her sins. The very occasion belied the word; it was a day of *thanksgiving*—a day of devout joy for past victories and present blessings. It was not upon us, but upon Russia, that the war had fallen as a chastisement; and this was admitted in the language of its emperor: whether it also descended upon that aggressive empire as a judgment from God—as a thunderbolt hurled by divine wrath against the arrogance and injustice of irresponsible might, is an assertion which is not to be rashly made. Russia also claimed the exclusive protection of the Deity; and, assenting to the perplexing doctrine of special and particular interference in the affairs of men and in the arrangement of human disputes, it is not so clear that the hand of God fought with the allies; for their greatest miseries proceeded not from the power of the enemy, but from sickness and cold, and storms—things beyond the might of Russia to direct against us. We would have these great matters spoken of with a becoming humility. It is the duty of the Christian soldier to pray for the protection, and he may even presume to solicit the assistance, of the Deity; but it is a profane familiarity to take the Almighty, as it were, into a forced alliance with us, and proclaim that he aided in a terrible struggle carried on by his own pigmy creatures, and placed his hand in this scale or in that.

A few brief extracts from the best of the sermons delivered on the thanksgiving-day, may not be unacceptable to our readers. At St. Paul's, a sermon of some eloquence was delivered by the Very Rev. Dr. Milman, dean of the cathedral, from which we select the following passage:—"On the announcement of peace the minister of Christ might now subside into his proper office. He could not but feel that his Master's great function on earth was peace. He was emphatically the Prince of Peace. Although the minister of Christ might have acknowledged the due necessity of war, although he might have resigned himself to its inevitable evils, and borne with sad submission the tidings of bloody battles, of more wide-wasting disease, of provinces desolate, cities burnt—of thousands, tens of



thousands (if the losses of our foes were not, as it was to be feared they were not, terribly exaggerated), hundreds of thousands of his fellow-men cut off by premature death—death by famine, by plagues, by slaughter, happy if the desolation had not smitten his own home, his own heart; yet all this time there could not be but a consciousness that he was in a forced and unnatural state. There was a silent remonstrance in the inmost soul against war, as of itself unholy and un-Christian. Although religion might justify, nay, almost command it, might ennoble, soothe, mitigate, beautify war, yet was not war the less in its abstract, in its origin on one side or the other, in its inalienable ferocity, its misery, even in its skill employed on the destruction, not the happiness of mankind, irreligious and unevangelical. Who would deny the apostle's simple, but awful reply to the sober question,—‘Whence come wars and fightings among you?’ But the providence and the grace of God were in war, as in peace, over the events, the acts, and in the heart of man. ‘Thou also hast wrought all our works in us.’ Wherever there was human virtue in the heart of man there was God, there was the dim and cloudy divinity, the likeness of God, in which man was originally created. Wherever there was calm self-sacrifice, valiant reliance on God, conscientious discipline, trust in a righteous cause, and therefore a fearless confronting of death; wherever there was patience, resignation, religious unrepining, endurance of famine, wounds, disease; wherever there was magnanimity, mercy to the foe, there was God, there was Christ, there was the unseen, and, perhaps, unconscious, but manifest spirit of our religion, working in its deep undoubted sphere, the soul of man. He thought it might be said, that with some dark exceptions on the side of the enemy—exceptions which, by the indignation they aroused through Europe, and the anxiety to soften, mitigate, and explain them away, showed a deference for a higher code of war—and with a few acts of lawlessness on ours, the late war had been conducted with more straightforward bravery and skill, with less savage, marauding, murderous ferocity, than any in the annals of man. Let him add in justice that this was not merely the lofty aristocratic chivalry, as in feudal times, of Christian or of Pagan and Mohammedan kings and knights, neither of whom condescended to regard the butchery, the car-

nage, the famine, the wretchedness, the ferocity of their miserable retainers; but the laws of war, the humanities, it might be said, of war, seemed to have reached down to the common soldiery, to the lowliest, least educated, usually the least generous, most savage of men. Nor in tracing the influences of God and of Christ in the heart of man must we be silent (though careful to speak in humble unboastful words) of that deep universal sympathy which had permeated the whole of our land, from the highest to the humblest, from the throne to the cottage, the eager desire to succour and alleviate the distressed, to pour oil and wine into his wounds, to slake the bitter thirst, to infuse Christian consolation into the heart of the suffering and the dying—that sympathy shown even in the bursts, it might be, of misdirected indignation; in the reproaches, possibly unjust or exaggerated, of neglect or mismanagement; in almost pardonable uncharitableness towards those who were conducting a war on a scale unprecedented, which, of old, would have been thought impossible, and after a long unnerving peace—a war not however carried on in dim, dark, impenetrable remoteness, hidden from the eyes of men by its own smoke and dust, but represented to us in all its horrible distinctness, in every scene and concomitant of misery, suffering, and death, not with faithful and severe truth, but magnified and deepened, with a broad glare cast over it by that vast solar microscope—the public press. That sympathy was still more shown in the desertion of their rich and luxurious homes by well-born women—in the exchange by delicate and tender maidens of the pure, sunny, flower-embalmed atmosphere of their chambers and saloons for the damp, sickly, sultry air of the hospital—in confronting the danger, that most appalling danger to a modest mind, of all the coarse repulsive manners and habits of the rudest and hardest of mankind, a danger, wonderful as it might seem, awed down at once, and absolutely, and without exception subdued by the unanswerable appeal to the better feelings, by the majesty of goodness, by the tenderness which made kindness more kind, and added a grace even to Christian charity.”

Passing over several of the reported sermons as not particularly deserving notice, we may mention favourably that delivered in the church of St. James's, Westminster, by the Rev. J. E. Kempe. Referring to



the day of humiliation at the commencement of the war, he observed—"It was hard now to feel thankful, as it was then to feel contrite. The peace had come before we really wanted it—that is to say, before we had either done enough to be satisfied with war, or suffered enough to be weary of it. It would seem difficult now to show much gratitude to Almighty God for having made war to cease, and restored the reign of peace to Europe. But think as we might, war was a calamity to all engaged in it—to assailed and to assailants—to the weaker and to the stronger side—one of God's sore judgments upon his people. \* \* \* Our emotions of thankfulness were languid and feeble, because we seemed baulked of our meed of glory, just when we flattered ourselves we were on the point of grasping it. Not to speak of the dreadful cost of blood by which it would have been attained, he ventured to suggest that, after all our high-wrought expectations, we might possibly have been disappointed. The gallant fleet paraded before the sovereign and the nation two years ago was not regarded with less satisfaction, or thought less irresistible, or less destined to lay in ruins the stronghold of the oppressor, than the fleet which a week since conjured up such proud visions of what we should have done to retrieve our shortcomings and establish our pre-eminence, had it not been for what was called the premature interruption of diplomacy. The event did not justify the former boast; and in the present instance we might have miscalculated to as great an extent, if not a greater. God might have denied us success, and we might have been reduced to the last extremities of shame and disaster. But admitting that it was absurd to imagine we should have failed in the continuation of the contest which the negotiations for peace suspended—admitting, as the information which now reached us tended to prove, that the odds were incalculably in our favour, and that our late adversary must ere long have been a suppliant for peace on our own terms—admitting that all these points—of which he was not competent to judge—were admissible, he suggested whether there was not a combination on the cards which would have easily neutralised our supposed superiority, if not turned the chances of that terrible game against us? From our eastern enterprise nothing might be reasonably looked for but a succession of triumphs. But what of those clouds which were gather-

ing in the western hemisphere? Had peace nothing to do with their dispersion? If they had rolled on and added their darkness to the political atmosphere, he could not help thinking that even the stout heart of England would have quailed beneath the storm which would have burst upon her. But let it be supposed that the mighty armament, called into existence seemingly to adorn a pageant, had gone forth to accomplish all that was expected from it—that those who led our armies had led them from victory to victory, had outdone the deeds of Napoleon and of Wellington, not to say eclipsed the brilliancy of Alma and the unshaken bravery of Inkermann, still should we as Christians be insensible to the mercy which spared us the terrible necessity of inflicting the terrible suffering which must have attended the presumed success of our arms? Not to be unnerved in the days of war's necessity by the tears of the widow and the fatherless—nay, to be ready to give our nearest and dearest when the common safety demanded it,—that was virtue and patriotism. But to take little or no account of human life, to disregard the sufferings of the weakest or meanest members of the community for the mere gratification of our natural vanity or ambition,—that was folly, selfishness, and sin. As Christians and as men we might devoutly thank God, not so much because He had caused us to vanquish our enemies, as because He had stopped us on the threshold of a probable course of triumphs; we might thank Him for the victories he had not compelled us to win, for the blood he had not compelled us to shed, for the miseries of which we should not be the instruments. Our sufferings by the war having been comparatively light and insignificant, we wanted the motive of thankfulness which was supplied by a consciousness of our great deliverance. Yet if we reflected ever so little, we must see that the circumstance which seemed at first unfavourable to the feeling of thankfulness ought to give it depth and intensity. We should consider how much we owed it to God's having strengthened and enriched us for a long series of years that, without any sensible diminution of our resources, without interruption of our prosperity, without hindrance of our commerce, without check to that progress which we all gloried in as the characteristic of the government under which we lived, we had been able to bring to a successful termination a war with an empire sup-



posed to be too mighty to be shaken by any assailant or any confederacy. The war had taught us to appreciate more fully the long peace which it so violently, but, God be praised, so briefly interrupted; and from the advantages of the peace which preceded the late war, we might learn to be grateful for that which was about to follow it."

At St. Pancras New Church, the Rev. Mr. Dale preached a sermon of some consequence, but from much of the logic of which we dissent. He said—"We have been delivered from a bitter and bloody strife, into which, however just and necessary, we were most reluctantly drawn, and by which we have most severely suffered; in which even our victories and successes were only less disastrous than discomfitures and defeat; all the triumphs of which were drowned in wailing, and all the trophies of which were drenched in blood; a strife for which, while it endured, we were compelled to make the most grievous sacrifices; and from which, on its termination, we could scarcely hope to derive a corresponding benefit. From out of that strife—a strife that threatened to be as protracted as it was profitless, we have been delivered. But how have we been delivered from it? Not by the indomitable courage and perseverance of a matchless army, which in its endurance of privations, if not in its achievement of victories, has emulated and overpassed the brightest examples of devoted heroism recorded in the annals of mankind; not by the exploits of a mighty naval armament overspreading the surface of the sea and bearing in its bosom a machinery of destruction prepared to lay the most powerful bulwarks prostrate in the dust; not by confederacies and alliances with the most powerful and warlike people of the European interest with whom our gallant warriors have been fighting side by side—oh, if they must fight, may they never again fight otherwise, with aim and objects as truly disinterested, and in a cause as nobly just!—we have been delivered not by any means like these, but by the act of the Lord, bringing the counsel of the mighty to nought, by the power of the Lord making the devices of the crafty of none effect, by the secret, silent, unsuspected ministry of the same mysterious Providence which stricken in old time the oppressor's outstretched arm, and smote in the plenitude of his power the boastful king to whom an infatuated people ascribed the honour that

belongs to God alone. Our deliverance was not accomplished by feats of arms, nor by the skill of diplomacy, but it was by the cessation of the pulses of the heart of pride; it was the scattering of the schemes of an insatiable ambition by the stroke of the Angel of Death; it was this that paralysed the gigantic efforts of a boundless empire, to which one master mind was more than all its treasures and than all its hosts. There are two important subjects for consideration—the one is the secret of a nation's strength, and the other the principle of a nation's duty. The secret of a nation's strength, where do we read it? From whom are we to learn it but from God himself? We read it upon the shores of the Red Sea, where the pillar of fire that illuminated the track of the ransomed people through the waters that shrunk from their advance, presented to the fierce pursuers but a dark reverse of cloud ominous of impending ruin. We may read it in the hills that encompass Jerusalem, where the proud Assyrian encamped with his mighty host against the doomed and devoted city, from which, as it seemed, the remnant of David's royal line was about to be rooted up and cast out for ever. But it was enough for the safety of Jerusalem that the mercy of the Lord was upon her. Out of Jerusalem went forth the rescued remnant, for His mercy was upon his people, according as they put their trust in him. But is the arm of the Lord now straitened that it cannot save—or His ear heavy that it cannot hear? Have not our own records witnessed again and again how the counsel of the Lord standeth for ever? Is the memory yet extinct, has the celebration yet ceased among us of that mighty deliverance which was vouchsafed to our country when she was menaced three centuries ago for the gospel's sake? Another European royalty was then sailing as a queen upon the waters—another claimed the proud title of empress of the seas—another power sent forth a mighty armament which was deemed invincible. And it might have been deemed invincible to human power, but there is no wisdom, nor understanding, nor counsel against the Lord. Whether the field of warfare be on the wide champaign, or beneath the frowning fortress, or upon the bosom of the broad ocean, His ministers of salvation are never wanting where His mercy hath decreed to save. He blew with his winds and they were scattered. Britain



kept her hard-won gospel, and henceforth Britain has been free. But has there not been like deliverance vouchsafed to us within the memory of living men? Was there not a time when our beloved country stood alone among the nations of the West, and all that seemed wanting to her perpetual exclusion from the family of Europe, if not to the utter annihilation of her commerce, and the subjugation of her people, was the continuance of amity and association between two autocrats who shared and might have swayed the world, could the one have been contented with the diadem of the East, and the other with the sceptre of the West. But when was ambition ever satisfied with half, when fraud or force might win the whole? And thus, out of the evil purposes of each, arose the accomplishment of the counsel of the Lord. He gave snow like wool; he scattered the hoar frost like ashes; the mercy of the Lord was upon those whom he willed to deliver, though dearly was the deliverance purchased, for as many gallant Frenchmen found their last earthly resting-place in Russian snows as there now are of Russians mouldering in the rank cemetery of the Crimea\* or buried beneath the ruins of Sebastopol. The secret of national strength, then, is the resting upon us the mercy of a covenant God who taketh pleasure in them that trust in Him. Trust, however, is in no degree allied to presumption. We are not the less bound to maintain our military forces and to equip our naval power, and to replenish our arsenals, and to garrison our strongholds, because we trust in that mercy without which all plans of worldly wisdom must miscarry, and no accumulation of means, whether of defence or of aggression, can prevail. We live in a country which counts itself happy and calls itself free; a country the colonies of which overspread, the commerce of which encircles the globe, the merchants of which are princes, and the traffickers of which the honourable of the earth. We can affirm with truth what, in the mouth of the chosen seed of Abraham was but an empty boast, that we never were in bondage to any man—that no British woman has ever beheld on her own soil the footprint of an invader or of a slave. But we can say more than this; we live in a land where the gospel of salvation is free to all as the air we breathe. If we stand on an eminence among the nations of the world, what hath placed us there but the

mercy of the Lord? and what can maintain us there but the same mercy continued to us notwithstanding our manifold demerits and delinquencies?"

Upon this it is right to remark, that, humanly speaking, we were indisputably, and in the strictest sense, saved from the evils that threatened us, solely "by the indomitable courage and perseverance of a matchless army." It bespeaks a poverty of conception on the part of the reverend orator, that in his endeavour to magnify the glory of God, he took from the patient, enduring soldier that praise which the latter had nobly earned. The Creator, in his benevolence, accepts our prayers; but the sublimity of his nature can neither require nor be gratified with a style of thanksgiving which has its source in exaggeration, if not in untruth. We have already said that there is something of spiritual arrogance and a tone of profane familiarity in attributing the success of our arms to the special "act of the Lord." If the Deity had so unequivocally declared for this country, as this boastful language implies he did, Russia would have reeled back from the struggle smitten irreparably, and crushed into prostrate helplessness; or at least into a state of helplessness past the power of man to retrieve. The incidents of the war do not warrant the use of such language as that employed by the preacher. Russian priests and princes had, throughout the struggle, ever employed the same language; and scandalised Europe listened to it with emotions of disgust and contempt. Shortly before this very thanksgiving-day, the Archbishop of Moscow had published an address to the faithful of that city, in which he said—"Let us render thanks to God, who has supported us in this struggle. Let us render thanks to God, who has given us peace." He added—"Despite the success which the war still promised to our arms, we should not wish for its continuance. Let us thank God that orthodox and Christian Russia is not responsible for the commencement of the war; it was not she who declared that war—she was provoked to it, and was obliged to accept it. It was important for her not to incur the reproach of having contributed to its continuation." To a Russian ear, or indeed to any ear not native to our land and partial to our welfare, Mr. Dale's language must seem as offensive, as arrogant, and as insincere as this does to us. Again, Mr. Dale's comparison of the

recent war with the Spanish invasion of England during the reign of Elizabeth, is altogether inadmissible. When the armada of the brutal bigot Philip threatened our coasts, for the purpose of forcing upon the people of this country a form of religion altogether repugnant to them, then indeed it might, without immodesty or profaneness, be said that the Lord arose and scattered the oppressor. Yet even in such an instance as this, it is necessary to be cautious and humble in attributing motives and actions to the Deity; for, by a parity of reasoning, if Philip had been successful (which, but for the fierce storm that scattered his fleet, he might have been), it would necessarily have followed that the Lord had assisted in restoring the Roman form of religion in England; a conclusion which, we fancy, very few would be disposed to grant. With regard to the comparison between Spain and Russia, it must be seen, that if the forces of nature, at the bidding of the Deity, had overwhelmed the Russian fleet at Sinope instead of allowing it to crush that of Turkey, or if they had annihilated the Russian army on the banks of the Danube, then the circumstance might be said to bear a resemblance to the apparently almost miraculous salvation of England from the bigotry of Spain. No such real or apparent intervention took place: God withheld his arm; and but for the interposition of France and England, Turkey would probably have been dismembered, and Russia triumphant. It was very properly said by another preacher on this occasion, that our feelings of gratitude ought not to be polluted by self-glorification.

An excellent and instructive discourse was also delivered in the Scotch national church, by the Rev. Dr. Cumming. There was in it a political rendering of religious tenets; a practical application of his discourse, which rendered it acceptable to the worldly mind, without depriving it of that devotional interest looked for by the purely pious one. It contained some extravagance about "the students of prophecy, who saw what was coming;" but that subject is the peculiar weakness of the reverend doctor. It is a very easy matter, after some great historical event has taken place, to make or interpret a prophecy about it. In other respects the sermon was an excellent religious and political discourse, and as such we will transfer to our columns a brief report of it. The preacher commenced by observ-

ing that national life was very much like individual life—sunshine and shadows, lights and clouds—one year chronicled the sufferings of the wounded, the numbers of the slain, bitter bereavements, and curses "not loud but deep" on them that kindled the sleeping embers of war: another year was inaugurated with naval reviews and national thanksgivings; and, the war-cloud having spent its forces, the soldier returned to his home, and the currents of social life to their accustomed channels. Every Christian must deprecate war; but there were conditions of the moral, social, and political atmosphere so unwholesome and abnormal, that war, like lightning, cleared the air, fulfilled a beneficent mission, and millions breathed freer because thousands had died and were buried on the field of battle. But we must feel thankful for a temporary quiet, if it do not prove a permanent peace. A lull even in the tempest was precious. In this world a lasting peace was not to be expected yet, but such peace as diplomacy could create was neither to be despised nor refused. We must also thank God that bloodshed and all the horrors of war had ceased. Our hospitals and orphan schools, England's humblest huts and her proudest halls, the heights of Alma, the trenches around Sebastopol, and the cemetery on Catheart's-hill, would remain for many a year the lasting proofs of the terrible struggle in which our country had played no inglorious part. We had also reason to be thankful for the heroism and devotedness displayed by all our soldiers from the highest to the humblest in the recent conflict. That disasters occurred at the beginning of the war was most true, but we were too much inclined to censure our brave soldiers and gallant sailors because they did not achieve impossibilities. We ought to look much nearer home; for during the last twenty years we had become so intensely commercial, so interested in the till, so absorbed in cotton and corn—all good things in their places—that we denounced the very idea of war being possible; and the students of prophecy who saw what was coming were called foolish fanatics. The rage for economy had been such that, to build a cotton-mill we seemed not indisposed to break up the British fleet. But he looked upon the maintenance of a large military and naval force as an insurance upon our national safety. A man insured his house, but it was not, therefore, more liable to take



fire; and such a spectacle as that witnessed at Spithead the other day, so far from being a provocative to war, was, in his judgment, the best preservative of peace. We likewise felt thankful to God for the noble and beneficent sympathies which the first tidings of suffering in the Crimea awakened. From the queen to the lowliest village maiden, all vied in sacrifice, in labours, in sympathy. A leading daily newspaper raised a prodigious sum for the relief of the sick and wounded, and the fund was distributed by Mr. Macdonald, a countryman of his own, with such skill, tact, and business-like efficiency, that it made a moral as well as material impression upon the country and the army. Nor could we forget the heroic devotedness of a lady—Florence Nightingale—who left at home all that woman loved, and braved abroad all that woman dreaded, in order to mitigate the sufferings of the army. We were thankful, in the next place, for the instances of true piety that appeared in the army. The *Memoirs of Captain Vicars* showed how a Christian life in its noblest form could be led amid all the horrors of actual warfare, while the last letter of Colonel Shadforth proved that a man could be at once a devout and humble follower of Jesus, and a brave and loyal servant of his sovereign and his country. Nor could a more beautiful sight be witnessed than that often seen in the neighbourhood of Sebastopol—the sight of an army joining in the worship of God, while the air above and around them was darkened with the instruments of death, and the sound of shot and shell rang in their ears. Another ground of thankfulness was, that among the articles of peace was included a recommendation that war should not in future be declared between two nations until the good offices of friendly powers had been exhausted. The highest types of our race were the martyr, the philanthropist, and the patriot, who stood higher than the soldier or sailor on that ladder, one end of which rested on the earth and the other stretched to the sky; and no doubt the day would come when, turning their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks, the nations of the world would engage in war no more. The preacher then noticed the perils of peace, remarking that he doubted whether Mammon did not eclipse Mars in hatefulness; for if bad things had been done under the shadow of the one, very cruel and unholy things had

been done under the name of the other. The excitements of the exchange were as fierce and desperate as those of the field of battle. War had sometimes been a positive mercy; and he was not sure that the late conflict, though it had carried rills of bitter sorrow into many a heart and home, was not on the whole a blessing by disturbing that selfish, grasping, money-making worship of Mammon which had become the national sin of England. It was in peace that luxurious habits were acquired; and we might learn a lesson from the fact that Capua did more to save Rome than all her legions put together. During the peace now begun, it would be our duty to try by God's blessing to destroy the evil passions, at home and abroad, which are the seeds of war, and to sow broadcast those precious truths which grow up into harvests of righteousness, peace, and joy. Underneath the tumults of the recent war were deep, unsettled, religious questions ripening for a yet more terrible outburst. Turkey in Europe would soon disappear in all its distinctive peculiarities. "The great river Euphrates" was all but dried up. But Italy was one vast volcano, and Rome and Naples were likely to be its first orifices. The *Times* well remarked the other day,—“This convulsion will hardly fail to draw in ourselves and the other leading states of Europe.” He did not expect that the war had finally closed. It was merely preparing to appear on a new stage, and under new circumstances, and to draw into its vortex nationalities that had ignominiously stood aloof during the last two years. “To our country,” continued the reverend doctor, in conclusion, “I would earnestly appeal. Be ready. The time is not yet for beating your sword into a ploughshare. To the church of Christ I would say, ‘Work while the peace lasts; spread out your holy mission; make great sacrifices; preach the gospel to every creature.’ To Christians I would say, ‘Watch, pray, have your hearts and treasure in heaven.’”

A good and appropriate sermon was also preached at St. Philip's, Regent-street, by the Rev. J. M. Bellet; and a poor and inappropriate one at Trinity church, Chelsea, by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Of the other sermons reported, but few call for any comment. At every church collections were made after the services, chiefly for the commendable purpose of erecting a Christian and memorial church at Constantinople.

## CHAPTER XVI.

REFLECTIONS UPON THE TREATY OF PEACE; BRIEF ANALYSIS OF IT; DEBATES UPON IT IN THE BRITISH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.

IN Chapter XII., we have inserted a copy of the treaty of peace, almost without appending a word of comment. It was better, we thought, to delay our opinion concerning it until we came to notice the debates it elicited in both houses of parliament. The peace was satisfactory, but not triumphant. The allies had not dictated terms to a prostrate foe, or wrung from Russia any great territorial concessions; but it must be remembered that they did not enter on the war with the idea or the hope of prostrating Russia; and that they had expressly repudiated all intention of obtaining territorial profit for themselves, or inflicting territorial loss upon the enemy. Yet, what they aimed at, they had accomplished; and in a much shorter time than even sanguine men had deemed possible. Russia had suffered bitterly, and she had yielded; but though much of her military *prestige* was gone, yet she had escaped dishonour. Her wonderful, persevering, scientific, and heroic defence of Sebastopol, wiped out the shame she suffered in the earlier part of the war, and won for her the respect of her enemies. Undoubtedly the Russians were thought more highly of after the conclusion of the war than before its commencement. We had found them better than we had supposed them to be. The common soldiers were pitifully ignorant and uncivilised, only just escaped from barbarism; but they were brave, and wonderfully impressed with a sense of military duties. The officers were, as far as we had the opportunities of observing, gentlemen of refined manners, highly educated, and with an acute taste for all the elegancies of modern civilisation. Indeed, the gentlemen of Russia differed very little from the gentlemen of England or of France.

It will at once be seen that the peace promised to be the more lasting, because Russia had been treated with as a great and independent empire, instead of being regarded as a baffled and defeated state. Had the war been carried on until she was utterly exhausted, and peace then been granted to her on terms which she could

not avoid considering as galling and degrading, it is certain she would have renewed the struggle as soon as returning strength permitted her to do so. Such would have been the conduct of England or France, had it been their fate to have occupied a similar position: such would have been the conduct of any nation of high spirit; and, therefore, that would most assuredly have been her course. Something more might, perhaps, have been wrung from Russia, but that would have rendered the peace of very doubtful durability. Some questions were left for the unrevealed future to settle; but they were of a nature which, under the peculiar and complicated circumstances of the case, rendered it almost impossible for warriors or diplomatists to decide. Certainly, in a political sense, we must agree with the poet Byron, that—

"Men are the slaves of circumstances when  
The circumstances seem the slaves of men."

The peace engaged that all territories conquered or occupied by either of the belligerents during the war, should be reciprocally abandoned. That an amnesty should be granted by all the sovereigns engaged, to such of their subjects who had been compromised by any participation in the events of the war in favour of the enemy. This had chiefly reference to the unfortunate Tartars of the Crimea, and the natives of the Circassian shores of the Black Sea. Turkey was admitted into the European system, or family of states; and the great powers of that continent engaged to respect its independence and territorial integrity. In case of any future dispute arising between the Turkish government and any of the other powers signing the peace, a recourse to mediation by the contracting parties was to take place, before they appealed again to arms. The sultan's firman, recognising the equality of his Christian with his Mohammedan subjects, was recognised and alluded to by the treaty, but not incorporated with it. At the same time, to discountenance an oppressive interference with the internal government of Turkey, it was provided that the contracting



powers were not, collectively or separately, to interfere between the sultan and his subjects.\* The Black Sea was "neutralised"—that is, thrown open to the mercantile marine of every nation, subject only to regulations of quarantine, customs, and police. Consuls were to be admitted into the Russian and Turkish ports on its coasts, on which both the czar and the sultan engaged not to establish or maintain any military-maritime arsenal; an article which provided against the reconstruction of Sebastopol, or the erection of a similar fortress on another part of the coast. The czar and the sultan were, however, each to be allowed to maintain a few small ships of war in the Black Sea, for the purposes of police and the prevention of piracy.† Arrangements were made for the free navigation of the Danube; a great boon to Austria and the principalities, and indirectly a material benefit to the commerce of Europe. The next item was of the highest importance, and approached the nearest to a humiliation of Russia. In exchange for the towns and ports restored to him by the allies, the Emperor Alexander consented "to the rectification of his frontier in Bessarabia;" that is, he surrendered a small piece, certainly a very small piece, of the territory which for so many years his ancestors had been steadily absorbing into their dominions. This cession of territory was, however, of great importance, as it took the mouths of the Danube from the control of Russia; and even contained the famous fortress of Ismail, the scene of one of Suwarrow's greatest and most sanguinary triumphs. Wallachia and Moldavia were to enjoy, under the suzerainty of the Porte, such privileges as they had hitherto been in possession of; this was to be guaranteed them by the contracting powers, none of which were to exercise any exclusive protection over them. This was fatal to the cat-like encroachments of Austria, whose troops still held possession of these unhappy provinces. In each province a divan, representing the interests of all classes of society, was to be convoked, in order to express the wishes of the people in regard to the definite organisation of these states. The principalities were also to raise a national armed force for the purpose of maintaining the security of its interior and frontiers. Servia also was

to maintain its independent and national administration, under the protection of the Sublime Porte.

Such is a brief analysis of the treaty of peace; and now we will refer to the debates concerning it, which occurred in both houses of the British parliament. On the evening of Monday, the 5th of May, the Earl of Ellesmere rose in the house of peers, to invite their lordships' assent to an address of congratulation to the queen, on the peace which had been so recently concluded. He said, he did not intend to describe his own satisfaction as that which springs from victories without a check, from success without sacrifices, or such as might attend one of those great consummations which enable the victor, at his pleasure, to trample on a prostrate foe. Satisfaction such as France might have felt with the bulletins of Ulm, or Austerlitz, or Jena, was not his, nor was it what he ever expected to gain, nor, he must own, what he could lament to forego. He thought the reward for our great exertions and great sacrifices, though it involved no subversion of dynasties, no sweeping redistribution of territory—though it left on the map of Europe little trace beyond one beneficent and not unimportant change, yet came up to the mark we prescribed to ourselves at the outset; was, in the main, all to which reasonable men looked forward, and more than even sanguine men expected to gain within the time. His lordship continued—"It was very generally imagined—at least, it was very industriously circulated—that England, in pursuit of some interest, real or fancied, of her own, was willing or resolved to ignore the substantial offers of Russia; that it was part of the instructions of my noble friend, by all the subtle devices attributed to that bugbear of continental coffee-houses, 'perfidious Albion,' to make it impossible for other powers to accept conditions with which they were satisfied, and to close a strife with which they were comparatively wearied. Your lordships have not to learn from me that these suspicions were utterly unfounded. Still, there was much to account for and excuse them. The recognition by Russia—which I think a frank and manly one—of a state of circumstances which forbade her to persevere in armed opposition to the remonstrances of her truest friends and the accumulating power of her antagonists, had come, not as such recognitions often come, late, and on sheer

\* See Art. IX., par. 2; *ante*, p. 176.

† For particulars see Convention No. 2, annexed to the treaty; *ante*, p. 180.



compulsion, but had anticipated the expectations of Europe at large, and still more of England. It certainly ran before my own. Here and elsewhere, but here especially, men were slow to perceive and to admit, that the untarnished honour of her arms had enabled wisdom and moderation to predominate in her councils. It was the duty of government, while a prospect remained of a recurrence and continuance of the contest, to take no step, and to use no language which should relax our material preparations for the worst, or damp the spirit of the country. It was an inevitable consequence, that while, on the one hand, some here misconstrued the conduct of Russia, others should draw false conclusions from the somewhat grim and determined attitude of England. It was hard to believe that a country which had accumulated, not in unapproachable nooks and corners, but in the face of day and the blaze of notoriety, materials for war such as the world had never witnessed, could be sincere in its acceptance of the preliminaries of a peaceful solution. I advert to this, because I am well convinced that my noble friend had up-hill work to encounter at the outset, before he could carry conviction to the minds of all concerned, that he was as incapable of accepting the task of acting on dishonest instructions, as any English government, let the party in power be what it may, is of giving them to its representative. Your lordships now know in what manner, and with what amount of success, my noble friend encountered and overcame these and all other difficulties of his arduous task. His success has, at least, been such as leads me to entertain much distrust of a theory very prevalent in this country. It is somewhat remarkable that, while by the continental press England is very usually represented as the type of selfishness and perfidy—as always aiming, and often arriving, at overreaching the innocent diplomatists of other countries—all this time she is as constantly represented by writers of her own soil as the ready dupe and victim of the superior diplomatic capacity of continental statesmen. I know, and your lordships know, that the first of these theories is erroneous. I think the recent conduct of my noble friend and his coadjutor, Lord Cowley, throws much doubt on the second. I see no evidence in the documents before me that the innocence of my noble friend has been practised upon. But, my lords, I

am equally bound to say that I see no proof that the attempt was made. I have no doubt that Count Orloff contended well and manfully for his master's interests; but neither in the documents before us, nor from common fame, have I gathered reason to believe that he was more capable than my noble friend of descending to those low and insincere devices which diplomatists are supposed to permit themselves. Those who had personal knowledge of men and things at St. Petersburg, as I have heard, drew favourable auguries, at first, from the selection of Count Orloff for his mission. It was, as I believe, justly thought that the choice spoke well for the character and intentions of that young sovereign for whom, from no fault of his own, the dawn of his reign arose—

“‘Not in the sunshine and the smile of heaven,  
But wrapt in whirlwinds and begirt with woes.’

I hail in that sovereign the indications of strong will and sound decision which have contributed essentially to the pacification of Europe, and give fair promise of the continuance of tranquillity. I hope that Russia may henceforth present a spectacle which the rest of Europe may contemplate, not only without jealousy or mistrust, but with sympathy and satisfaction—the spectacle of a great empire, under the guidance of a strong and able hand, repairing the ravages of war by the arts of peace. It is perfectly true, and a truism, that the real sinews of war are wealth, science, and civilisation; but it is as true that the cultivation of all or any of these interests has pacific and corrective tendencies; and if we are to act, either as individuals or as nations, on the moral view that every depository of power is to make the worst possible use of it, the world will be less fit to live in than it now is with all its imperfections.” The noble lord concluded by moving,—“That a humble address be presented to her majesty, to return to her majesty the sincere acknowledgments and thanks of this house for the important communication which her majesty has been graciously pleased to make to this house, of the general treaty concluded at Paris on the 30th of March, between her Majesty, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, the King of Prussia, the Emperor of Russia, the King of Sardinia, and the Sultan, by which peace has been re-established between her Majesty, the Emperor of the French, the King of Sardinia,



and the Sultan, on the one hand, and the Emperor of Russia on the other;

"To assure her majesty that, while we should have deemed it our duty cheerfully to afford her majesty our firm support, if it had unfortunately been found necessary to continue the war, we have learnt with joy and satisfaction that her majesty has been enabled to re-establish peace on conditions honourable to her majesty's crown, and which fully accomplish the great objects for which the war was undertaken;

"To express to her majesty the great satisfaction which we feel at finding that while those alliances which have so mainly contributed to the vigorous and successful prosecution of the war have been equally effective in the consolidation of peace, powers which have not taken an active part in the war have combined with the belligerents to give additional firmness to the arrangements by which the repose of Europe is in future to be protected from disturbance;

"To state to her majesty that we rejoice that, notwithstanding the great exertions which the late war has rendered necessary, the resources of the empire remain unimpaired;

"To express our hope that the peace which has now been concluded may, under the favour of Divine Providence, long continue to shed its blessings over Europe, and that harmony among governments and friendly intercourse among nations may steadily promote the progress of civilisation and secure the welfare and happiness of mankind."

The motion was seconded by Lord Glenelg, in a speech of more than average merit. He contended that, if their lordships considered the state of Europe two years ago, and as it was at that moment, they would find sufficient ground upon which to congratulate her majesty upon the great truth that all the conditions of the war had been satisfied, fully and honourably; yet without insolent exultation, and without contempt of the rights and feelings of the nation with which we have been at war. The real test was—what were the evils we meant to redress, what the evils we meant to avert, and what has been the result? Look at the state of Europe ten years ago. Russia was then in possession, either permanently or virtually, by means of her influence, of the greater portion of Europe. Russia, with all her native grandeur, exaggerated by the imaginations of men, and surrounded with all the

*prestige* which diplomatic skill, talents, and great wealth could throw around her—Russia at that time exercised over the greater part of Europe a mesmeric influence, the dread of which extended even to our empire in India. What was then the condition of the several countries of Europe? Germany groaning under the influence of Russia; Sweden being gradually absorbed into her system; the principalities in her grasp; the waters of the Danube under her seal; the Black Sea surrounded by her fortresses, and loaded with her navies; Turkey, not indeed at her last gasp, but already condemned by the sentence of mortal disease, which her powerful neighbour had pronounced. What is its state now? The spell is broken. Germany wakes from that trance, and begins to show at least some symptoms of conscious existence; Sweden is released from those bonds; the Danube is free; the Euxine is free; the Ottoman empire is preserved; and, therefore, he might well say that the spell is broken. The noble lord continued—"The people of this country, devoted indeed to the arts of peace, were yet deeply alive to the cause of justice and humanity; and from one end of the country to the other, the demand of justice and humanity was answered by one universal voice. This war was peculiarly the war of the people; they threw themselves into the lists, regardless of consequences, and joined to noble allies, resolved never to cease from the war until its objects were attained. If that period excite admiration, what must be our feelings at the subsequent attitude of the country? No eulogy can be too great for the qualities which were exhibited during the summer and winter which followed the commencement of the war. The winter of 1854-'5 is one of the most glorious periods recorded in the annals of England. The most powerful demands were made upon the greatest virtues which belong to man's character. In the field, in the hospital, and in the trenches, gallantry, self-devotion, noble heroism, sublime fortitude, and the heroic endurance of martyrdom, were all gathered together and exhibited to the world in the ranks of the British army. At home the nation was not idle or indifferent. We all know how the springs of sympathy were unlocked, how every heart and every head was at work to furnish supplies of every kind to our soldiers in the Crimea. We know how men of every rank



vied in their efforts to minister to the wants of their fellow-countrymen; and how many hastened to the seat of war itself, to carry consolation to the sick, the wounded, and the dying. But this was not all. In the spring of last year negotiations for peace failed, and it seemed as though the war was to be protracted for a long period. New burdens were imposed, new sacrifices were called for, new miseries were to be endured. Some men began to waver in the struggle; strong nerves began to tremble, and stout hearts to falter; but the people of England never wavered. They had nailed their colours to the mast, they had chosen their lot, and they were determined to carry the conquest to an honourable issue. Nothing can excel the solemn but noble attitude of the people at that moment. There was no noisy invective, no factitious excitement; but a determined resolution, arising from a consciousness of right and of power—a resolution that would never be baffled. Neither have they been. It was impossible to mark the conduct of the people at this period, and not to see that the fate of Sebastopol was sealed.”

The Earl of Malmesbury then addressed the house at considerable length, in opposition to the address. He thought the language of it exaggerated, and therefore he could not concur in it. He thought the writer should not have called upon their lordships to express their “joy and satisfaction” on the re-establishment of peace, but should have made the satisfaction merge in the joy, instead of the joy in the satisfaction. He was not of opinion that the treaty warranted even the latter state of feeling; and he denied that the objects of the war, so far as he understood them, had been accomplished by the treaty. He spoke at considerable length concerning the fall of Kars, which he considered had exercised a prejudicial influence on the terms of the peace. He contended that there was nothing in the treaty to prevent the northern forts of Sebastopol being maintained in the condition they were then; nothing to prevent the Russians again fortifying their hills and raising another Malakhoff, with even greater power than before; nothing to prevent them constructing immense stone fortresses, heavily armed, on the shores of the Black Sea, facing the Turkish empire. He wished also to know what became of the many forts along the Circassian coast, which the Russians were obliged to abandon, and

the abandonment of which gave peace and liberty to the Circassians. He affirmed that we had benefited by the assistance of the Circassians, and then abandoned them. He thought that, in the recent conferences at Paris, not the objects of the war, but the settlement of a peace were the only matters considered. He would not oppose the address; but he considered, that if the objects of the war were such a reduction of the power of Russia as would make it impossible for her ever again to attack Turkey, they had not been attained; neither had we obtained that cession of territory which he considered we might have done.

The Earl of Clarendon responded to this adverse address. He spoke apologetically of Lord Stratford with respect to his conduct to General Williams, and reminded the house, that it was to that nobleman's influence that Europe was indebted for that *hatti-scherif* which was the *Magna Charta* of the privileges of the Christian subjects of the sultan. He asked whether anything could be brought against the English government, with respect to Kars, that did not apply equally to the French government? When he attended her majesty to Paris, he found the French government just as much alive to the dangers which threatened Kars as we could be; but it was always urged upon him by those whom he consulted, that Sebastopol was our chief object, that to that fortress all our attention should be directed; that if it fell, all other things would follow as a matter of course; and that in all military affairs of consequence, nothing was so unadvised and so likely to produce failure as a divided operation. He contended, that although the fall of Kars was undoubtedly a great disaster, yet that it had no prejudicial effect upon the negotiations for peace. “With respect to Nicolaieff,” continued the earl, “I must observe that it is not in the same condition with regard to the question of military and naval arsenals as Sebastopol. The Russian plenipotentiaries did not attach much importance to it; but Count Orloff pointed out, that the same principle by which we required the destruction of the works of Nicolaieff, would apply equally to any place situated upon the internal waters and rivers of Russia flowing into the Black Sea, from whatever distance; and that some ship-building place was absolutely necessary for Russia in that part of her dominions, for the purpose of building and repairing the vessels which she would be entitled to maintain



there. What Count Orloff urged was very true. He said it was not the existence of an arsenal, but the use to which it was put, that was of importance; and he solemnly declared, on the part of the Emperor of Russia, that neither at Nicolaieff, at Khereson, nor at any port in the Sea of Azoff, nor in any tributary to that sea, would there be ever constructed or maintained any vessel exceeding in number or size those which Russia would be entitled by the treaty to maintain in the Black Sea. My noble friend (the Earl of Malmesbury) complains that this declaration is not included in the treaty; but I do not see that Russia was bound to make any engagements with respect to her inland waters. We had no right to propose that degree of humiliation, and she would not have agreed to it. But the declaration made by the Russian plenipotentiaries, in the name of their sovereign, and recorded in a protocol signed by them, although it may not have all the binding force of a treaty, has the same moral obligation; and I have no hesitation in saying that, if one of these protocols were ever violated, it might be appealed to successfully by all the contracting parties, as a binding document."

The earl then referred to the conditions for maintaining the freedom of the Danube, to the Circassians, and to the forts on the eastern coast of the Black Sea. He denied that the Circassians deserved any consideration at the hands of the allies; for, during the war, they had not shown the slightest sympathy with them, or the least wish to assist their arms. He believed that even Schamyl had been influenced in favour of the Russian government by the restitution of his son, who had been a prisoner in their hands, and by large sums of money, in the form of ransoms. He continued—"Count Orloff said, that the forts on the eastern coast of the Black Sea had been built at great expense, in most unhealthy localities; that their occupation had been attended with great loss of life; that they were now destroyed; but that he could not engage that nothing of the kind should be built; because some troops must go there, and they must have shelter, and be protected against the brigands who infested the whole of that quarter. Moreover, these forts are not forts for purposes of aggression; they were intended for internal objects; in fact, for defending commerce, and assisting the blockade which has been so many years

established in these countries; but Count Orloff stated, on the part of the Emperor of Russia, that he hoped the character of the people would be improved by the civilising influence of commerce; that the blockade and other restrictions would be removed; and that all the ports of Russia in that quarter—seven or eight in number—would be opened to foreign trade, and would receive foreign consuls." After paying a high compliment to the Emperor of the French for his honourable conduct and perfect good faith, the noble earl thus concluded:—"I think if your lordships will reflect upon the state of things which existed two years ago,—if you remember the onerous treaties by which Turkey was bound, and which were so interpreted as to give Russia powers of interference in the Ottoman empire,—if you remember that Russia claimed a protectorate over the civil and religious immunities and privileges of many of the sultan's subjects,—that Sebastopol, protecting a powerful Russian fleet, was a standing menace to Turkey,—that Russia claimed a protectorate over the principalities, and claimed and constantly exercised a power of armed intervention,—that she was able to obstruct the free navigation of the Danube,—that she was meditating the establishment of another Sebastopol in the Aland Islands,—that she was aiming at an occupation of Norway, which would have given her complete command of the northern seas,—if you remember that Russia had created and justified the greatest alarm throughout Europe, and if you reflect that now all the treaties between Russia and Turkey are annulled,—that the sultan has granted reforms, privileges, and immunities to his Christian subjects,—that Sebastopol and the Russian fleet are no longer a menace to Turkey,—that the seas which were before closed, are now open to free and unrestricted commerce,—that the principalities will no longer suffer from Russian protection, or have cause to fear Russian intervention; but that the institutions which, in fact, they will give themselves, will be placed under the guarantee of Europe,—that a treaty has been signed, which is annexed to the general treaty, and therefore part of the national law of Europe, which guarantees the possessions of Sweden and Norway from aggression on the part of Russia,—that Austria is now more closely bound to the Western Powers by the treaties into which she has entered,—that Sar-



dinia has gained great influence and *prestige* by the position which has been assigned to her in the congress of the great powers of Europe,—that the alliance between England and France has been strengthened by the war,—and that the common sacrifices and hardships which they have borne have cemented the ties of friendship, good-will, and cordiality between the two nations,—I think, my lords, you will have no reason to be dissatisfied. I think it will be admitted that the objects of the war have been accomplished; and I trust that a treaty which secures those objects may not be thought unworthy of your lordships' approval. I trust, also, that the people of this great country—knowing, as they do, that their resources are unexhausted, that their energies are unimpaired, that they were never at any moment of their history better prepared for war than at the present time—will be content to sheathe the sword with honour, and remember the calamities of war only the better to appreciate the blessings of peace.”

The Earl of Derby objected to the terms of the address, and said that he accepted the peace as he believed the country accepted it, without enthusiasm, but without opposition. He believed the country looked upon it as a peace which might have been worse, but which might have been far better; a peace they were willing to put up with, but not one which they thought compensated for the sacrifices, the sufferings, the labours, and the expenses of the war. He was followed by Earl Granville in support of the address, and then considerable interest was excited by the rising of the Earl of Aberdeen, who, since his retirement from the ministry, had taken no very active part in political life.

His lordship stated, that he had no intention to enter into any details of the treaty; but he desired to say that, as no man ever more earnestly desired to prevent the calamities of war, none could more cordially rejoice in the restoration of peace. He was glad that the warlike reputation of his noble friend at the head of the government had rendered it possible to make a peace wise and honourable in itself, but which if it had been made under his auspices, might, perhaps, have produced discontent and excited serious reprehension. He then made the following interesting historical reflections:—“I entertain no doubt that, whatever may be the criticisms which

we hear now on the terms of pacification, this treaty will meet with the approbation of the country; for it is a remarkable circumstance in the history of the last century, that all our treaties of peace, however unpopular and objected to at the time they were made, have ultimately been sanctioned by the deliberate opinion of posterity. There could not be a stronger instance of this than the declaration of Mr. Pitt, which I very well remember to have heard, that he thought the treaty of Utrecht a very good one; but it had been much disfigured and misrepresented for party purposes. My noble friend on the cross benches (Earl Stanhope), who has done so much for the history of his country, has described wisely and justly the treaty of 1763, looking at it from this distance of time; but if he had lived in those days he would very probably have entertained the same opinions as his relative, Lord Chatham, who described it as a treacherous, insecure, and disgraceful capitulation. But not only have all treaties of peace during the last century, however much objected to at the time, been acquiesced in, but ultimately approved. I will go further; with regard to wars, the operation which has taken place has always been the reverse. Wars which have been extremely popular when they were undertaken, have by the verdict of posterity, been less favourably judged. The most popular war in which the country was ever engaged—truly a war of the people, as the late war has sometimes been called—was that one into which Sir Robert Walpole was reluctantly dragged. I believe there is no one who will now hesitate to declare that it was a most unjust and unnecessary war. It is but natural that when the passions of men are excited, they should not be able to judge of events as coolly as after those events have passed away. I will not undertake to say that the war in which we have recently been engaged will have the same fate as its predecessors. I never felt the slightest doubt respecting its justice; and, although the policy of a war must always be more or less a subject of debate, we have every reason to believe that the universal judgment of the country upon it is correct. At the same time, it is possible that our posterity may come to a different conclusion, both as to its necessity and its justice.”

After some brief addresses by Lord Cowley, Earl Grey, the Duke of Argyle, and



Lord Campbell, the debate closed with the address to her majesty being agreed to.

In the House of Commons, the debate on the address extended over two nights, and was of a very varied and discursive character. "It is seldom," said the *Times*, in one of its sparkling and vigorous leaders, "that such an occasion offers itself. From time to time a fortunate member welcomes the periodical return of his pet subject, and delivers himself of his favourite oration; but it is seldom that such a multitude of subjects is presented at once to the different tastes and predilections of members as by the debate of the two last nights. There were the great questions of war and peace for the general politician; the state of Turkey for the sentimental philanthropist; the state of the Christians in Turkey for the sentimental religionist; the opening of the Danube and the Black Sea for the non-sentimental commercialist; the neutralisation of the Black Sea for the political sceptic or the political optimist, as the case might be; the concession to neutral ships for the peace congress and the Manchester school; and all these subjects together for the Irish members. And, as if all these together were not sufficient for one night and one debate, Mr. Drummond volunteered a razzia into the territory of St. Peter, and scalped the pope, cardinals, and priests in general, for the especial edification of Mr. Bowyer."

The address, which we have already inserted in our pages, was moved by Mr. E. Denison, in a painstaking and respectable speech. It was seconded by Mr. H. Herbert. The latter, in alluding to the absence of enthusiasm with which the peace had been received, observed, that he thought it did not arise from any well-founded belief that the terms were unfavourable, but that a variety of causes had produced those feelings. There was a general conviction that if the war had continued, our army would have added largely to the laurels which it had already gained. The people of this country believed that, at the commencement of the war, we were unprovided with the specific means of attack which the peculiar nature of the naval warfare required; and that if the war had continued, a very different result would have occurred in the ensuing campaign. But, he submitted, that was exactly the frame of mind when the discipline of self-examination should be applied, and they should most seriously con-

sider whether the objects of the war had been attained. At the moment when they were inclined to something like arrogant self-confidence, they should remember the chances of war—that "the race was not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong;" and beware lest, by continuing the strife when peace was possible, they might forfeit the support of the Great Being by whom they had been enabled to bring the contest to a successful termination.

Lord John Manners then subjected the address to an adverse and searching criticism, which was, however, pregnant with the splenetic *animus* of party. He criticised the conduct of the war in Asia, and charged the English government with having basely abandoned the Circassians. He condemned the faint negative with which, at the conferences, Lord Clarendon had met the attack of Count Walewski on the Belgian press. "It was," he said, "not the language in which the representative of a liberal government might be expected to express an opinion on a proposal to gag and fetter the press of one of the only free countries now left upon the continent." Mr. Monckton Milnes then addressed the house in a speech of considerable moderation and thoughtfulness. There was nothing, he thought, to regret in the attitude of the people of England; they now looked upon peace without joy, as they had looked upon war without fear. When he considered the circumstances in which the war had originated, he thought that no one could have calculated that it would ever be brought to a conclusion which would at any time be grateful to the feelings of the people of this country. The real cause of this probably was, that the war had been regarded in a somewhat different spirit by the government to that in which it had been viewed by the people. By the British government, and by our ally, it had been regarded solely as political, bearing upon certain distinct political objects, and tending to certain distinct political ends. By the people of this country, on the other hand, it had been associated with far other hopes, far other desires, far other expectations; and the accomplishment of one of those results did not in any degree carry with it the accomplishment of the other. He thought, however, that when the terms of peace came to be carefully considered, the people of England would find in them certain results to which they would be able to look back with at least a moderate satisfaction.



The people had been mainly actuated in the enthusiasm and generosity with which they had supported the war, by the conviction that the power of Russia was likely to extend to a degree which would disturb the peace of Europe, and that that power was essentially an immoral power; the result of brute force. He thought that we might now encourage a hope that the aggressive and encroaching spirit had been to a considerable degree checked and curbed by the occurrences of the late war. He reprehended the language used by Lord Clarendon respecting the free press of Belgium; and considered that, though the results of the war did not come up to the general expectations of the people, yet, considered with reference to all the circumstances of Europe, and more especially the peculiar condition of our ally, he considered the peace to be as good a one as any reasonable man could hope to obtain.

Mr. Layard next delivered a speech of considerable length, which, though minutely critical, told in favour of the ministry. There were, he said, other questions which required settlement besides the independence of Turkey; and he considered that Lord Aberdeen's government, by contracting the arena of the war at its outbreak, had lost an opportunity of doing much for the cause of civilisation and of liberty in Europe. The first and most important point was that connected with the Christians; and here much more had been done than he could possibly have expected when the war was commenced. The question was one of great difficulty. The Christians were at once both the strength and the weakness of the Ottoman empire. They represented its strength, because they stood first in intelligence, in wealth, in activity; the Turks themselves not possessing those qualities. They represented its weakness, because the natural result was, when the intelligent and wealthy classes exceeded in number the dominant class, there was a continual fear of such popular movements as would overthrow the government. Under the new firman, Christians were to be admitted to the highest places in the government; they were placed on a perfect equality with Mussulmans; and, in theory, nothing was withheld from them. Of course it would not be fully carried out; but to have these principles admitted was an immense gain. Even in this country we had some relics of barbarism; and it would not be wise to ask the Turks in one day to alter all their laws

and religion; to forego every form which they had inherited from their forefathers. It would be most unwise and imprudent to compel the Porte to make concessions which would only exasperate its subjects, and have the certain effect of preventing, or at least retarding, the accomplishment of those ends which all had in view. Immense changes had lately taken place in Turkey; every day fresh progress was made; and as intercourse with Europe increased, that progress would also increase. How different was the state of Turkey compared with that of Austrian Italy, with her desecrated public monuments, her teeming prisons, and swarming police. Compare Turkey with Norway, where, he believed, Jews were not permitted to live. In Belgium even, he had been informed that protestants were almost entirely excluded from all public employment and dignity; and attempts had been made to remove the bodies of deceased protestants from burial-grounds, upon the plea that the ground was consecrated. Upon the whole, he considered the position of the Christians in Turkey was one which entitled the government of that country to much credit for its efforts on their behalf. That deeds of violence occurred, he did not deny; he himself had interfered hundreds of times to obtain justice for Christians; but the Turkish government had never been the cause.

After touching on the most prominent topics suggested by the treaty, Mr. Layard alluded, in sympathetic and powerful language, to the wretched state of Italy. He said—"With respect to that unhappy land, the language of the noble lord (Lord Clarendon) well accorded with his position as foreign minister, and the true interests and dignity of England. It was almost impossible to exaggerate the miserable condition of Italy. Unfortunately it was the policy of Austria to make the opinion predominate in Europe that Italians were not practical and not able to govern themselves; and, to further that policy, Austria had fomented the state of disunion which had led to such misery in Italy. He repudiated the idea, and pointed to Sardinia as a proof of how successful the Italians were in governing themselves. What a contrast between the condition of Sardinia and the condition of the Roman States! In the Roman States few offices were held by laymen, and even when held by laymen, they were entitled to all the privileges of ecclesiastics. The *privilegio de foro* exempted all priests and all parties



bearing an ecclesiastical character from the control of any courts of law, except ecclesiastical courts; and that was carried to such an extent, that if one person in a suit was entitled to the privilege, though there were forty or fifty who were not, the suit must be adjudicated by the ecclesiastical court. No cardinal was subject to the law at all—he could not be summoned to the ecclesiastical courts without his own consent. If the canon and common law clashed, the canon law was preferred, even in the common law courts. The priests paid no taxes, and therefore there was an immense idle population supported by the really industrious portion of the community. The inhabitants of the Papal States were disarmed, and the country was overrun by banditti. The roads were unsafe, and no one could go to a place, even in the immediate vicinity of Rome, without being plundered. Austria, having insisted on the people being disarmed, turned round now and used the argument of the insecurity thereby produced to induce Europe to tolerate her retaining possession of the Roman States. In 1850 there were 10,436 persons in the legation prisons, and in 1854 the number had increased to 13,006. The state of things was intolerable. There was no law. The bishops had a right to imprison. The Inquisition, the political governors of towns, and the police had a right to imprison. No man's house was safe for an hour; nobody knew what the law was; and he had been told many times by Italians that they would rather live under the Austrian law, terrible and oppressive as that law was, than under the system which existed in the Roman States. The Austrians had, in addition, compelled the inhabitants to pay for their troops. The French, he was happy to say, had not done so. Suggestions which were made to the pope for the improvement of the government were despised, and to this day no change for the better had been effected. He left the right honourable gentleman the member for the university of Oxford (Mr. Gladstone) to deal with Naples. But with regard to Sicily, it was almost impossible to conceive the state of that island. The best men were banished. There was some slight riot in the streets, got up by a few boys without any political object whatever, and humane as the governor was, he was compelled by the authorities, against his will, to do acts of great cruelty. In consequence of the riot, which was soon

quelled, orders were issued to seize the first six men coming into the town and to shoot them in the public square. A party of men returning from enjoying themselves in the country were seized. One of them died of the shock when told the purpose for which they were seized; his body was dragged to the place of execution, and there his five companions underwent the terrible sentence, which he, by his death, escaped. By a most wicked and atrocious government Sicily had been changed from a fertile island into a desert. In Tuscany things were very little better. The grand-duke was brought back by his own troops, and the first thing he did was to call in the Austrians. Although the troops, he believed, were withdrawn, the Austrian generals still retained their command in the town. They had all heard of those persecutions for reading the Bible that were discreditable to any government. Talk of Turkey! Why, there was infinitely more freedom of conscience in Turkey than in any part of Italy except Sardinia. Then look at the confiscations of property in Lombardy. Let his honourable friend (Mr. Bowyer) cross over into Sardinia and see the contrast which that country presented to any other part of Italy. The same state of things which existed in Sardinia would prevail elsewhere, if they gave the people of Italy a fair chance of governing themselves, for some most practical men were to be found in all parts of Italy. It was impossible for Piedmont to develop its resources while the Austrian occupation continued, for the King of Sardinia was obliged to keep up an army in consequence; and every petty prince in Italy considered himself safe in persecuting his subjects, because he knew he could fall back upon Austria. He was glad to observe that France had expressed a readiness to withdraw her troops from Italy; and he was sure that, if the government thought it desirable to represent the necessity of a change of policy in Italy, they would be supported both in that house and out of it. He should be the last to interfere in the concerns of other nations. All that he wished was, that other powers should not be allowed to interfere. He thought the proposal of Lord Clarendon wise and prudent; and he should be glad to see the Roman legations placed under a lay government with the French code of laws, and under the suzerainty of the pope." In conclusion, he observed, it was impossible to aver that the



peace had been received with enthusiasm. The people of this country were not satisfied with it, because they did not believe that Russia was sincere, and that the peace would be a lasting one; or that Russia, after a war of a couple of years, would change the policy of two centuries. He did not believe that any man acquainted with history would suppose that Russia, after two years' losses, which were not irremediable, would renounce the policy that formed the very essence of her empire.

Lord John Russell, in a speech of considerable length, expressed his opinion, that the conditions of the peace were honourable to the crown; and that they fully accomplished the objects of the war. He considered that the treaty secured the integrity of Turkey, as far as words and human wisdom could do so; for we could not pretend to that perfect security which no human calculation and foresight can possibly hope to obtain. Lord Claud Hamilton then submitted to the house an amendment of the address. He wished the words "joy and satisfaction" to be changed, because they did not truly represent the feelings of the house. He was dissatisfied with the treaty as respected Circassia: but as his arguments were, we think, satisfactorily answered, it is not necessary to allude to them here. Sir Charles Wood then volunteered explanations on various points, on behalf of the government. He denied that we had abandoned the Circassians, or that that people had either co-operated or shown sympathy with us. He said—"The only natives of that district who can at all be said to have promised to co-operate with us, are the people in the neighbourhood of Arabat, who said that, if an army was landed, they would join us; but no inducement was held out to them of guaranteeing their independence. We do not blame those people for not having co-operated with us; but I only state that such is the case. It is true that, in the attack upon Soujak-Kaleh by ship, the natives volunteered to co-operate with us; but even when the Russians were driven out by the fire of the ship, they did not do so; and, upon the authority of the naval officers who were in the Black Sea, I can state that, on the part of those people, no desire to co-operate with us was displayed. On the contrary, they were disposed to look upon us as enemies, because we interfered with what the noble lord (Lord C. Hamilton) so delicately calls, their

arrangements for the social and domestic comforts of the inhabitants of Constantinople, or, in other words, with selling their children as slaves." In considering the treaty generally, Sir C. Wood inquired—What is done for the security of Turkey? That object (he continued in reply) is provided for by taking away from Russia the power of attacking Turkey suddenly, and with an overpowering force, by sea; it is provided for by the fact, that Russia binds herself, in common with the other powers represented at Paris, to respect the independence and integrity of Turkey; and it is further secured by a treaty which has been laid on the table this day, concluded between Austria, France, and England, guaranteeing the independence of the Porte. He believed that, if there was any want of enthusiasm in favour of the peace, it was due, in a great measure, to the disappointment felt by the country that we could not employ those magnificent forces which the liberality of parliament enabled the government to provide for carrying on the war. That feeling would be but a transient one; and he was convinced, that the more the country looked into the treaty, the more it would feel that the ends of the war had been attained—the better satisfied it would be both with the conduct of the war and with its termination; and the more disposed to hail the peace with "joy and satisfaction." The debate was then adjourned.

It was re-opened the next night by Mr. Lindsay, who regarded the treaty as having accomplished the objects for which England had gone to war. Mr. R. Phillimore then gave notice of an amendment, expressing the regret of the house that the immemorial and undoubted belligerent right of the crown to capture enemy's goods in neutral ships, should have been renounced without an opportunity having been afforded to parliament of expressing its opinion upon so grave and extensive an alteration of public and international law. Mr. Sidney Herbert made a long speech in favour of the government. One passage we will quote, as emphatic. He said—"The great bubble of Russian invincibility has collapsed. We have, in a singularly short time, proved that the power of Russia has been greatly overrated. When we entered into the late war, we were haunted with a species of hobgoblin which inspired terrors within ourselves, and we thought that the power and ambition of



Russia were so great, that state after state would fall a victim, and be engulfed in her insatiable maw. I am one of those who never believed that the policy of Russia has been dictated by a long-cherished and pre-ordained ambition. I think, on the contrary, that it has been a necessity, and therefore much more dangerous to Europe, and much more necessary to be curbed. It has been a necessity of her position, such as we have ourselves found in India, such as the French have found in Africa, and such as our Transatlantic cousins have found in America. Hence, it became necessary that some force should be used to confine her within her own boundaries, and to show that the public law of Europe could not be violated with impunity."

Mr. Drummond then delivered one of his eccentric, discursive, and amusing speeches. The state of Italy brought him to the papal government, and that led him to the ambition and intolerance of the Roman clergy. He exclaimed—"Make the whole church go back to first principles, and put down the priesthood under the civil law. The special command to the Romans was, 'Obey the powers that be.' I know not when it was the priesthood first began to usurp the rights of the laity in the election of deacons; but I know that, from that moment till this, the cause of nearly every persecution, every religious war, lies at the door of the clergy. I do not confine that remark to any one class or country; but I say that, wherever I see the class, I see the sprouting out of the same thing. The soil of Italy is luxuriant, and there it appears in the greatest profusion. In Scotland it is more restrained; but there it is. Several hundred years ago, that soil was very prolific in this respect; and I confess that, barring character and other circumstances qualifying the matter in some degree, I do not see a vast difference in what is called the synodical movement. I see everywhere the laity treated as nonentities by the ecclesiastics. It is a fundamental principle of Italian law, that no ecclesiastic can be tried by the civil law. This is at the root of all your troubles in Ireland. It is the secret of all ecclesiastical power; the priests will never submit to the civil power. They think they are doing a religious act to deny you the privilege of bringing them before the courts. That is the single point upon which I think it necessary to dwell; but there are a num-

ber of others upon which I have no right to occupy the house. I will therefore confine myself to the present and the future; for as to the treaty, that is gone, and I never hunt a dead rat; I confine myself to what is practicable; and I trust that her majesty's ministers will not think that their work is done because a paper is printed and laid on the table. I hope my noble friend (Lord Palmerston) will insist, in conjunction with the sovereign with whom the state is now united, on putting down all ecclesiastical power throughout Europe." We expect Mr. Drummond's words on this occasion did not exactly represent his meaning, which we presume to be, that he trusted secular authority in the government of continental nations (especially in Austria and the Italian states) would be wrested from a priesthood who had, in all these cases, evinced a disposition to use it in an improper and tyrannical manner. Mr. Bowyer defended the ecclesiastical government of Italy, which he considered, for the most part, quite paternal; and he further maintained that, instead of the pope and his priests being detested by the people of Rome, that no monarch in Europe was more beloved by his subjects.

Mr. Bentinck and Mr. Cardwell having spoken on the alteration in international maritime law contained in the treaty, Mr. Gibson rose to address the house. He had doubted the policy of war, and though he rejoiced at the conclusion of a peace, he doubted the wisdom of the conditions of it. He thought it a question whether the people of this country had any interest in guaranteeing the independence and integrity of any empire on the face of the earth. Was it policy to make the Turk feel himself independent of those obligations which ought to govern the conduct of the rulers of all states, namely, to keep good faith with other nations, and to maintain peace and order at home? Was the protection thus accorded to Turkey likely to make her zealous in improving her internal administration, or was it not rather calculated to render her indifferent to obvious duties? The Turks would argue—"We are a political necessity to Europe. Whatever may be our demerits, however bad our rule, we shall continue to govern this region, or Europe will be in danger from a disturbance of the balance of power." England was not thanked for her interference in the affairs of other countries; on



the contrary, it was rather dreaded. A crusade on behalf of the liberties of other countries was extreme folly. By attending to our own domestic affairs—by elevating the moral and physical condition of our people, and thus setting to the world an example of the right working of free institutions, we should do more for the cause of liberty abroad, than could be effected by arms or by diplomatic interference. Mr. Gibson then read, amidst roars of laughter, the following letter addressed by the late Rev. Sidney Smith to Lady Grey:—“For God’s sake do not drag me into another war. I am worn down and worn out with crusading and defending Europe and protecting mankind. I must think a little of myself. I am sorry for the Spaniards—I am sorry for the Greeks—I deplore the fate of the Jews; the people of the Sandwich Islands are groaning under the most detestable tyranny; Bagdad is oppressed; I do not like the present state of the Delta; Thibet is not comfortable. Am I to fight for all these people? The world is bursting with sin and sorrow. Am I to be the champion of the Decalogue, and to be eternally raising fleets and armies to make all men good and happy? We have just done saving Europe; and I am afraid the consequence will be, that we shall cut each other’s throats. No war, dear lady Grey! no eloquence; but apathy, selfishness, common sense, arithmetic! I beseech you secure Lord Grey’s sword and pistols, as the housekeeper did Don Quixote’s armour. If there is another war, life will not be worth having. \* \* \* May the vengeance of Heaven overtake all the legimitates of Verona! but in the present state of rent and taxes, they must be left to the vengeance of Heaven. I allow fighting in such a cause to be a luxury; but the business of a prudent, sensible man, is to guard against luxury.” Mr. Gibson added, that unless this country was to be—what it ought not to be—a great military power, they must act upon these principles. They could not engage in crusades to defend the liberties of all mankind, unless they would at the same time place their own liberties in jeopardy, by putting into the hands of their executive enormous military power.

Mr. Whiteside reprehended the language of Lord Clarendon with respect to the press of Belgium; and Mr. Gladstone followed in the same path. The latter gentleman, after dwelling at considerable length upon this

topic, observed—“The history of Belgium is that of a very small fraction of Europe. But though small physically, and as viewed on the map, morally it occupies a large position. The spirit of their forefathers dwells in unbroken force within the bosoms of the Belgian people; and as it was the object of these conferences to dispel the clouds of war—not to create them—and to promote, not tumult and disorder, but peace and harmony among nations, I think it right to point out as clearly as possible that this appeal to a people, gallant and high-spirited as the Belgians are—an appeal which appears to be contemplated under the compulsion of foreign, and, some of them, remote powers, and having for its object the limitation by the Belgians of their dearest rights and most cherished liberties—is not a policy which tends to clear the political horizon, but rather one which will darken and disturb it, and cast gloom and despondency over a prospect otherwise brilliant and joyous.” Finally, Lord Palmerston reviewed the treaty, and replied to the animadversions which had been made upon it. With respect to the Belgian press, he observed, it was not wholly unnatural that the government of France, finding that the newspapers of a contiguous state, speaking the same language, preached up the assassination of foreign sovereigns, should have expressed a desire to see such an odious practice checked. The press might be prevented from advocating atrocious crimes without restricting its just and proper freedom. The house might rely that the British government would be no party to any foreign interference with a view of dictating to an independent nation the steps she should take to gag the press. “I venture to think,” added his lordship, “that not only in the treaty, but also in the proceedings at Paris, the course adopted by the government was such as to deserve the approbation of this house and of the nation. No doubt there are many in this country who would have been better pleased if no acceptable offers had been made to us, and if the war had gone on; for they anticipated that, in that event, greater success would have attended our arms, and a more brilliant meed of glory. Such a feeling was not unnatural. Those who saw the magnificent fleet that was reviewed the other day at Spithead—who knew in what an admirable condition our army in the Crimea now is, and who are



aware that our commerce is unimpaired, and that our resources are undiminished by the recent conflict, cling to the thought that if the war had been prolonged for another campaign, still greater advantages than those already attained might have been secured. It is probable that such would have been the case; and certainly if no conditions likely to accomplish the objects of the war had been offered us, no peace would as yet have been made, and we should have had at least one campaign more. But a grave responsibility devolved on us; and when we were offered terms of peace that seemed well calculated to achieve the purposes for which we had drawn the sword, we felt that it would ill consist with our duty and the dignity of the nation to reject them. A just and necessary war I regard as a duty; but when a war ceases to be just and necessary, I hold it to be a crime." His lordship thus concluded his speech, and then resumed his seat amidst loud cheering:—"What is the effect of that state of Europe upon the course likely to be pursued by Russia? Many people think that no reliance is to be placed upon Russia, but that she will continue her long-cherished projects of aggression. I do not concur in that opinion. My belief is that the present Emperor of Russia is a man of kind and benevolent feelings, not inspired by ambition of conquests, or at least that the conquests at which he aims are conquests over indolence, undeveloped natural resources, and all those difficulties which prevent the progressive improvement of a nation. My hope is, that he will turn the great power which he possesses to the promotion of the internal prosperity of his empire. That is a task with which the noblest man might be contented, and which the greatest and ablest man, however long-lived he might be, could not accomplish. It is said that if the resources of Russia are developed, she will only become more able to continue acts of aggression. I think that is a mistake. In proportion as nations become prosperous, in the same proportion they value the wealth and comforts which their exertions have procured for them, become wedded to the arts and pursuits of peace, and are weaned from the occupations and objects of war. If, therefore, the Emperor of Russia should devote his energies to the development of the natural resources of his country, to the cultivation of those vast plains which are now arid and barren, and to the connection

of distant parts of his empire by the modern improvement of railways, he will increase the probabilities of peace; but, on the other hand, if those expectations should be deceived, if a period of repose should only be used for the purpose of organising the means of fresh aggressions, then the alliances to which I have pointed, the common union which has been established between the powers of Europe, would oppose an insurmountable barrier to any attempt which might be made to violate the peace of the world. Therefore, sir, looking east and west, looking north and south, looking from the centre of Europe to the extreme confines of Asia, I see nothing but sources of hope in every direction. I trust that this war will have settled the division in every part of Europe—that the nations of Europe will turn their attention to the cultivation of the arts of peace, and that those jealousies and rivalries which formerly divided nation from nation, and turned into animosity those feelings of self-pride and self-respect which ought to lead to friendship, will be extinguished. I say that, looking in all directions, I see nothing but sources of consolation and of hope; and I trust the time is far distant when it will be the lot of any minister of England again to call upon this noble nation for support in any war. If such an occasion should arise, I am convinced, however distant it may be, however the nation in the interval may have devoted itself to the arts and pursuits of peace, the same warlike and manly spirit which was brought out by the late crisis will be found still living in the breast of England. I trust that period may be long deferred, and that the youngest man who sits in this house may not live to see the time when it will be necessary for the responsible servants of the crown to call upon the people of this country to support their sovereign in the prosecution of any war." The address was then agreed to without a division, and the house adjourned.

On the 7th of May both peers and commons assembled at two o'clock, and each proceeded to Buckingham Palace, where they presented to her majesty the address they had adopted as an answer to her message announcing the re-establishment of peace. In the evening the queen's reply was read in each house of parliament. It was the same in both cases, and was thus expressed:—"I receive with sincere pleasure the loyal and dutiful address which



you have presented to me on this occasion. I heartily thank you for your cordial co-operation in measures which I considered necessary for the prosecution of a war, which, in conjunction with my allies, I have been enabled to conduct to an honourable and successful termination, by the full accomplishment of the objects for which it was undertaken. It is most satisfactory to me to feel that peace has been re-established on a basis which affords the best security for its permanence; and I trust that, by God's blessing, it may long continue to promote the progress of civilisation and the happiness and welfare of mankind."

On the same day, the following message from the queen was also presented to both houses of parliament:—"Her majesty, being desirous of conferring a signal mark of her favour and approbation on Major-general Sir William Fenwick Williams, K.C.B., for the eminent and distinguished services rendered by him as her majesty's commissioner at the head-quarters of the Turkish army in Asia, and particularly in the gallant defence of Kars, recommends to the House of Lords (Commons) to concur in enabling her majesty to make provision for securing to Sir William Fenwick Williams a pension of £1,000 per annum, for the term of his natural life." Seldom has pension been better deserved, or more appropriately bestowed. In this message, General Williams is alluded to as Sir William, &c., the queen having previously been pleased to announce her intention of conferring upon him a baronetcy, under the style and title of Sir William Fenwick Williams of Kars. The motion conferring the pension on General Williams was, in each house, unanimously agreed to. In the imperial par-

liament, Lord Granville generously seized the occasion to pass a well-deserved compliment upon the gallant associates of the hero of Kars. He spoke in warm terms of Colonel Lake, who had exhibited so much skill in fortifying the town, that he had received the designation of the Todtleben of Kars. "Another officer," said the earl, "deserving of great commendation, is Major Thompson, who was seriously wounded in the first campaign, and who returned to his native country in ill-health, after an absence of ten years. He remained here only ten days, or hardly long enough to do more than embrace his mother, when he immediately started for Kars, which he reached in a crippled state, and conducted himself in defence of that fortress with a gallantry beyond all praise. Another name that will live in the annals of English military discipline is that of Major Teesdale. This gallant gentleman, being only twenty-three years old, and of very boyish appearance, there would have been something almost ridiculous, were it not for the high testimony borne to his merits, in seeing him acting in the absence of General Williams, and daily consulted on matters alike of the greatest importance and the minutest detail, by all the gray-headed generals of the Turkish army. I know nothing tending more to illustrate the usual characteristics of English officers—courage, modesty, and humanity—than the incident mentioned in Dr. Sandwith's book; namely, that the writer and his companions learnt, for the first time, from the Russians, that they had seen Major Teesdale jump from the walls of the fort in which he was stationed, amid a shower of bullets, to rescue a wounded officer of the enemy."

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## CHAPTER XVII.

RECEPTION OF THE NEWS OF PEACE AT CONSTANTINOPLE; STATE OF THE DANUBIAN PRINCIPALITIES; DISTURBANCES ARISING FROM THE FIRMAN OF THE SULTAN; FANATICAL RIOTS AT NABLOUS; CORRUPT STATE OF CHRISTIANITY IN TURKEY, AND REASONS WHY IT PROVOKES THE CONTEMPT OF THE MOSLEMS; THE GREEK EASTER AT CONSTANTINOPLE; DISGRACEFUL RIOT IN THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE AT JERUSALEM; CLOSE OF THE TURKISH CAMPAIGN IN ASIA.

ON the 31st of March, the roar of 101 guns proclaimed to the inhabitants of Constantinople that peace had been signed. The

news, which had been expected for some time, was received with customary Oriental apathy. As might be anticipated, the



peace did not settle every difficulty in connection with Turkey.\* Western Europe had not its own way quite as much as it wished for, in disposing of all the vexed questions that formed points of controversy between the statesmen of the Porte and those of the great European nations. Turkey held its own during the struggle, and came out of it with unabated independence. It had been anticipated that it would be some time before the French and English troops quitted the dominions of the sultan. Indeed, there were not wanting politicians who declared that the French would never leave; but that the troops of France would remain indefinitely on Turkish soil, with the object of establishing a French military colony there. The Ottomans had, it seems, jealous fears on this point, and their diplomatists did not neglect to provide against it; for, shortly after the signature of peace, it was agreed upon, between the Porte and the allies, that all foreign troops were to quit Turkey and the *principalities* within six months, and earlier if possible.

Many schemes had been set on foot for the future government of the Danubian principalities. One of the most favourite was, for uniting the two provinces into one independent Roumaic state. The sultan at once placed a veto upon this measure, and also refused his assent to any plan involving a foreign protectorate. It was assumed that, as the recent peace had abrogated all former treaties, that the sultan resumed absolutely all the rights he had ever possessed over the principalities. What was to be done with these provinces, was a problem which statesmen had in some way to solve. The question was one of great difficulty. The principalities, as the debatable land of the East, with a rich soil, the finest water-carriage in Europe, and an unwarlike popu-

lation, was just the prize for which military monarchies were likely to contend.

The sultan had yielded nothing with respect to the principalities; and he was equally successful in avoiding the insertion of the firman, securing the equality of his Christian subjects, into the treaty of peace. To that he would not consent, as derogatory to the dignity of his government, and as giving the other contracting powers a right to interfere with the internal affairs of the Turkish empire. It may be surmised, that great difficulties interposed in the efficient carrying out of a decree which all rigid Mussulmans held to be contrary to the will of the Deity. The settlement of these questions constituted the work of the future. It was truly said—"War has indeed had its results; the battle of Inkermann, and the storming of the Malakhoff, have given us the neutralisation of a sea, and the rectification of a frontier. But all that lies deeper, and requires a statesman's care and foresight, has yet to be done."

The principalities were still occupied by the troops of Austria, who evinced no intention of recalling them. The conduct of her soldiers in these localities was disgraceful, and their atrocities appallingly numerous. On the authority of the correspondent of the *Daily News*, writing from Bucharest on the 17th of March, we insert the following:—"To give you an idea of the reign of terror brought on in this country by the Austrian occupation, I shall give you the authentic list of the atrocities which the Austrians have committed during the brief interval alone of the last twenty-five days, in the single city of Bucharest. Here it is:—In the first week of this short period, eighteen assassinations were committed by the Austrians, and proved on evidence. On the 23rd of February, they

\* A writer from Constantinople thus describes the way in which news of the conclusion of peace was received there:—"At noon the war ships were decked with the allied flags, and the fortresses of Tophané and the Seraglio Point responded to their guns, which had been, however, booming more or less, at irregular intervals, for some days, in honour of the French prince. But all was so insignificant and so utterly disproportionate to the great event intended to be commemorated, that the public mind still fluttered in doubt and anxiety till nightfall. Then, definitively, some squibs, rockets, and flickering lamps seemed to predict a display of fireworks and a general illumination; but the powder, the oil, or the impulse failed; the winds and weather were not the thing, and the whole turned out a dead failure. How different was the scene after the battle

of the Alma, of Inkermann, and even on the falsely reported intelligence of the capture of Sebastopol, at the outset of the war! The Golden Horn was all night long one blaze of light, and every street, nook, and corner of the city a brilliant scene of joyous revel and festivity. The fireworks were splendid, the cannon thundered by land and sea; emblems, devices, the *Tourah* with verses of the Koran, formed in graceful outline by thousands and thousands of variegated lamps, were suspended from minaret to minaret, surmounting the stately mosque domes. But on this occasion there was a something wanting; and from the first announcement of the peace conference up to their final and successful conclusion, I have never been able to discern the smallest evidence of triumph and exultation among the Byzantines."



killed in broad daylight, in the Cotzotcheni quarter, three men who had lodged a complaint against the murderers for an act they had previously committed. In the night of the 26th, they killed three other men in the street of the Tanners, for the mere sake of a loaf of sugar, which they had at first tried to take from them by brute force. The assassins of the first three victims are known to the Austrian commander; but, notwithstanding this, no proceedings have been taken against them. On the 24th, they cut off the arms and legs of a poor fellow, and threw the mutilated body into the Dambovitza. On the same day, about nine o'clock in the evening, they killed, in the middle of the street, a man, because he tried to protect his wife and prevent her from being carried off by them. On the 25th, in the afternoon, three Austrian soldiers, in the presence of several of their officers, killed a man in the Tchismedgi garden. On the last evening of the carnival, which was only over here the other day, two Austrian soldiers in a state of intoxication, who were shamefully using everybody in a public-house near the prison, were arrested by four Roumanian soldiers, who had hastened from their post at the prison to the scene of disorder; but an Austrian patrol coming up, attempted to rescue the prisoners at the point of the bayonet. On the Roumanian side, an officer (M. Andreesco) arrived from the prison with four more soldiers; and the eight Roumanian soldiers, who were not permitted to use their arms, had to sustain a fierce but unequal combat against fifty Austrian bayonets, disputing with them the possession of the prisoners. They managed, however, to knock down five of the Austrians. Happily, the prefect of police interfered early enough to prevent bloodshed; for only through his intervention have we been spared a horrible massacre. In fact, considerable bodies of Austrian and Roumanian troops were already on their way to the spot; and the people, who were beginning to take part in the affray, did not conceal their wish to find an opportunity for taking vengeance on their bloodthirsty oppressors. It is probable that M. Andreesco will not escape with the wound he received while discharging his duty; for the Austrian commandant demands his punishment, and of course will obtain it, as he always has done in every case, of our Prince Stirbey. If the Austrians delay their departure from the principal-

ties, this country will very shortly have some terrible drama enacted in it, so profound is the contempt and detestation in which they are held by the Roumanians."

The Austrians obtained permission, under false pretences, to enter the principalities; and there they endeavoured to remain, in utter contempt of the treaty of peace, which bound them immediately to retire. It was soon evident that Austrian brutality was goading the inhabitants to riot and insurrection, in order to obtain a pretext for the permanent occupation of the country.

The firman of the sultan, decreeing the religious equality of all his subjects, provoked some outbreaks of that wild fanaticism which is a characteristic of most eastern nations. In many places it was bewailed with passionate lamentations and muttered curses on the part of the Mussulmans; in others, it was received with open defiance, and led to scenes of violence. This was especially the case in places remote from the capital, where the government had but little authority, and where it would have been imprudent, or, perhaps, altogether impossible, to enforce the liberal decree of the sultan. It could, of course, only be expected that the Turks should become reconciled to the proposed innovations by degrees. Similar excitement, and outrages as lamentable as those we have to record, would doubtless have taken place in England or France, had the government of either of those countries introduced changes which the clergy and a great body of the people had (whether truly or falsely) considered as a heavy blow aimed at the existence of their national religion. While, therefore, we grieve over Turkish fanaticism, and its twin-brother, intolerance, let us not too sternly condemn it. Let the first stone be thrown by the guiltless hand.

When the firman, or hatti-scherif, was published at Karaburna, in the pashalie of Smyrna, a fanatical Turk suddenly left the assembly in a state of extraordinary excitement, and, drawing a pistol from his belt, blew out the brains of the first rayah he met in the street. The unhappy victim was a Greek boy, a mere child, only thirteen years of age. The murderer followed up his crime by trampling the corpse beneath his feet, and uttering the most frightful maledictions. On the application of the priest, the Turkish aga promised to have him arrested; but the next day the same fanatical ruffian broke into a church, with a



number of other Turks influenced by religious frenzy, and destroyed all the sacred vases and vestments. The clergyman fortunately made his escape. Even after the perpetration of this second crime, the murderer was left at liberty. A circumstance exhibiting a similar fanatical intolerance on the part of the Turks, though happily without such lamentable results, occurred at Serakoi, a large village near Teneslu. The Greeks residing in the interior had been denied the liberty of using bells to call those of their own creed to join in public worship, but as a substitute they had been in the habit of striking boards with a hammer. After the publication of the firman, the priest of Serakoi substituted an iron plate for the board. Scarcely, however, had he struck a few blows upon it, in order to call the faithful to church, than the aga had him arrested and treated in a very brutal manner. A complaint having been addressed to the government of Smyrna, the priest was set at liberty, but the aga remained unpunished, and the Greeks had to return to the use of their board.

A far more serious outrage upon the Christians took place at Nablous, or Nazareth, in Syria. A Mr. Lyde, an English clergyman who resided in the neighbourhood of Latakia, visited Nablous; and as he was leaving the town, a deaf and dumb beggar, who was also deformed, and enjoyed the reputation of a *quasi* saint in that locality, with vehement and uncouth gesticulations solicited charity. As Mr. Lyde did not comply with his desires, the beggar proceeded from importunity to violence. Laying hold of the horse with one hand, and seizing the muzzle of the traveller's gun with the other, he backed him towards the town. A struggle ensued, in the course of which the gun was accidentally discharged, and the contents entering the heart of the dumb beggar, he fell a corpse upon the road. Knowing the imminence of his danger, Mr. Lyde returned to the town, and made for the house of one of the English consular agents. News of the accident, however, travelled as rapidly as he did, and the Moslems seized him by the way. Under the circumstances, it is surprising that he was not instantly put to death by the mob; but the solid Turks carried him before the legal tribunal for judgment. He protested his innocence, and exclaimed—"I killed a man, but not by my intention; in spite of me." One of

the ulemahs, accompanied by his brother, went out into the streets, and endeavoured, by means of this unfortunate circumstance, to excite the religious enthusiasm and fury of the people. With voices betokening passionate grief, they cried aloud—"Allah Akbar! Allah Akbar! Oh, religion of Mohammed, art thou dead?" The result was an alarming tumult, though the storm passed over for that day. A number of the ulemahs then held a council, and concerted a plan of action. They collected together on the following Friday, at the time when the muezzin was about to ascend the minaret to call the followers of the prophet to prayer. At the first sound of his voice, the ulemahs stopped him, saying—"What is there in our prayer? Islam is dead!" On the people assembling in the mosque, they added—"Go, pray behind the Christian priests and consular agents; the religion of Mohammed is dead." The excited people inquired—"What shall we do?" "If you are Moslems," was the mischievous reply, "manifest the religion of Mohammed." The crowd responded with a shout of "God is great! Oh, religion of Mohammed!" The women also joined in the shouting, and urged the men on to violence. The madness of religious fanaticism soon spread, and the ignorant people became uncontrollable. They first attacked the house of the French consul, and after plundering it, left it in flames. The French and Turkish flags, which were floating over it, they tore down, and dragged the former contemptuously through the streets; but they respectfully conveyed the latter to a place of safety. The flags had been hoisted in honour of the birth of the imperial infant of France; and this, it appears, was also a source of annoyance to the Turks.

From the house of the French consul the furious mob hurried to the protestant church and school of the English bishop. There they destroyed the bell which had been hung up on the arrival of the firman of equality; pulled down part of the wall, broke the windows and frames, and burnt the books. On the premises they found the *chojabash* of the protestants. Despite his advanced years (he was eighty), they wounded him, and beat his wife, a helpless old woman, with a stick. The Greek church was the next object of their insane rage. They broke down the woodwork, burnt the books, and carried off the vessels used in the worship performed in it. The



house of the Greek deacon, Nippon, was then attacked and plundered; and three unfortunate Christians, who were in it, were wounded and left for dead. The house of the English consul was next attacked. The mob, after beating in the door with axes, stole or destroyed everything they found; and then, tearing down the English flag, dragged it insultingly through the streets. The acting Prussian agent and his father, whom they found in the house, they brutally murdered. On the corpse of the latter no less than twenty-eight wounds were found, inflicted with swords, axes, and clubs. The house of a Mr. Zellar, a Christian minister and subject of Prussia, was broken into and plundered. The object of the fanatics was to murder him; but as he was fortunately absent, they slaked their thirst for blood by beating down his female servant, and wounding her so severely, that her recovery was despaired of. The wretches were repulsed from the house of the Prussian agent, which they attacked with the intention of plundering it; but they destroyed all the windows, by firing at them. Mr. Lyde, who was the unfortunate cause of all this fury, was imprisoned in the government house. The mob endeavoured to obtain possession of him, in which case he would have been instantly murdered; but they were again repulsed; and at length, having spent their rage, they retired to their homes. Other houses belonging to the Christians were plundered, and their owners only escaped with their lives by being concealed in the dwellings of some of the more peaceably disposed Moslems, whom they probably paid highly for the shelter. Altogether, six Christians were killed in the tumult, and others were so severely wounded, that their recovery was despaired of.

Much as these sad events are to be deplored, it must be admitted that they arose partly from the impatience and indiscretion of the Christians themselves. The hatti-scherif, or firman of equality, was necessarily a source of extreme irritation to the Turks, more especially to those who lived in towns where religious feelings were particularly active. They regarded the act as one of impiety and insult to the founder of their faith. Some fanatics even cursed the sultan, and said—"The ruled need not obey when the ruler is rebellious; this firman is contrary to our religion." At such a time the Christians would have

shown their prudence by remaining in unobtrusive quietness, and by saying nothing about their newly-acquired privileges until the angry feeling had calmed down. Instead of this, they appear to have put them in practice with an imprudent haste, if they did not even make an insultingly ostentatious parade of them. Among the circumstances which led to the outbreak were, first, the ringing of the bell in the protestant church, which they regarded as unendurable; and, secondly, the fact that the Greeks had refused, on building a new religious house, to give the customary bribe to the Effendi. It would have been wiser to have done without bells for a time, and to have gone on offering the usual bribe until calmness had succeeded to religious excitement, and the Moslems had forgotten the irritation caused by the firman which placed the rayah on an equality with the true Mussulman. The common people among the Turks were not in a state of mind to be reasoned with: superstitious ignorance is not suddenly to be pierced by reason; it is even proof against it, and must be won slowly to a sense of what is wise and just. The Christians should have been contented to take their newly-acquired rights bit by bit, in such an unobtrusive way as not to attract much attention. To the despised Christians, anxious for the immediate emancipation of their religion, we would say—

"Be patient, all ye messengers of truth;  
Bear up against the scoffs and cruel blows  
Of those who hate or comprehend ye not,  
And pass triumphant through your martyrdom."

They were, however, too impatient to follow this policy, and the outbreak we have described was the result. The firman of the sultan granted protection and religious equality to all his subjects. With this the Christians should have been contented; but they evinced a desire to use their newly-acquired freedom for the purpose of proselytising among the Mohammedans. Fortunately, the Turkish government at Constantinople was aware that such outrages as we have described would justify the continuation of the presence of the allies within the Turkish dominions, and therefore it not only discountenanced such exhibitions of feeling, but issued strict orders to the local governors energetically to maintain the right conceded to the rayahs.

We have spoken here of Christians and



of clergymen; but it must not be supposed that Christianity and its ministers, throughout Turkey, or even at Constantinople, bears any great resemblance to the venerable religion and the decorous bearing of the clergy of this country. The Christians of Turkey have a showy, sensual form of religion, which still retains many pagan and idolatrous rites grafted upon the sacred doctrines of Jesus. It is possible that the Turk has no conception of that simple and chastened form of Christianity which prevails in the protestant states of Europe. In the East, the religious festivals of the Christians are only the continuation of old pagan traditions under a new form. Almost all that was coarse, sensual, and riotous in pagan rites, has been preserved and mingled with Christian festivities in Turkey.

We will illustrate these remarks by a brief description of the Greek Easter at Constantinople—a festival which it was feared would, this year, be attended with some disturbance and collision between the Christians and the Mohammedans. Indeed, this apprehension occurs annually; for a spirit of wild excitement prevails among the Christians, which has been compared to the “sacred (say, rather, insane) fury” of the ancients. Easter is essentially a period of religious demonstration; and the joy displayed is of so vehement and even frantic a nature, that all thought of piety must be lost in coarse and profane revelry. An incessant noise prevails for three days and nights; and in the Greek quarter of the city there is everywhere pistol-firing, drums, fifes, bagpipes, singing, and dancing.

On the night of Saturday, the 26th of April, preparations for the festival began. At midnight the streets were filled with people hurrying to the church, where, at four o'clock on the Sunday morning, the service celebrating the Resurrection was to be performed. Until that hour the crowds remained in the churchyard, and whiled away their time in attempts to express their joy in anticipation. Early on the Sunday morning, crowds of people poured, in a continuous stream, towards the grand Champ des Morts, which, despite its melancholy and ghastly associations, is the Champs Elysées of Pera, and the scene of all rejoicings. In this locality, preparations had for some days been making of a kind strangely at variance with our ideas of what is consistent with a religious festival.

Amongst the graves were tents erected to serve the purpose of coffee-houses and smoking-rooms. Others were there, in which people were invited to witness the antics of Punch, or some athletic or dramatic performance. The wandering showman was there with his box, for the entertainment of the members of the rising generation. Swings and roundabouts were in profusion; groups of dancers performing the measured “Holo;” while on every tombstone, beneath which lay the remains of the rotting dead, roulette and other kinds of vulgar gambling was incessantly carried on.

The attractions of this rude scene drew together many besides the Christians. A spectator observed, in allusion to the crowds who were hurrying there—“One could have made a study of the costumes of the Ottoman empire; for the Mohammedan part of the population was likewise carried away by the stream. Persians, with their pointed fur caps and long robes; Arabs, in their cloaks, and the yellow *kepi* tied round their heads; Khurds, in their beehive-like turbans; Anatolians, in their tights; Circassians with noble features, monstrously big caps, and stores of arms, like so many walking arsenals;—all these were sprinkled among the baggy-breeched Greeks and good-natured Bulgarians in drab, who formed the mass. Scarcely a batch of these passed without having some kind of instrument: the Bulgarians their wailing bagpipe; and the Greeks small reed fifes and drums of every size, most of which seemed to have been once fig-boxes. At every corner they stopped to perform their national dances, for the benefit of the numerous loungers, as well as for their own pleasure. Those who had no music tried to supply the want by singing; and many a strange air from the mountains of Albania and from the forests of Bosnia, made the narrow streets re-echo its melancholy notes.”

Certainly it was something in the favour of these coarse revellers, that, notwithstanding the dust, noise, music and dancing, not a native was to be seen in a state of drunkenness. Some men, certainly, were to be observed staggering about, but these were strangers, and children of the more civilised West. In England, most of the booths would have been wine, beer, or spirit shops; but here the objects offered for sale were bread, cream, Easter eggs,



lemonade, oranges, and even water. The excitement of the crowd seemed rather to require calming draughts than intoxicating liquors. As a natural result of this temperance there was no fighting, or indeed any excesses than the uproar necessarily attending upon what must be regarded as in itself an excess. Indeed, the Moslem scarcely concealed his disgust when, smoking his chibouk in silent meditation, he beheld the Christians lost in the excitement of gambling upon the tombstones. To him the amusement of "the infidel" naturally appeared as a sacrilege. The gamblers, however, were careless of the dead under them and about them, and were scarcely for a moment disturbed, when the nasal chant of their priests resounded amid the din and tumult, paying the last tribute to some new inmates who were laid in the gaping grave amidst the discordant noises of the wild revel around. Notwithstanding the reasonable apprehension to the contrary, the festival passed off without the outbreak of any active animosity. Some persons even fancied that all danger from the publication of the firman of equality had passed away. The Turks, however, are slow in their excitement, and the reaction against any unpopular measure frequently does not manifest itself until some time after. This is not much in accordance with a very excellent proverb of their own—namely, "Wet a handkerchief in thy wrath, and, as soon as it is dry, forgive and forget."

During the Easter festivities, a scene far more offensive to the mind of the English Christian than that which we have just described at Constantinople, took place in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, at Jerusalem. At the ceremony of distributing what is called the "holy fire," a furious brawl took place within the walls of the sacred edifice—a brawl not between Christians and Mohammedans, but between Greek Christians on the one side, and Armenian Christians on the other; and in which, as is frequently the case, the Moslem authorities were compelled to interfere to prevent bloodshed. About 5,000 pilgrims, half Greek and half Armenian, had this year assembled at the church on the evening preceding Easter Sunday, to witness the "miracle," or, to speak plainly, the gross imposition of distributing the miraculous fire, which is said to issue from the spot where the body of the Saviour was laid.

As usual, a Turkish pasha and his troops were also present for the preservation of order. While waiting for the appearance of the bishops who performed the assumed miracle, the people passed their time in crowding, shouting, and dancing, in an extravagantly excited manner. On the appearance of the metropolitan Greek bishop and the Armenian patriarch in the church, the Turkish soldiers (according to custom) were marched out of it, and the people set up one wild and incessant shout, until the lighted torch was passed out of the tomb on each side. Then followed a fierce struggle, as every one strove to light a candle at the sacred flames. Blows from sticks succeeded; many persons were much hurt; and the church became an arena of rage, cries, curses, and confusion. The pasha, who had been seated in an upper gallery, then interfered, and, by the free use of the canes of his police officers, the people were prevented from killing each other.

Scarcely had the pasha returned to his seat, when the fighting recommenced. The infuriated zealots had by this time obtained a supply of sticks and stones, which were thrown into the body of the church, from a window communicating with the Greek convent; and a savage conflict ensued. Both parties had evidently prepared for the fight, for they also brought out sticks and stones from behind columns and corners of the church, where they had previously concealed them. The pasha then called in the soldiers; and it was not until many of these, the colonel, the pasha himself, and his secretary, had been more or less wounded or bruised, that they succeeded in separating the combatants. Twenty-five Armenians, and about as many Greeks, were seriously wounded; and many more, on each side, were bruised or otherwise injured. After leaving the church, they had another fight on their way home; and it was only the faintness resulting from many hours of fasting, that at length induced them to direct their steps quietly to their own dwellings. Considerable injury had been done within the church. Many valuable pictures had been torn or destroyed by the stones or other missiles thrown about the place; while other ecclesiastical ornaments in gold, silver, and brass, shared the same fate. Christianity in Jerusalem must be in a degraded state, when its priesthood permit and, for the



sake of gain, encourage such scenes as these. Is it surprising that the sober Moslem despised both the men and the religion they advocated? When we talk of our fellow Christians in Turkey, we must remember that they are not the Christians of Great Britain; and that, perhaps, they have little in common with them except the name. This reflection may restrain that exuberant zeal which so often fires at the idea that the Moslem should not only rule, but despise the Christian.

We give, in the following letter from Jerusalem, a fuller and more pictorial account of this strange scene of excitement and desecration:—"The ceremony of distributing the 'sacred fire,' which always takes place annually in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, has this year given rise to a deplorable conflict between the Greeks and the Armenians. It was fixed to come off yesterday; and by mid-day, a vast number of Greeks and Armenians had collected in front of the church, waiting for the doors to be opened. A body of Turkish soldiers were drawn up in front of the edifice, and others were stationed at the different entrances, to preserve order. When the doors were opened, the people poured into the vast building with great tumult, and then an extraordinary spectacle presented itself—women with children in their arms collected in the side chapels, and began chattering loudly; groups of boys romped and laughed; a band of wild-looking peasants hurried to and fro, uttering savage yells; Arab women enveloped in their veils, extended themselves at full length in recesses here and there, decking themselves with jewelry; some Mussulman beggars impudently demanded charity in the name of Christ and of the Virgin; and wealthy Mussulmans who had strolled in from curiosity, looked at the scene with contempt; while a number of Roman catholic women collected in a side chapel, and protestants thundered at the doors of the vestry, to obtain admission to the galleries for their wives and daughters. After this scene had lasted for some time, a number of mischievous boys began dancing round the tomb of the Saviour, and in this they were soon joined by men of the Greek and Armenian persuasions. The dancers, many of whom carried yellow candles, soon began to indulge in buffoonery, and even in indecent gestures; and then shouts of laughter arose, accompanied by loud cries

and clapping of hands. Presently, the pasha, governor of the city, arrived with a splendid suite, and took his place on an estrade supplied with cushions in the principal gallery. A number of Turkish soldiers who attended him, were then stationed, armed with their muskets, beneath the grand dome, but they made no attempt to check the profanation which was going on at the tomb. And now the ringing of a bell indicated that the clergy were robing in the vestry, and that the procession was about to set forth. Presently, out came the procession, headed by banners of saints and those of the Panagia. No sooner did the people see the banners, than they rushed to them, and it was not without a violent struggle that the bearers prevented them from being wrested from their hands. The Turkish soldiers, by making a liberal use of the butt-ends of their muskets, succeeded in forming a passage through the crowd, and the procession swept on—the clergy chanting psalms, and the 'Bishop of Fire,' who spread benedictions around, being preceded by two acolytes, walking backwards and swinging incense. The procession went thrice round the edifice, and the Greek archbishop of Petra, and the Armenian patriarch, entered the Chapel of the Angel to prepare the sacred fire. The doors were closed on them, and a silken cord passed through the staples, was held at one end by a Greek, and at the other by an Armenian. The people now pressed in tumult towards the chapel, each person anxious to be one of the first to light his wax candles at the sacred fire, which was to be presented through two holes in the doors. The shouts and cries became truly deafening, and the crowd was so compact, that a public mountebank actually ran along the people's heads and shoulders. The confusion was increased by the Turkish soldiers having been withdrawn to a distance; it being contrary to all rule for them to witness the first appearance of the fire. At length two streams of light gleamed from the holes in the doors, and in the midst of tremendous excitement, the crowd lighted their candles, passing the light one to another. In this way, in an incredibly short time, lights spread in all directions, and ascended to the galleries. But before long, in the body of the church, a tremendous hubbub arose, accompanied by savage cries. It soon turned out that a conflict had arisen between the



Greeks and Armenians, and that the two parties had come to blows. And then a frightful scene presented itself—men were knocked down and savagely beaten and trampled on; shoes and other missiles were thrown at each other's heads; the Greeks, rushing into the vestry, armed themselves with the staves of the sacred banners and made arms of them; the woodwork of the church was torn down and used as weapons; an altar was demolished, and the fragments were hurled in all directions; and the people in the galleries tore down the lamps and flung them with rage on the combatants below. The pasha and his men rushed into the midst of the *mêlée*, and attempted to restore order; but they were pelted and struck, and the pasha would probably have been seriously injured if he had not been dragged away by some Europeans. His soldiers, however, by great exertions, succeeded, after awhile, in expelling a portion of the infuriated crowd from the sacred edifice. The two parties then turned their rage against the thousands of lamps which decorated the *façade* of the church—the Greeks smashing those of the Armenians, the Armenians those of the Greeks. The Turks at length succeeded in completely clearing the church, though the Greeks in their rage forc up the planks of the galleries, and flung them at them with all their force. When once the people were got out of the church, they were easily dispersed. It was ascertained, on investigation, that no one was killed; but that about thirty-five Greeks, and about the same number of Armenians, were more or less injured—some having arms or legs broken; others eyes scooped out; others wounds from poniards or knives, others dreadful bruises. One poor fellow was trampled on, and had his hair and beard set on fire by one of the wax candles which his assailant carried. Three or four Turkish soldiers, and an officer, were also a good deal injured." The letter adds, that the next day much excitement prevailed in the city, and that an Armenian woman was stabbed behind by a stiletto, as she was going to the Holy Sepulchre; but that the local authorities had taken every precaution for the preservation of order. The Greeks, it is stated, had spread a report that the disgraceful conflict arose in consequence of the Armenians having, in execution of a prearranged plan, wantonly attacked them; but this was not credited.

In the second chapter of this volume (p. 30), we left the Turkish army under Omar Pasha in Mingrelia, in winter quarters, waiting anxiously for a return of spring, that they might resume active operations. It will be remembered that, after much opposition and delay, Omar Pasha had been permitted to take a Turkish army into the Russian territory in Asia, that he might be instrumental in relieving Kars. The campaign was altogether too late, and, beyond the victory of the Ingour, nothing of any importance could be done.

Mr. Laurence Oliphant, who accompanied the Turkish army in this expedition, gives some interesting particulars concerning it. He says—"I was fortunate enough to be at Trebizond when the intelligence arrived of the fall of Sebastopol. Since the days of the Byzantine empire this usually quiet town had never been in such a state of commotion. Sedate Turks panted breathless at the corners of the streets, with their hands pressed upon their hearts to stop the too tumultuous throb, and ejaculated 'Mashallah!' Timid Greeks struck down back alleys, afraid of exciting the wrath of the conquerors; and as they passed under our windows, we exasperated them by giving vent to our feelings of triumph. The cannon of the old castle thundered forth the news to distant villages; the ships in the harbour were dressed out in their gayest flags; and as evening closed in, lights began to twinkle in every balcony, and the hissing of the rockets and explosion of small-arms effectually banished sleep from the eyes of those who were disloyal enough to court it. Then revolvers and double-barrelled guns were in immense request, and a singular scene was presented in the courtyard of a hospitable merchant with whom I had been dining. Persians, Albanians, Turks, officers in the British navy, and civilians both English and French, in their different costumes, were collected under the glare of a thousand lamps, blazing away small-arms, and letting off rockets with a gusto which somewhat astonished the inhabitants of a neighbouring mansion, where the closed windows betokened that its owner was a Greek. And then with a mighty torch we paraded the streets, accompanying the national anthems, which we lustily shouted on our march, with cheers and pistol-shots. And having testified the exuberance of our joy to our hearts' content, and sufficiently astonished the



Turks and frightened the Greeks, we relapsed into a softer mood, and found, ere we finished the evening, that the fairer portion of Trebizond society was not behind-hand in their manifestations of loyalty."

During the early part of the campaign the weather had been beautiful, but on the approach of winter the cold became severe; provisions could scarcely be obtained, and the constant rains converted the country into a dreary swamp, intersected with swollen and rapidly flowing rivers. "The incessant rains," said Mr. Oliphant, "reduced our camp to a deplorable state. The level plain upon which it was pitched was absolutely under water, and no amount of trenching was sufficient to prevent the floors of the tents from being flooded. Our next neighbour, Omar Bey (Colonel Ballard's aide-de-camp), called me to witness a forcible illustration of our semi-drowned condition. He had made prize of a duck, in the course of a foraging expedition, which he had tethered inside his tent. It had got away from its string, and was actually swimming by the bedside of its owner, gobbling up bits of floating biscuit. The condition of the unfortunate soldiers, under these circumstances, may easily be conceived. Crowded into their small tents, they lay literally packed in mud. My own bed was upon the ground, or rather in the water; and for the last two nights I had been suffering from fever and ague. To add to our miseries, we were running short of provisions. Our horses, which had been exposed to the rain without the slightest shelter, began to look careworn and miserable; nor was the appearance of the men more cheering."

It was under these circumstances that, on the 8th of December, Omar Pasha issued orders to his army to retreat, which, notwithstanding their conviction that no other course remained open, the soldiers obeyed with reluctance. During the retreat, Russian and Georgian troops occasionally hovered upon their rear, and sometimes little skirmishes took place. Traps were laid for the Cossacks, by hiding the Turkish rifles in the bushes; but the former gentry showed themselves as shy as grouse in October, and kept without the range of shot. As the Turks retired, they left many of their wretched horses lying dead on the roadside; and numbers of the men were so exhausted, that they could scarcely crawl along. Omar Pasha discovered that the

country people were assisting the enemy as far as lay in their power, and he seemed occasionally dispirited at the unfortunate issue of the campaign.

One of the most remarkable leaders in Omar Pasha's army was Skender Pasha, a gallant old Polish soldier, who bore on his person evidences of the many fields on which he had fought. He had received, at different times, no less than eighteen serious wounds, without counting the loss of some fingers; and others of a trivial nature. On his head was a deep hole, the result of a wound such as few men could have received and lived. That part of his head the old soldier kept shaved; and he would not unfrequently push back his fez, as if in an inadvertent manner, that he might show this honourable scar. On this occasion he was desirous of harassing the enemy by a cavalry expedition upon a principle of his own. He proposed that each man should carry seven days' provisions; that there should be no tents; that no prisoners should be taken; and that his own wounded should be deserted, and left where they fell. This desperate plan did not receive the sanction of his superiors; but he was directed to dislodge a mixed force of Russians and native militia.

Skender and his troops started on the morning of the 23rd of December, and found four battalions of the enemy, with a few small mountain guns, posted in a neighbouring village. As the wooded ground prevented cavalry operations, he sent to the camp for reinforcements of infantry. On the arrival of these, the enemy, after a brief exchange of distant and harmless firing, prepared to abandon his position. Skender then gave the command for a bayonet charge, dashed forward alone into the very midst of the Russians, and cut his way out again, unharmed, to rejoin his troops. They had been differently occupied. While advancing, the poor half-starved fellows encountered a flock of geese, and, forgetful of the enemy, they lost all order in pursuit of the feathered booty. It was not until the astonished Skender Pasha rode amongst them, vociferating curses, and dealing out blows with no niggard hand, that they returned to their ranks. Once again the levelled bayonets advanced to the charge, the more fortunate of the soldiers having each a goose struggling under his arm, or dangling lifeless from his belt. On reaching the village a number of sheep were



found grazing behind the houses, and, with the unfailing instinct of half-filled stomachs, the volley of musketry that should have been reserved for the foe, dealt destruction among the hapless muttons. This time blows and curses were of no avail, and the Turks would not risk losing their prize. The geese, they reasoned, could be carried, and the slaughtered sheep must not be left. Thanks, therefore, to the hunger of the soldiers, the enemy made good his retreat, and Skender Pasha appeased his angry disappointment by giving up the village to plunder, and leaving it in flames. The sheep that escaped the volley were driven to the camp, and the captors tasted meat for the first time for a fortnight.

About the same date a dashing skirmish took place at Sugdidi. At this place a garrison of 180 invalided Turkish soldiers had been left. Prince Gregoire, a native chieftain in the Russian interest, having collected about 500 Georgian and Imeritian militia, surrounded the town, and leading a body of armed men into it at night, surprised the Turks, of whom three or four were killed, and thirty-two taken prisoners in their beds. The rest, when thoroughly aroused, assembled hastily, formed and charged their assailants in the narrow streets with such determination, that they killed sixty of them, and put the rest to flight. After this they barricaded themselves in a stately building in the town, and forwarded a messenger to Omar Pasha for relief. Prince Gregoire then turned his arms against a Mingrelian bey who had sided with the Turks, and drove him to fortify himself and his retainers in a romantic-looking fortress. He also applied for assistance, and Skender Pasha was sent to the relief of both parties. Having obtained information of the whereabouts of the enemy, that dashing soldier went after them with a regiment of cavalry and a battalion of rifles. The latter he placed in ambush, and then advanced with his cavalry upon the foe. Prince Gregoire, seeing the small force opposed to him, immediately charged it. This was exactly what Skender desired, and his cavalry retreated until the enemy was fairly in the trap, when the hidden riflemen received an order to fire, and a storm of bullets emptied a hundred saddles on the spot. A panic seized the rest of the enemy, and they fled with precipitation.

This was the last active military opera-

tion of the year; and the Turkish troops went into winter-quarters at Choloni. At first, the troops suffered great misery from the incessant rains; but when the weather changed, huts began to take the place of tents, and some degree of comfort was obtained. The face of the country was quite changed by the axes of the Turks, and the dense forest which clothed it nearly disappeared from the neighbourhood of the camp. A correspondent from that locality, writing early in January, says—"There has been a distribution of honours and rewards to the troops engaged on the Ingour—a distribution which has afforded an amusing illustration of the contrast between Western and Oriental notions. The officers who commanded in the action were ordered to send in lists of such of their subordinates as they deemed worthy of the Medjidie. Lieutenant-colonel Ballard satisfied himself by a list of thirteen names. Osman Pasha, who had about the same number of killed and wounded, and whose force occupied a position scarcely of equal importance, sent in 230! The requisition of each officer was strictly complied with. Under Colonel Ballard, the men of real merit alone were decorated. Under Osman Pasha, every officer who either was, or ought to have been engaged—those who ran away, those who remained at their post—all received the order of merit. Among the number were numerous pipe-bearers to the principal officers; but, under the Turkish system, rewards to these men are more ludicrous in seeming than in reality. An officer of any rank, when his troops are going into action, has his carpet spread upon the ground they are about to leave, dismounts from his horse, squats down, calls for his pipe, wishes his men God speed, and endeavours, more or less successfully, to deaden terror by the soothing influence of tobacco. The *ehibouque-jec*, compelled by respect to stand behind his master, is, of course, far more exposed to danger than he; and servants of this class who will do their duty within sound of fire-arms, and will constantly be ready with the solace so much needed by their employers, are not only highly valued, but deserve decoration at least as much as their employers. It is, however, unfortunate that an order, founded with good intentions, should be bestowed so indiscriminately as to lose all value, whether in the eyes of officers or of men. The cost of



the decoration, given alike to the brave man and to the coward, is a fruitless expenditure of money that cannot be too strongly condemned. Together with the orders, some jewelled swords were sent to the officers of Osman Pasha; and of these swords, one has fallen to the lot of a colonel who sought refuge in a hospital during the whole battle of the Ingour, and whom the surgeons vainly attempted to dislodge. Accustomed to the bravery of every class of our own troops, English readers will scarcely comprehend or credit the cowardice of Turkish officers. Some of those under the orders of Colonel Ballard sheltered themselves in a house during the action, and, when directed to join their men, objected, saying, that there was no cover, and that they would be exposed to fire on their advance. It is reported that Colonel Ballard promised these men the cover they required, and that he actually afforded

it, in a very extraordinary manner, by taking them one by one behind him upon his horse, and thus conveying them to their posts of duty."

As the spring approached, the Turkish army changed its position, and was concentrated between Redoubt-Kaleh and Khorga, a village a few miles inland, but accessible by the river Chopi. On the 7th of March, news of the armistice arrived, and a truce with the enemy was the result. This had become necessary to the Turks, on account of the Georgian irregulars attacking the convoys which brought them supplies up the river. On the conclusion of the peace, the whole Turkish army was withdrawn from Mingrelia; and thus terminated a campaign which might have led to brilliant results, if it had not been commenced too late, and if Omar Pasha's hands had not been tied by the over-caution of the French and English generals.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

ADDRESS OF THE EMPEROR ALEXANDER TO THE RUSSIAN MILITIA ON HIS DISBANDING THEM; EVENTS IN THE CRIMEA; A TOUR INTO THE INTERIOR; APPEARANCE OF THE NORTHERN FORTS OF SEBASTOPOL; THE HORSE DIFFICULTY; EMIGRATION OF THE TARTARS; GRADUAL ABANDONMENT OF THE CRIMEA BY THE ALLIES; DEPARTURE OF SIR COLIN CAMPBELL, AND OF GENERAL DELLA MARMORA; OBSERVANCE OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTHDAY OF THE QUEEN, AND DISTRIBUTION OF FRENCH WAR MEDALS AMONG THE ENGLISH TROOPS.

THE results of peace in Europe followed each other rapidly; a calm succeeded to the war-storm; the winds were hushed, and the waves were still, and the evidences and traces of the recent terrible conflict were rapidly disappearing. Most of the statesmen in Europe—probably all of them—viewed this circumstance with satisfaction. To one crowned head (the Emperor of Russia), the termination of war doubtless brought a double peace; for it gave peace of mind to him, as well as tranquillity to his people. On his accession he proclaimed that he should follow the proud traditional policy of his house; but though he deemed it wise to bear these words upon his lips, we believe he had a different intent in his heart. The age of conquest had passed away, as far as Europe was concerned; and of this even the iron-handed, iron-hearted

Nicholas was aware before he went to his sudden grave, death-struck with repeated losses and mortifications. His son felt that to stand up in mad opposition to the spirit of modern civilisation and the inevitable course of events, was but to court destruction. Wise in his generation, he waited for the hour when he could withdraw from the contest without indignity, and then did so. Towards the end of April, Alexander issued the following imperial order, disbanding the Russian militia:—

Militiamen of the Empire,—In his manifesto of the 29th of January, 1855, our late father of glorious memory called upon you to reinforce our brave armies for the defence of the native soil, and the hearts of his children responded to that appeal of the father.

All Russia rose, animated by sentiments

of love and of unbounded devotion, and everywhere his numerous cohorts took up arms for their faith, their sovereign, and their country.

Militia of the Empire,—It is you who formed those valiant cohorts. You left your homes and your families to share the dangers and privations of troops hardened to battle; like them, you gave the example of patience, of unshaken firmness, of absolute submission, ready to sacrifice everything for us and for Russia, which is so dear to us all.

Many have sealed their devotion with their blood. They found a glorious death in the ranks of the brave defenders of Sebastopol. You have proved to the world how powerful a spirit animates the Russian people.

The war is now terminated, and we may say to you, while thanking you in the name of the country for your faithful services, "Go in peace, militiamen; children of Russia, return to your homes, resume your occupations and daily labours, and continue to give to the classes in the midst of which you return, the example of order and submission by which you constantly distinguished yourselves in the ranks of the active militia of the empire."

As a token of your signal services we grant to all of you, from the general to the private, the right of wearing, in your retirement, the distinguishing sign of the militia, the cross granted by us this day by special regulation.

Let this cross be the mark of the zeal you displayed for the public welfare in the extraordinary circumstances of the war which has just terminated. ALEXANDER.

We must return, for a brief space, to the Crimea. Early in April, a considerable portion of the Sardinian army embarked at Balaklava and sailed for Genoa. Previous to their departure, the following order of the day, expressive of the Sardinian view of the peace, was addressed by General della Marmora to his troops:—

Head-quarters, Kadikoi, April 6th.

Soldiers,—The peace signed at Paris on the 30th of March last puts an end to the hopes each of us entertained for the glory of our arms. This feeling is more keenly felt by those who know the important task which was reserved to us had hostilities continued. But, the object for which the sword was drawn having been attained, we

ought not to desire the prolongation of the calamities which are inseparable from war. Let us console ourselves with the thought that what we have done, and what we were ready to do, is appreciated by our generous allies, and will not be lost to the future of our country.

I owe you praises and thanks for your constant self-denial, for your exemplary discipline, for your ingenious activity, and for your bravery; but you will hear them with greater pleasure from the mouth of our beloved monarch, whom we hope shortly to behold again.

Whatever may be the post in which the sovereign will may place me, I shall never forget how, on the 16th of August, after having contributed in driving back the formidable attacks of the enemy, you all eagerly desired to follow the flag which crossed the Tchernaya. I shall always remember with what ardour, on the 8th of September, each of you was desirous of taking part in the assault, one of the most murderous recorded in history.

And should fate hereafter lead us to other battle-fields, I shall esteem myself happy to be with you, my present comrades in this memorable war of the Crimea.

The Commander-in-Chief,

DELLA MARMORA.

The Sardinians certainly deserved the praise bestowed upon them; and little doubt can be entertained that the intimate and friendly relations which had grown up between them and the English in the Crimea would exercise a material influence, for years to come, over the feelings of both countries.

The French, also, were rapidly leaving the Crimea, and their officers and soldiers exhibited a very natural anxiety to return to their own country. The English exhibited their usual solidity, and appeared more contented with their position. The English officers amused themselves by making tours into the interior, where the question was frequently put to them—"Why don't the French come up here; why is it only the English who visit us?" The French, however, had a very natural indisposition to encounter rough fare and extravagant imposition. The following letter (dated April 18th), from an officer in one of the highland regiments, descriptive of one of these tours, will be read with interest:—

"I have just returned from a most plea-



sant and interesting excursion to Baktchi-Serai and Simpheropol. Since the peace, officers have been granted permission and passes to visit the interior. I started with a party last Saturday, and returned on Monday night. We rode the first day some twenty-two miles to Baktchi-Serai. We went up to the Mackenzie-farm road; visited the position, Russian defences, and camps. The position is naturally a most formidable one, but its defence has not been much contributed to by Russian art. The Russians have done little more than erect 'look-outs' on the most commanding points, and place a few heavy guns pointing in the direction of the most easy approaches. Their troops are encamped in mud hovels, much of the same pattern as those of the Sardinians. I entered several of them, and found them clean and comfortable. Before the door of each hut is a porch, in which the inmates keep their arms. From the porch there is a descent of some two or three feet by steps to the floor of the hut. Along the floor a foot-path runs from the door to a fireplace; opposite and on both sides of the path a wattle guard bed slopes gradually up to the side-walls of the hut. Each hut contains about ten or twelve men. The Russian soldiers are fine, big, stout men. They have a force of some 10,000 men at Mackenzie. From the Mackenzie plateau we descended into the valley of the Belbek, and found ourselves in the midst of very peculiar scenery—unlike any scenery I ever remember before having witnessed. It was a strange jumble of sea cliffs, precipices, narrow ravines, and immense, isolated, flat-topped masses of rock standing out in the plain, while the horizon was bounded by plateaus rising one over the other in regular steps. On the Belbek we found another camp, composed chiefly of militia—a very ruffraff looking lot; and further on we came to another camp on the Katcha; each camp, I should think, contained some 10,000 men. None of their camps are fortified. We arrived at Baktchi-Serai at about half-past four P.M. We found the inns and houses all very full, and after some trouble and much gesticulation, succeeded in getting one room for the whole four of us. Having disposed of our baggage and had our horses fed, we started on foot to visit the ruins of Dschufut Kaleh, the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and a certain monastery.

"A Russian officer who spoke French

was our guide. He was a particularly agreeable person, and appeared to be well up, if not in the English language, at least in English literature; for he appeared to have read every book printed in England, from Dickens and Thackeray to Milton, Blackstone, and Jeremy Bentham, all of which, he told me, were translated into Russian. Dschufut Kaleh is a most extraordinary old place, now nearly in ruins, perched upon one of those isolated, flat-topped masses of rock I have before mentioned. It is inhabited by an ancient sect of the Jews, who call themselves Crim Jews, and who say their forefathers left Jerusalem and emigrated hither before the birth of Christ. The Jewish rabbi lives here, and we paid our respects to him. I found he spoke German, and we had a long talk. He showed me a parchment copy of the Bible, either 600 or 1,600 years old—I could not clearly make out which. However, as I cannot understand Hebrew, and was therefore not able to read it, it was lost upon me. The Valley of Jehoshaphat is the Jewish burial-ground, and the monastery is a Greek one, and cut out of the rock. Coming from the Valley of Jehoshaphat, this monastery, clinging to the perpendicular face of the rock, has a strange effect. We slept at Baktchi-Serai, having, however, first visited the ancient palace of the khans, which is now converted into a military hospital. At dinner I met a German from Odessa, who spoke Russian. The shopkeepers and innkeepers (excepting the Jews) speak nothing but Russian and Tartar. Our Odessa friend was of great service to us as an interpreter. Through him we were able to enter into an arrangement with a Tartar coachman that he should convey our party in his carriage-and-four to Simpheropol and back for five pounds. This sum is about twice, if not three times, the proper fare; but everybody told us that everything, owing to the war, and transport in particular, was exorbitantly dear. Accordingly, about ten A.M., while at breakfast, we were informed that Captain Baroff's carriage stopped the way. Baroff is the Russian translation of my name. We were soon in our places, and off we rattled, little thinking of the terrible jolting in store for us. Our coachman, as I said, was a Tartar. His vehicle resembled, or was rather a cross between an omnibus and a carrier's cart; certainly not a spring-van. It had no doors, but a window at each side,



through which passengers got in and out. Two bundles of hay were placed in it, and on the hay we spread our cloaks and sat down, two facing the horses and two of us with our backs towards them. The horses were all four abreast. In this machine we rattled along to Simpheropol, our Jehu gesticulating, shouting, and driving all other travellers off the road to make way for us, excepting whenever he came near any rattle-trap jingling a little bell; in the presence of these his manner was more subdued, as the bell indicates an official personage, and tingles to warn people out of the way. A capital post-road has been marked out between Simpheropol and Mackenzie, which extends, I am told, as far as Perekop and even Odessa. However, it is in a very unfinished state, and only here and there macadamised. Simpheropol is in communication with Sebastopol and Moscow, by means of electric telegraph. These improvements are all fruits of the war. I was told by my Odessa friend that some weeks ago the electric telegraph-posts for a mile and a-half were all carried away in one night, and the wire cut up into little bits. Rewards have been offered, and everything done to discover the perpetrators of this piece of business, but as yet have been ineffectual. It is supposed that this was done by emissaries in the pay of the allies, but for what object I cannot conceive, as we were already negotiating about peace at that time. The most wonderful part of the business is, where the poles could have been packed away, as they are some 20 ft. long, and heavy in proportion, and the plain is wide, barren, and far from the sea. We crossed the Alma near Almatschik. Here we found another large camp, containing, I should think, some 15,000 men, also unentrenched. We passed long trains of carts carrying forage and provisions all along the road. The amount of transport a large army requires is prodigious. In fact, the bustle and activity along the whole road made our journey very cheerful. A great number of sick men were also being transported to Simpheropol in carts. About half-way to Simpheropol our Jehu halted before a roadside inn. A very pretty hostess came to the door, and tempted us to alight. She was dressed in the national costume—a light blue silk bodice, with shoulder straps, much like some of the Swiss costumes. She doled us out three tumblersful of tea, and asked the very modest price of three

frances. She was so very charming, that it was impossible to refuse her; besides which, this little incident furnished our minds with much mental food to digest for the rest of the way, to calculate how much a pound of tea would cost.

"We arrived at Simpheropol at about half-past one P.M. This is a European town. The houses are nearly all taken up as hospitals, and troops are quartered upon all the inhabitants. The Russian imperial guard form the garrison. They are very fine animals, zoologically considered; but we did not see them to the greatest advantage, as they all had on the long gray coat, which, made of the very coarse cloth the privates wear, does not look smart. We visited the hospitals, and were shown over them by the Sisters of Charity, many of whom wore the Sebastopol medal. They appear to be very kind and attentive to their patients, and the hospitals are in capital order. I could not discover the number of sick, but they must be many thousands. In the afternoon we took a stroll on the fashionable promenade—a sort of Kensington-gardens. A band was playing, and the Simpheropol *beau monde* was sunning itself. Some Russian officers had already fraternised with us, and at this promenade we were introduced to their lady friends, and by their lady friends asked out to tea! The ladies spoke French and German; and to us, who have scarcely seen any for two years, they appeared most charming and delightful. After tea we went to a concert, and after the concert some Russian officers, who had fought against us at Alma, Balaklava, and during the siege, insisted upon entertaining us at a champagne supper, over which we fought our battles over again, and fraternised in a most fraternal manner. The comparing our different accounts of the incidents of the campaign was most interesting; but it would take me some three sheets more to describe. We slept at Simpheropol, and next morning returned in our four-in-hand to Baktchi-Serai. Here we remounted our horses, and reached Kamara about nine P.M."

Communication between the north and south side of Sebastopol became frequent; and ferry-boats conveyed passengers across the harbour at sixpence a-head. "I have," said Mr. Russell, "been over the north forts, and have carefully examined, as far as a civilian can, the defences of the place; and it must be confessed that they are of a



most formidable character. Fort Constantine bears very few marks of the bombardment and cannonade of the 17th of October, 1854. The crown of the arch of one embrasure has been injured, and is supported by wood, and the stone-work is pitted here and there with shot; but the pits have been neatly filled in and plastered over. The earth forts are scarcely touched. Fort Catherine is uninjured; but St. Michael's, which is badly built, has suffered from the French mortar fire since we got into the town. The citadel is covered on all sides by prodigious earthworks, and the hill-sides are furrowed up by lines of batteries bearing on every landing-place and every approach. The aspect of the harbour is very desolate; the wrecks of the ships and the stumps of masts peering above the waters, give it an aspect of solitude which the boats flitting about cannot destroy. Here is the grave of the Russian Black Sea fleet. \* \* \* The Russians do not willingly permit any approach to the vessels on the north side, and shouted at us lustily as we were engaged in examining the timbers. Although the teredo has not yet attacked the wood, it is covered with barnacles and slime; and, from what we hear of the ships, it is not likely they will ever be raised as men-of-war again. The famous *Twelve Apostles*, the *Three Godheads*, the *Tchesme*, the *Wratislaw*, and the *Empress Maria* are said to have been unseaworthy before they were sunk; and the only ship for which the Russians express any sorrow is the *Grand-duke Constantine* (120), the finest ship in their navy. She seems quite content with her berth at the bottom, and it will be some time before a timber of her floats again."

Much may be learned from the plain-speaking of our foes. Mr. Russell observed—"Next to the apathy which astonishes the Russians so much, and to which they attribute the salvation of Sebastopol after the 20th of September, 1854, and the safety of their army after the 8th of September, 1855, they are struck with the timidity of our first approaches. Had our batteries been opened at 600 yards, instead of 1,200 and 1,400 yards, on the 17th of October, they declare the place could not have held out, as the slaughter in the streets, then filled with inhabitants, would have been too terrible, and the loss of life in the line of batteries, then hastily and slightly built, would have been beyond the endurance of the garrison. It was with the greatest

difficulty they could keep the men to the guns on the 17th and 18th of October; but as soon as the allied fire slackened, finding that no assault was made, they plucked up heart and worked away at the defences with such energy, that they trebled their strength, and, at the same time, secured shelter for themselves in the wonderful bomb-proofs; traces of which still remain inside their works. Whether the batteries could have approached closer to the place in the first instance I cannot say; but it does seem preposterous that we should have opened fire with seventy-two pieces of artillery, about thirty of which were 24-pounders, and 500 rounds a gun, against such a place as Sebastopol, from a distance twice as great as that which is generally selected for making the first parallel in the siege of an ordinary fortress. If the ground permitted no other course, one would think that the attack on those points should have been abandoned, and more favourable ground selected."

The Russians admitted that they buried, in and about Sebastopol, 86,000 men, who were killed or died of wounds or sickness, and that 100,000 more perished in the Crimea, who never smelt powder or saw a shot fired. The number invalided from wounds and disease was enormous; and it was computed that in the Crimea, and the provinces abutting upon it, the Russian army cannot have had less than a quarter of a million of soldiers put *hors de combat*. The Russians also told the English officers that they had accurate information of every movement in our camp, day by day; that they knew the condition of the English army during the winter of 1854-'5, but that they could not attack owing to the state of the ground; and that they were accurately informed of the armament of our trenches, but that on one occasion we opened the bombardment without their being forewarned of it. Large bodies of the Russian soldiers were frequently leaving their encampments and marching towards Perekop. They were described as stoutly-built men, but as being haggard, dull, leaden-eyed, and miserable-looking.

Some Russian officers informed the English ones, that on one occasion they were waiting for several hours in expectation of seeing a terrible explosion in Balaklava harbour. A vagabond Greek had volunteered to go into the town and set fire to some hay on the north side; and they were in hopes, as the wind was high, that the flames would



catch the powder-ships, with the number and position of which they were perfectly acquainted. The Greek, however, returned after a time, and said that he could not succeed in firing the hay, because it was damp; and our countrymen were thus saved from a terrible catastrophe.

The impression left on the minds of those officers who made expeditions to Simpheropol and other places in the interior of the Crimea, was, that the resources of Russia, in men, were reduced to a very low ebb indeed, in consequence of the war, and that she would have been unable to maintain an army in the Crimea, if the allies had made an aggressive movement with all their forces from Theodosia or Eupatoria. The country was deserted, the fields uncultivated, and the necessaries of life fetched almost famine prices. At some places the English tourists were unable to procure barley or corn for their horses for any consideration. At others, a mouthful of hay for a horse cost half a rouble, an egg fivepence, and a fowl a small fortune.

A considerable amount of discontent prevailed throughout the British army, in consequence of the regulations issued with respect to the horses of officers on the approaching abandonment of the Crimea. The number of horses permitted to be taken home was very limited, on account of the means of transport being limited also. It was even considered doubtful whether the regulation allowance could be granted to those entitled to it. Certain reductions in rank and pay were also put in force, with a rapidity which the officers regarded as oppressive and ungenerous. Scarcely was the intelligence of peace known, before the private soldiers were deprived of the extra sixpence a-day allowed then when on active service. There was no delay granted, not even to the end of the week. Colonels also, who had been acting as brigadiers, were at once sent back to their regiments. These things excited a dissatisfaction in the army amounting to a feeling of bitter resentment against the government. Mr. Russell, in speaking of this matter, observed—"A number of most deserving non-commissioned officers—sergeants-major, troop-sergeants, &c.—have received commissions as cornets in the land transport corps; they have associated with commissioned officers, and have been put to expense in preparing for their rank. These men are to be 'degraded' to the ranks.

But that is not all. The vacancies caused by their promotion were filled up by the senior sergeants, who became sergeants-major and troop-sergeants, &c.; and these men are pushed back to the rank they formerly held, and thus deprived of their just promotion. Individual cases of this kind, of which I am aware, are really painful in their details. As to the horse question, it is difficult to say whether it is most irritating to the army or injurious to the public interests. We shall absolutely leave behind us many thousand mules and horses for the use of the Russians. Why, in heaven's name, not rather give them to our old allies, the Turks, most of whose country horses in Bulgaria and the shores of Asia Minor we have bought up, so that the inhabitants are seriously inconvenienced for want of them? The Russians already know our difficulties; they laughingly tell us that they are going to mount a few regiments of Cossacks on our horses at ten shillings a-head, and say they will give a pound for a good hunter. No doubt these animals will be paraded all over Russia as trophies, and will be exhibited as signal evidences of the straits to which the British army was reduced, so that it was obliged to leave its horses behind it."

On the 30th of April, a horse-fair was held, by appointment with the Russians, to enable the English officers to get rid of their spare animals. It took place at Mackenzie's farm, but turned out an utter failure. Hundreds of English, and a large number of Russian officers were on the ground, but the latter came rather to look than to buy. With the exception of a sum of forty pounds, which was given for a fine English mare, the largest offers of the Russians ranged from four pounds to six. As to mules and bāt animals, they were sold for five and ten shillings a-piece; indeed, three of the former were disposed of for seven-and-sixpence. Some English officers were much annoyed in consequence of the offers which were made to them: in one case, where the sum of fifty pounds was demanded, five pounds only were tendered. The Russians said that they never paid more than a hundred roubles for their best chargers, and that they only required English stallions and mares for breeding. Numbers of maimed, mangy, or otherwise injured mules were sent into the grassy valley of Baidar, and turned loose to live or die, as the case might be. Not a few of these poor creatures, however,



died upon the way. Others were caught by the French or the Tartars, and were put to use by the canteen men. In the French camp, the horses deemed unfit for service were slaughtered, and the flesh of the healthy animals eaten. Colonel M'Murdo was sent to Trebizond, and fortunately he found a good horse-market near that city, at which he received very fair prices for all the animals he could sell; for some, indeed, he realised as much as they cost.

The day following the horse-fair, a pitiable sight was to be seen in the Crimea. The poor Tartars, dreading the severity of the Russians after the departure of the allies, in consequence of the sympathy they had shown towards the latter, commenced a wholesale emigration. Nearly the whole Tartar population of the valleys outside the Russian lines, poured in mournful procession into Balaklava, with their carts and little stock of household furniture. From there they were about to take ship for the Dobrudscha, or else to settle at Rustchuk or Kostendje. Many of the women, children, and aged men cried bitterly. The poor creatures passed two nights in the streets of Balaklava, sleeping under their arabas, before the small Turkish vessels, which had been prepared for them, were ready. "Hitherto," said the authority we have just quoted, "the French have given rations, such as they could spare, to a certain number of Tartars in the valley of Baidar, in return for their services as wood carriers and arabajeers. They are a docile, kind-hearted, gentle race, and are much superior in appearance to the Tartars I saw at Kertch and Eupatoria. They have all fine teeth and eyes. Many of the men are very well-looking, and the old men are exceedingly dignified in aspect, and possess great native ease and good-breeding. The young women have graceful forms, and are believed to be very pretty; but they are not often seen unveiled, and the old women do not display the least traces of beauty. I have never anywhere seen children more lively and handsome in face than some who were among these emigrants. As I was riding through the streets, some Russian officers passed, and gave signs of dissatisfaction at the proceeding of the Tartars. The latter were very abject in their bows, as their masters passed them. And this is the end of one of the conquering races of the world! Whether the Tartars deserved their fate, or have been treated badly by fortune, one

cannot but feel pity for them, if they are punished for the crimes of their ancestors. They came into the Crimea as conquerors, and they leave it as exiles. The number of families ready to emigrate is stated to be fifteen hundred. They declare that all the Tartars in the Crimea would follow their example if they could; and it is worthy the attention of the allied governments to inquire whether facilities should not be offered to save these unfortunate people from the fate which impends over them. The Tartars declare the Russians hate them on account of their sympathies with the allies, and that they will exact a terrible revenge when we are gone." Other Tartars afterwards stated, that some of their countrymen had been hanged at Simpheropol for their disaffection to the Russian cause, and that for the same reason others had been exiled, or condemned to work on the roads for life.

Bodies of the allied armies continued to embark daily. It was remarked, the apparent melting away of the masses of troops was a curious phenomenon. The spectator awoke in the morning, and, lo! the spot which but the day before was alive with men, covered with canvas, and dotted with white huts, was a desolate, silent patch of ground, studded with heaps of blackened embers and charred timber; for its tenants had departed at cockcrow. The deserted cantonments had a look of sadness; and the rats, to which they were abandoned, squeaked horribly in anticipation of their approaching death by hunger. In Baidar but one inhabitant was left—a poor lunatic Tartar, who chattered and gibbered from one of the few houses in the village at the passing strangers.

Before General Sir Colin Campbell left to return to England, the officers of the highland division, by whom he was greatly beloved, gave him a farewell banquet. He also issued the following manly and touching address to the men under his command:—

"Soldiers of the 42nd, 79th, and 93rd old highland brigade, with whom I passed the early and perilous part of this war, I have now to take leave of you. In a few hours I shall be on board ship, never to see you again as a body. A long farewell! I am now old, and shall not be called to serve any more; and nothing will remain to me but the memory of my campaigns, and of the enduring, hardy, and generous soldiers with whom I have been associated, whose name and glory will long be kept alive in



the hearts of our countrymen. When you go home, as you gradually fulfil your term of service, each to his family and his cottage, you will tell the story of your immortal advance in that victorious *échelon* upon the heights of Alma, and of the old brigadier who led you and loved you so well. Your children and your children's children will repeat the tale to other generations, when only a few lines of history will remain to record the discipline and enthusiasm which have borne you so stoutly to the end of this war. Our native land will never forget the name of the highland brigade; and in some future war that nation will call for another one to equal this, which it can never surpass. Though I shall be gone, the thought of you will go with me wherever I may be, and cheer my old age with a glorious recollection of dangers affronted and hardships endured. A pipe will never sound near me without carrying me back to those bright days when I was at your head, and wore the bonnet you gained for me, and the honourable distinctions on my breast, many of which I owe to your conduct. Brave soldiers, and kind comrades,—Farewell!

“C. CAMPBELL, Major-general.”

The departure of distinguished men from the Crimea was now very frequent. General della Marmora and the Sardinian staff left on the 20th of May. They were regarded with feelings of esteem by all in the English army with whom they had come into contact. The good feeling existing between them and both of their allies was never marred for one hour by any emotions of rivalry or jealousy. The Sardinian soldiers were, on account of their position, frequently brought into contact with the French and the highlanders, and, in both cases, they left behind them many kindly memories not readily to be forgotten. It was much in

their favour that an intoxicated Sardinian soldier was scarcely ever to be seen; their behaviour, indeed, was everywhere admitted to be exemplary. When General della Marmora left, the ships in the harbour complimented him by hoisting the Sardinian flag; and English soldiers and sailors joined in giving him some hearty and kindly cheering. General Codrington also issued an after-order, in which he observed—“The commander of the forces trusts that General della Marmora will himself receive, and convey to those whom he has commanded in the Crimea, the good wishes of the English army for their future prosperity. With steadiness, with discipline, with resource, the Sardinian army has long maintained and efficiently guarded the advanced position entrusted to it; and it bore its honourable share with the troops of France in the battle of the Tchernaya. In our intercourse there has been neither difficulty nor difference; and this good feeling between all the armies of the alliance has had a very important influence in determining the peace of Europe.”

On the 16th of May, 1856, another general after-order had been issued, and read to the men on parade. It was an acknowledgment, on the part of her majesty and the English government, of the services rendered by our troops,\* and ran thus:—

Head-quarters, Sebastopol, May 15th.

Peace being now definitely arranged, the commander of the forces has the satisfaction of publishing an extract of a despatch from the secretary of state for war, in which reference is made to the services of this army:—

“I avail myself of so fitting an opportunity as the moment when her majesty's troops under your command are about to quit the scene of their endurance and triumphs, to place on record the feelings

\* A general after-order, issued May 24th, paid a similar compliment to the officers and seamen of the royal navy. It contained the following communication from Mr. R. Osborne, of the admiralty:—“The lords commissioners of the admiralty, in announcing to the fleet the termination of hostilities with Russia, and the ratification of a definite treaty of peace, desire to express to the flag-officers, officers, petty officers, seamen and royal marines of her majesty's ships, the high sense which they entertain of the distinguished services of the navy during the war. The zeal and alacrity evinced by the volunteers who came forward, on the summons of their sovereign, to man the fleet, have only been equalled by the cheerful obedience to discipline, and the gallantry and devotion in action manifested by all ranks. My lords wish also to record the satisfaction with which

they have witnessed the generous spirit of rivalry displayed by all classes in her majesty's fleet while acting in concert with her majesty's army on shore, and with the military and naval forces of her allies. They trust that the recollection of the late honourable campaign will serve to strengthen the good feeling and fellowship which have always existed between the navy and the army; and that the sentiments of mutual respect and esteem, produced by the occurrences of the war, between those who have taken a part in its toils and its dangers, will materially contribute to the maintenance of peace among the nations of Europe. My lords desire you will instruct the officers in command of her majesty's ships and vessels under your orders to read this memorandum to their respective ships companies.—By command of their lordships.—R. OSBORNE.”



entertained towards them by her majesty, the government, and her people. Since the period when the army first quitted the shores of England, there is no vicissitude of war which it has not been called on to encounter. Shortly after its arrival in Turkey, and while doubtful as to the manner in which it was to be brought in contact with the enemy, it had to sustain the terrible attack of cholera, which prematurely closed the career of many a gallant and eager spirit; on this occasion, the army proved that moral as well as physical courage pervaded its ranks. Led to the field, it has triumphed in engagements in which heavy odds were on the enemy's side. It has carried on, under difficulties almost incredible, a siege of unprecedented duration, in the course of which the trying duties of the trenches, privations from straitened supplies, the fearful diminution of its numbers by disease, neither shook its courage nor impaired its discipline. Notwithstanding that many a gallant comrade fell in their ranks, and they were called to mourn the beloved commander who led them from England, and who closed in the field his noble career as a soldier, her majesty's troops never flinched from their duties, or disappointed the sanguine expectations of their country.

"The zealous manner in which the army prepared to take the field, had the war been prolonged, its eagerness for active operations, and its fitness to meet any emergency, are known to all. These combined events and circumstances have thus afforded to the queen, the government, and the country, the opportunity of witnessing the conduct of the army under every aspect; and the feeling is universal that it has worthily maintained its own high character and the honour of the British army; and you may be perfectly assured that on its return home it will be welcomed with the fullest approbation of its sovereign, and with every demonstration of admiration and gratitude by the country at large.

"I add with pleasure that the services of the various departments attached to the army are of a character to entitle them to the fullest credit. The zeal and energy of the medical, commissariat, and clerical departments have contributed to bring the army into its present most effective condition.

PANMURE."

By order,

C. A. WINDHAM, Chief of the Staff.

The men were not remarkably touched by these compliments: our soldiers are of a practical turn of mind; and the most common remark, as they retired from parade, was—"Ah! it's all mighty fine; but they stopped our sixpence a-day for all that."

The 24th of May, the anniversary of the birthday of her majesty, was observed with great ceremony, and also selected for the distribution of the French war medals to the English army. The latter incident took place on the plains of Balaklava, where the troops were drawn up in order. General Codrington, Marshal Pelissier, and a number of distinguished officers from both armies were present. Shortly before three the divisional generals began to distribute the medals to the selected soldiers on whom they were to be conferred. As each man received his medal, the reason for which the presentation was made was read aloud, and in most cases a few kind words of praise were added. The honour consisted of a decoration of blue enamel and silver. To the breast ribbon an eagle was suspended, the claws of which sustained the medal. On one side was an effigy of the emperor; the reverse bearing the words, *Pour valeur et discipline*, within a wreath of laurel. It was given to the men in the proportion of about one per cent., or seven to each regiment; and the officers had no small difficulty in deciding upon the claims of the numerous candidates.

The presentation over, the booming of two guns from the signal station, announced that the divisions were to resume their order in line. The movement of the heavy squares, as they unfolded and extended into line over the plain, was described as exceedingly grand and picturesque. Then the guns on each flank of the line fired a royal salute, after which Marshal Pelissier and General Codrington, attended by their staffs, proceeded down the front of the line; while the troops presented arms, and the band played "God save the Queen." Two more guns then gave the signal to the soldiers to take off their hats, and give three cheers for her majesty. This they did with characteristic heartiness; and the wild hurrah proceeding at once from 25,000 throats, floated away with the breeze in the direction of Mackenzie, where it probably created some astonishment amongst the Russians. The review over, General Codrington entertained all the generals, brigadiers, and heads of departments to dinner.



Amongst the camp gossip we may include the following, which Mr. Russell wrote on the 26th of May:—"A Russian engineer officer, who dined in my company last night, told us some interesting facts connected with the siege, which showed that there is the same jealousy between the various branches of the Russian service which exists in our own. Todtleben, who is now at Cronstadt, where he was summoned to superintend the defences, never could get men enough from Prince Gortschakoff to carry out his plans. The Russian engineers say Todtleben always predicted that the fall of the place would begin to be accomplished whenever they were obliged to abandon their counter-approaches, and that the exact moment of its occurrence then became a matter of calculation. The capture of the Cemetery of the Quarantine by the French was regarded by the Russian general as a symptom of decadence, and he succeeded in inducing Gortschakoff to assault the French on three successive nights, in the hope of driving them out and recovering the lost ground; but these attempts failed, although the contest was so fierce that on the last night the works changed hands nine times, and the general would not renew the fight. Their last attack cost them 1,200 men. Todtleben is *not* regarded as an engineer of scientific attainments or originality of idea by officers of his own branch of the service, but he is admitted to possess great audacity, vigour, and enterprise. Their idols are officers whose names we never heard before. As a proof of the pressure of the siege upon the army, I was assured by an engineer officer that he had only twenty men allowed him to make the road to the Belbek from the north side. The bridge across that river is made of oak, which was brought into the Crimea with infinite pains and labour, and at an enormous expense. There is to be a railway from Moscow to Odessa, with branches to Nicholaieff, Perekop, and Sebastopol. The common remark now is, 'Where would you have been last year if we had had a railroad?' They evidently expect great results from their iron ways, but I regret to say that their eyes are turned rather to the military than to the social consequences of the introduction of this system into Russia. They are intent on a new armament of their soldiery, and on the extensive introduction of the rifles with which the American manufacturers are

largely supplying them. The Liége rifle, made by J. P. Malherbe, is their favourite weapon, but it is rather expensive, and it was not easy to obtain supplies of these arms during the war. 'The peace will not last—in ten years, ay, in two, we shall be very differently prepared from what we were.' Like ourselves, they attribute to the valour of the private soldier, and to his intrinsic excellence, the lengthened defence of Sebastopol, and declare that they had no general with a spark of military genius, although Mentschikoff had a rapid eye and quickness of determination, and Gortschakoff is possessed of unshaken fortitude, resolution, and industry."

It was said by the Russians (though probably the statement was nothing more than a camp "shave"), that as soon as the allies had altogether abandoned Sebastopol, no less than 70,000 masons would arrive there, whose exertions were destined soon to restore the fortress to its former strength and glory. Such a circumstance would of course be an infringement of the treaty of peace, and one which the other contracting powers had declared a sufficient cause of war. The Russians generally appeared to entertain an idea that the peace would not last, and that the conflict would be renewed within a period of two or three years.

The allied armies continued healthy—a circumstance for which, as the spring ripened into summer, they had reason to be thankful. Everywhere the soil was saturated with decomposing animal matter, and burial-grounds and slaughter-houses spread their pestiferous malaria around. As the hot season came on, a few—happily very few—cases of cholera appeared, and a sort of murrain seized many of the cattle. Powdered charcoal was therefore issued for use, and the heaps of rags and rubbish left by the departed troops given to the flames. During the day trails of white smoke curled fantastically across the plateau, while at night the camp was dotted with the smouldering remains of these fires. The brown wasted patches which marked the spots where regiments were once encamped, increased daily in number; while broken huts, dilapidated walls, old enclosures, deserted gardens, fenced round with withered pine sprouts, and filled with blighted, unwatered vegetables, which the provident French had planted in case they remained, extended for miles—silent and lifeless as the tomb.



## CHAPTER XIX.

THANKS OF BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT TO THE ARMY AND NAVY; SPEECHES OF LORDS PANMURE AND PALMERSTON; REPRESENTATIONS OF THE SARDINIAN PLENIPOTENTIARIES TO THE GOVERNMENTS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND RESPECTING THE UNHAPPY STATE OF ITALY.

ENGLAND owed a debt of gratitude to her army and navy, and this she showed herself willing and anxious to pay. On Thursday, the 8th of May, both houses of parliament voted, with due solemnity and cordial unanimity, their thanks to those by whose exertions the country had been carried through the war. Undoubtedly such thanks had been nobly earned; yet it must be admitted that a spirit of indiscriminate eulogy pervaded the effusions of the speakers on this occasion. Perhaps a gaudy, rose-pink, and midsummer tone is inseparable from ovations of this kind. Such is the nature of the human mind, that when desirous of affording praise, the sobriety of judgment is apt to be overwhelmed by the prolific and wanton luxuriance of eulogy. This autumn of speech is, however, followed by the winter of historical criticism, which nips it up to very spare dimensions. At the close of a war in which we could count many triumphs, and in the first blush of a peace, which was at the least destitute of dishonour, a generous outpouring of enthusiastic thankfulness was, after all, graceful on the part of the parliament and the people. It was well, at such a time, to forget all shortcomings and offences; it was well to forget what was omitted, and to dwell proudly on heroic deeds performed. We must confess, however, that the gross attempts, in both houses of parliament, to represent Lord Raglan as a great general and a hero, excite emotions of surprise, if not, indeed, of a stronger and less amiable feeling. They neutralised the commendations bestowed upon really deserving officers, and made the praise fairly earned by our brave soldiers, and certainly liberally bestowed, almost valueless. Certain aristocratic cliques may insist that Lord Raglan was a military commander of genius, but the people of England know better, and the historians of the future will tell a different tale. We should not have again referred to this painful topic, but for the injudicious zeal and want of judgment of those who will thrust a well-meaning gentleman—by whose incapacity a noble

army perished, and a bloody war was tediously prolonged—on us for a soldier equal to the great emergency in which he was placed. Let the widow and son of Lord Raglan enjoy the liberal pensions bestowed upon them—to that we have no objection; but do not ask the judgment of the country to avert its eyes, and the writers of the country to pen a series of sounding and mischievous falsehoods in the cause of a hollow courtesy, and in the vain attempt to inscribe a lie upon the historic records of the British empire. The hireling scribe who will lend himself to such an unworthy use, deserves the contempt of an independent and intelligent people. Let him lay down the pen; it is in some sort a sacred instrument, and his hands profane it. Not by hollow eulogy, but by sober truth shall a people be instructed; not by evasive compliments, but by earnest deeds shall the might of the sea-girdled Romans of the nineteenth century be maintained.

Lord Panmure was fittingly intrusted with the task of proposing the vote of thanks to the army and navy in the imperial parliament. He first alluded to the navy, which, though it had no opportunity of accomplishing brilliant victories, such as those of Trafalgar and the Nile, yet had rendered services which commanded the gratitude of the country. He reminded the house that in the Black Sea the fleet had attacked Sebastopol and Kinburn; that it had twice swept the Sea of Azoff, and had rendered the greatest assistance to her majesty's army. In enumerating these latter services, his lordship made known the following interesting statistics. He said—"Since the commencement of the war the British navy carried, including militia, foreign legion, transport corps, &c., from Great Britain to the Mediterranean, 123,000 British; and to the Black Sea, from the Mediterranean, 26,000 British: making together about 150,000. The British navy carried from France to the Mediterranean and the Baltic, 52,000; and from Sardinia, 20,000 men. It therefore conveyed to the seat of



war, 221,000 men! It moved in the Black Sea 170,000 men; and troops, eastwise, to the amount of 43,000 men. Therefore the navy, during the war, was employed in carrying, in round numbers, about 435,000 men. Besides this, it moved, in various directions, 54,000 horses; and stores from England, France, and Sardinia, to the aggregate amount of 340,000 tons."

In referring to the army, Lord Panmure observed, that when it left this country, full of vigour, though small in numbers, no one felt any doubt that the honour of the country was safe in its hands. "When," said his lordship, "it landed in the East, it was not immediately called into action. The first foe it had to encounter was one which it was difficult, if not impossible, to overcome. It was disease. When the army lay at Varna and in its neighbourhood, it encountered that terrible pestilence which swept before it many gallant and ardent spirits ere they had time to prove their might in battle. This had the effect of showing the people of England that the army which had gone forth, possessed, not mere physical, but also that moral courage which enabled it to endure privations as well as fight battles, and, on that account, the people felt great confidence in the army. When it was called into action, we cannot forget the victories of the Alma, of Inkermann, and of Balaklava. My lords," he exclaimed, "I need hardly call to your recollection the circumstances of the siege of Sebastopol; that siege, so long, so wearisome, and so full of hardships, in which the patience and endurance, as well as the gallantry of the army were constantly tried for a longer period than is on record with regard to any other siege. Yet all the difficulties and dangers of that siege, all the privations to which the army was exposed, never for a moment shook or impaired its discipline; and when that siege resulted in the surrender of the town, the army was found ready to repair the disorganisation which such a siege must introduce into the ranks of any army, to resume its drill, and to recomplete its formation; so that it became one of the finest armies that England ever possessed."

With reference to the losses of the country during the war, Lord Panmure brought forward some interesting statistics. "Various exaggerated and unfounded reports," he said, "have been circulated with reference to the losses which this country sustained by the

war. I have had a statement prepared, which will show, as nearly as may be, what our losses really have been during the two years of war. From the 19th of September, the day on which the army was first engaged in action, to the 28th of September, 1855, there were 158 officers and 1,775 men killed; died of their wounds, 51 officers and 1,584 men; died of cholera, 35 officers and 4,244 men; died of other diseases, up to the 31st of December, 1855, 20 officers and 11,425 men; died of their wounds, up to the 31st of March, 1856, 322 men: making a total loss, by death, of 270 officers and 19,314 men. In the same time there were discharged from the service, as incapacitated from disease and wounds, altogether, 2,873 men; making a total loss of 22,467 men killed, died of their wounds, and discharged, up to the 31st of March. If we compare this with the reported loss of the Russians; if we compare it with what may be presumed to have been the losses of our allies, we ought to feel gratitude to Almighty God for having permitted the scourge of war to fall thus lightly upon this country. We are led, and, I think, upon good authority, to believe that the Russians have lost not much under 500,000 men during the war."

Lord Panmure alluded to the tribute of gratitude due to those who had fallen during the war; to the circumstance, that though in all former wars the government was compelled to resort to the system of pressing for the navy, and the ballot for the militia; yet that, on this occasion, though it had mustered a more numerous manned fleet, and a larger body of troops than in any former war, yet no compulsion had been resorted to. Every man, in both fleet and army, was a volunteer! On this system the militia had raised 63,603 men; and had given to the regular army, since November, 1854, no less than 33,000 men. In addition to that, eleven regiments of militia were serving the queen in the Mediterranean garrisons; and twenty-two English, four Scotch, and twelve Irish regiments had offered their services for the same purpose. Lord Panmure also spoke in terms of becoming eulogy of the bravery of our French, Sardinian, and Turkish allies.

The vote of thanks was seconded by the Earl of Derby, in a speech considerably below the average merit of that nobleman's oratorical efforts. It was, indeed, for the most part, diffuse, full of superlatives, and



commonplace. The subject was spoken to also by the Duke of Cambridge, and the Earls Cardigan, Granville, and Grey. The latter observed (and they are remarks in which we fully concur), that he entirely dissented from the opinion expressed in the course of the debate, that our military expenditure, during the last peace, was founded upon principles of false economy. That economy, he contended, was not false; but, on the contrary, sage, sound, and in all respects defensible. It was our military system that was at fault. The sums granted by parliament, from the time of the battle of Waterloo to the breaking out of the recent war, would, *if properly administered*, have been amply sufficient to maintain our army in a state of the highest efficiency. He believed that to that economy our success in the late war had been mainly attributable. How was it that our private merchants had building-yards and mechanical appliances which enabled them to create so powerful a force in so short a time? It was by the extraordinary development of industry, commerce, and manufactures during peace, which had been fostered by the small demands made by the state for military purposes. If anything could afford a striking proof of the wisdom of the policy this country had pursued, it was the contrast between our position and that of Russia. The policy of Russia had been to keep up, at the expense of an immense pressure upon the resources of the people, an enormous military force. That force was a source of apprehension to many persons; but when the time of trial came, it was found that it was not able to cope with those resources which nations that had acted upon a different policy had developed. If we were not misinformed, Russia was now convinced of the mistake she had made, and was about, in future, to adopt a different course. On the vote being put to the house, it was unanimously agreed to.

In the House of Commons, Lord Palmerston moved, that the thanks of that assembly be given to the army and navy, in acknowledgment of its eminent services. His lordship spoke at considerable length, and at times with an ability which rose to the due height of his great theme. It was, he urged, natural that a nation, on the termination of a successful war, should be led by its first impulse to the temples of religious worship, to render thanks to that Almighty Power which had directed its

arms during the war, and blessed its councils in the negotiations for peace. Its next duty was to express its acknowledgments to those gallant men who, under the blessing of Providence, had been the instruments by which success in war had been accomplished, and the conditions of peace obtained. "There never," said the premier, "was a war in which the brave army and navy of England better deserved the thanks of their country than the one in which they had been lately engaged. There had been wars much longer in duration, and more diversified by great events; there had been wars in which greater battles were fought, and in which operations had been conducted on a larger scale; but there had been few wars attended with results more important; none in which those qualities, which in a peculiar degree belong to Englishmen, have been more nobly displayed. There never has been a war in which our brave men have had better or more frequent opportunities of displaying that impetuous courage in attack, and that irresistible intrepidity in defence, combined with a power of enduring privations, than in the war just terminated."

Lord Palmerston then briefly reviewed the events of the recent contest, and thus continued:—"Bravery in action is a quality which we do not pretend to monopolise; it is a quality which is shared by other nations; and, while we are proud of it ourselves, we honour and respect it in others. But the power of endurance, the power of submitting to privations and silent sufferings, is, perhaps, a quality still more to be admired, as being, perhaps, less general; and that quality our army has had ample opportunities of displaying. All must remember the accounts, unhappily too true, of the privations which, during that dreary winter—notwithstanding all the efforts which were made by the government at home, and notwithstanding the fact that large quantities of those things which were essential to the wellbeing and comfort of the troops were almost within their reach, though, unfortunately unavailable, from a want of arrangement, perhaps necessarily incidental to the first beginning of operations upon such a scale and at so great a distance—were endured by our brave troops. At that time they were called upon to perform a duty which has seldom or never befallen an army. They had to carry on siege operations of a most difficult character.



As a general rule, when a large army invests a fortress, however large the fortress may be, its garrison is limited in extent, and its weakness is known to the besieging force. It is generally a matter of scientific calculation at what period a breach may be made and the superior attacking army place itself in personal conflict with the inferior army within the town; but the siege of Sebastopol was of a totally different character. There were two armies equal in number, or if there was any difference at the commencement of the siege, perhaps the army of the enemy was the larger of the two; and throughout the whole of the siege operations the garrison had an open communication with the rear, and reinforcements were perpetually pouring in. The position of the enemy precluded battle in the field, and our army had therefore to carry on the operations of the siege not against a limited force and garrison, but against the whole military power of the Russian empire. The operations of a siege so conducted necessarily imposed on our brave and gallant troops an amount of fatigue, followed by sickness, which has seldom occurred for so long a period in the military history of the world. Our men bore their sufferings with the same steadiness with which at Alma they carried the heights of the enemy, and with which at Inkermann they defended their own position; and to the honour of the British soldier be it said, that in the long course of those operations, they displayed, not only courage and endurance, but that generosity which belongs also, I am proud to say, to the character of our countrymen. It is well known that many a private soldier, whose health had been impaired by his services, who ought to have gone into hospital and was advised to do so, refused to avail himself of the permission or to comply with the order, because, he said, 'If I go into hospital the duty will fall heavier upon my comrades, who are as little able to bear it as myself. I will go on as long as I can, and I will share with them the difficulties and dangers whatever they may be.' The history of the war confirms the well-known adage, that—

“‘Noble actions may as well be done  
By weaver's issue as by prince's son.’

The private soldiers were distinguished by every quality which gives dignity to human nature; while of the conduct of their officers

it is impossible to say too much. Such, then, having been the bearing of our brave soldiers, without entering into any further details, I think that you will readily concur that there cannot be a fitter occasion upon which this house, as the organ of the national sentiment, should express its thanks and convey its acknowledgments to those brave men who have thus earned the gratitude of their country. In regarding the great and glorious deeds of those who survive, it is impossible not to remember, with feelings of regret, those of whose services the country has been deprived. We have lost many a brave and gallant officer and many a brave and gallant man. Some have perished in the field of battle. Others have fallen, not less in the service of their country, by the wasting effect of disease. But those who have suffered private losses must, at least, have the consolation of thinking, whether their gallant relatives fell in the field of battle or by wasting disease, that they are equally entitled to the gratitude and admiration of their countrymen, and that their names will equally live in the fond and proud recollection of England.”

Referring to the navy, his lordship observed, that it had not the same opportunity with the army of obtaining brilliant distinction in battle. Though the enemy had occupied himself during many a long year in the creation of an immense navy, yet the mere presence of the British fleet was sufficient to deter it from acting. Neither in the Baltic nor the Black Sea had our gallant sailors an opportunity of encountering the Russian fleets face to face. Lord Palmerston then enumerated the exertions of our fleets, and the services which they had been able to render to the general cause. The country, also, had done its part in supplying, with a prodigal generosity, every material of war. At its commencement we had a total amount of 212 ships; and at the end of the war we had 590! After alluding to the spirit of the militia, and the brilliant courage of our allies, his lordship moved—“That the thanks of the house be given to the army, navy, and marines employed in the operations of the late war; and to the embodied militia.”

Mr. Disraeli claimed the distinction of seconding the motion. Having in a brief but pointed speech spoken in honour of our soldiers and sailors, and also of our allies, he thus referred to our recent antagonists:—



"Let us remember that there are some who were not our allies—who were not the soldiers of our sovereign—to whom it would be not only generous, but, in my mind, wise to do justice. The father of poetry has told us, that the strength of a conqueror cannot be more surely estimated than by the character of him whom he has conquered. Sir, the men whom the forces of the queen and her allies had to meet in the great struggle which is now concluded, were no common men. The legions that triumphed under Suwarroff, and conquered at the Borodino (?), although defeated at Sebastopol, have proved themselves foemen worthy of the united chivalry of England and of France. In doing this justice to our late opponents, we are, in fact, only placing the achievements of our fellow-countrymen and our allies in their true aspect and proper position." In conclusion, Mr. Disraeli expressed an opinion, that when the calm and unimpassioned verdict of the time in which we live is given upon these events, it will be acknowledged that, in the late struggle, our country had shown all those qualities which maintain a nation's greatness, and which prevent the decline and fall of empires.

Mr. Stafford, in supporting the motion, read an extract from a letter by Miss Nightingale, penned at Scutari, in which she thus spoke of the disposition of the British soldier:—"I have never," said that amiable lady, "been able to join the popular cry about the recklessness, sensuality, and helplessness of the soldier. I should say (and, perhaps, few have seen more of the manufacturing and agricultural classes of England than I have before I came out here), that I have never seen so teachable and helpful a class as the army generally. Give them opportunity promptly and securely to send money home, and they will use it. Give them schools and lectures, and they will come to them. Give them books, and games, and amusements, and they will leave off drinking. Give them work, and they will do it. Give them suffering, and they will bear it. I would rather have to do with the army than with any other class I have ever attempted to serve; and when I compare them with —, I am struck with the soldier's superiority as a moral, and even an intellectual being." The motion was unanimously agreed to.

In leaving this incident, we feel induced to quote some observations made by the *Times* upon it:—"We wish that, for the

private soldier of the army, something could be accomplished of a nature more substantial than oratorical praise. If England is really grateful to her soldiers, let her show it in a tangible form. There are in this country and in our colonies barracks, in which the soldier is compelled to dwell, the crowded rooms and unhealthy situation of which render them peculiarly pernicious to human life. From some, fever is scarcely ever absent; and others, even in this country, are the abiding seats of ophthalmia, the scourge of our army, and the disgrace of our sanitary system. The soldier, also, may fairly claim, at the hands of the state, a better education and a more complete training than have hitherto fallen to his lot, and a reward proportioned to the degree of his proficiency. If we are really grateful to our army at large, we shall show our gratitude by something more tangible than words; and give them, in the shape of improved health, improved comfort, and improved prospects, all the compensation in our power for the miseries they have borne and the dangers they have confronted."

We have stated that the treaty of peace did not settle every question that threatened the tranquillity of Europe. Most prominent and most dangerous amongst these unsettled matters, was the condition of Italy. In an address which the distinguished French novelist and exile, Victor Hugo, shortly afterwards wrote to the Italian people, he truly said—"You are to-day the great disquiet of continental thrones. The crater of the European volcano, from which now issues the greatest smoke, is Italy." At the Paris conferences, the Sardinian plenipotentiary drew the attention of the allies to this subject, and solicited, as a preliminary step, their interference to check the misgovernment of the Papal States, and, as a consequence, to relieve them from the oppressive occupation of foreign troops. A note, or protest, on this subject, dated April 16th, was presented by MM. Cavour and Villamarina to the governments of France and England, and eventually made public. We have already, in these pages, spoken of the wretched condition of the Italian States, all of whom, with the exception of Sardinia, were groaning under a tyranny so detestable as to be a curse to themselves and a disgrace to the great powers of Europe. It is not our part



to dwell upon these matters here; yet it is evident that they must not, that indeed they cannot, be forgotten or disregarded. The voice of Italy *must* inevitably be listened to, and its wrongs redressed; or they may lead to another convulsion of Europe, and one that will perhaps not be so easily calmed as the last. Before these pages have been long before the people of England, revolution will probably have broken out in Italy; then, small as the commencement of the contest may be, who shall predict the arena it will ultimately fill?

We lay the document to which we have referred before our readers, assuring them that it will amply repay an attentive perusal. On the 7th of May it was presented to the Sardinian council by M. Cavour, the president, and preceded by the following explanatory speech:—"In order to gratify the just impatience of the chamber and country, I consider it my duty to give you a short account of the proceedings of the Sardinian plenipotentiaries in the Paris congress. The chamber will understand that I cannot enter into lengthened details, owing to the reserve imposed upon me by diplomatic usage, and because a number of questions still remain unsolved. When the government signed the treaty of alliance, it did not think proper to stipulate in a special manner the position which its plenipotentiaries were to occupy in the peace negotiations. It was, however, well understood that no peace should be concluded without the participation of Sardinia. The government thought that the remainder should be left to events, the influence of a nation depending much more on its own conduct and reputation than on written stipulations. Our expectation was not deceived either on the field of battle or in the peace congress. Nothing had been decided with regard to our general-in-chief. Nevertheless, everybody knows the influence he exercised, not only on the field of battle, but also in the war councils; for the reputation he acquired is henceforth European, and his glory is a national glory. The mission of the Sardinian plenipotentiaries to the congress had a double object. These were to participate in the peace negotiations, and direct the attention of the allies to the unfortunate condition of Italy, and to the mode of remedying her evils. The first part of their task was easy, the cause of the West being supported by the distinguished statesmen representing

England and France, and the Russian plenipotentiaries evincing a spirit of conciliation which I am personally bound to acknowledge, because it was especially manifested towards our country. I am consequently inclined to believe that the treaty will not only have restored peace between Sardinia and Russia, but will draw closer the ties of friendship which, during centuries, existed between the house of Savoy and the Romanoff family. The object of the alliance has been completely attained. All danger on the side of Russia has disappeared. The eastern Christians have obtained everything they could desire, and the existence of the Ottoman empire has been consolidated. I do not mean to overrate the consequences of the treaty nor our material advantages, but I must say that the neutralisation of the Black Sea and the free navigation of the Danube will exercise a beneficial influence over our trade. We have obtained another advantage, by the consecration of a new maritime principle as respects neutrals in time of war. Thanks to that principle, the small states have no longer to dread the affronts of the strongest; and thus disappeared one of the causes which might have broken the western alliance. Since the conclusion of the treaty of Vienna, a secondary power was for the first time permitted on this occasion to participate in the solution of a problem affecting the general interests of Europe. Thus have all the doctrines established to the prejudice of secondary states at the Vienna Congress been set at nought. This fact has greatly raised our country in the estimation of nations, and placed it in a position where the wisdom of the government and the virtue of the people will maintain it. I am now about to treat a delicate question. The French plenipotentiary had directed the attention of the congress to the excesses committed by a portion of the Belgian press against the French government and its chief. The English plenipotentiary, after warmly defending the principle of liberty of the press, which is one of the bases of the British constitution, loudly condemned those excesses. I concurred in his declaration by a simple adhesion. I did not think proper to deliver a speech in favour of liberty of the press, because I might not have efficaciously served its cause, and would have certainly injured that of the Italian question. Some of the plenipotentiaries, besides, would have



been enchanted to divert attention from the Italian question and fix it on the press. But had I spoken I should have only followed the example of the English minister, and adhered in a great measure to the sentiments expressed by the French plenipotentiary. The latter, in very moderate language, condemned the excesses, not of the journals professing exaggerated doctrines, but of those which attack the French government, not by argument, but by contemptible abuse and atrocious calumnies. Friendly relations cannot long continue between two nations when such journals are permitted to exist. In manifesting that opinion I should have only repeated what I have already said in this house. Five years ago I stated that liberty of the press could be carried to its utmost limits without danger at home, but that the case would be different with regard to foreign states; and I feel so convinced of that truth, that if I were a Belgian deputy, I should be inclined to concur in my friend Orbon's opinion, and consider it my duty to denounce to the chamber the perils such a state of things is calculated to produce, and in doing so I should be intimately convinced of having rendered an immense service to liberty. The Sardinian plenipotentiaries directed the attention of the Western Powers to the abnormal and unfortunate condition of Italy. Had the war assumed a greater development, there would have been reason to hope that the programme of the Western Powers would have been extended; but, in the present situation, there was no possibility of demanding or expecting territorial changes. Diplomacy is impotent to modify the condition of nations; it can only sanction accomplished facts. The present condition of Italy, however, not being conformable to the treaties in force, the principles laid down at Vienna having been violated, and the political equilibrium destroyed, the Sardinian plenipotentiaries invited England and France to take that state of things into serious consideration. Our allies favourably received that demand, and took the deepest interest in the affairs of Italy. They admitted that the occupation of the Italian provinces by foreign troops was abnormal, and expressed a desire that it should cease. But an objection presented itself. It was asked what might be the consequences of the withdrawal of those troops. The Sardinian plenipotentiaries did not hesitate to declare that, without the

adoption of preservative measures, those consequences might be serious and perilous. But they thought that those dangers might be obviated, and drew up a memorial, which was addressed, in the form of a note, to the governments of England and France. England gave her full adhesion to it. France admitted the principle, but, for particular considerations, she reserved her opinion as to its application. The sovereign pontiff is not only the temporal chief of a state, he is also the religious chief of the catholic world. Hence arise for the French government certain duties to fulfil; and if we consider the influence which an act accomplished at Rome may have on the interests of France, it will be conceived that the French government does not deserve from us less gratitude than the English government. In the eyes of England the Roman question is merely political, and the English plenipotentiary treated it with the liberty and talent becoming so important a question. I am delighted to have it in my power to proclaim here that that illustrious statesman, whom I am happy to call my friend, evinced so much sympathy for Italy, and so sanguine a desire for the improvement of her condition, that he is entitled to the gratitude not only of the Piedmontese, but also of all the Italians. The Austrian plenipotentiary opposed a plea in bar; that is, he observed, with reason, that his government having received no intimation on the subject, he had neither powers nor instructions to enter on the merits of the question. But he maintained the right of intervention when applied for by another government. That doctrine, admitted by France, was opposed by England, and it was not possible to arrive at a precise solution; but we have gained a great point by inducing England and France to proclaim the expediency of putting an end to the occupation of Central Italy. The Sardinian plenipotentiaries suggested that some of the Italian governments might be advised to adopt a system of moderation. I will not here attempt to describe the warm manner in which the representatives of England and France supported that notion. If the diplomatists of the other nations did not concur in it, from motives of propriety, I must say that not one of them, either officially or officiously, impugned the validity of the arguments adduced by England and France; and I am of opinion that the advice, given only by those two nations, will not be



the less efficacious. The Sardinian plenipotentiaries called the attention of the assembly to the erection of fortifications at Piacenza, and denounced that fact as part of a system against which they considered it their duty to protest. Thus, the abnormal and unhappy condition of Italy has been exposed to Europe, not by furious and revolutionary demagogues, not by passionate journals, not by party men, but by the representatives of the first nations of Europe. The second advantage obtained consists in those powers having declared that it was the interest of Europe that the evils of Italy should be remedied. A verdict given by England and France cannot long remain sterile. On the other hand, it is certain that the Paris negotiations did not improve our relations with Austria. I must say that the Sardinian and Austrian plenipotentiaries, after sitting side by side for two months, and co-operating in one of the greatest political works accomplished during the last forty years, separated—without any personal anger, it is true; for I must do justice to the perfectly courteous demeanour of the Austrian representatives,—but with the intimate conviction that the political systems of the two countries are more opposed than ever. Those differences may give rise to difficulties, and create dangers, but that is the inevitable and fatal consequence of the system of liberty which Victor Emmanuel inaugurated on ascending the throne, and which you have ever since upheld. I do not think that the foreseeing those perils ought to induce the king to alter his policy. To-day the cause of Italy has been brought before the tribunal of public opinion, whose decision, to use the noble expression of the Emperor of the French, is without appeal. The trial may be long, but I am confident that its definitive issue will be conformable to the justice of the cause."

M. Mamiani spoke also as follows:—"The Paris conferences have demonstrated a certain and uncontrovertible fact—namely, that Russia, on account of her losses, was compelled to accept the conditions of peace offered to her. Russia showed that she was weak, and unable to continue the struggle; and that a semi-civilisation is worse than complete barbarism. The humiliation of Russia has broken the northern league, and the compact of the holy alliance is now at an end. Russia has lost the supreme patronage she exercised over Ger-

many. The last war has proved to Great Britain that a nation entirely given to trade and industry often runs the risk of losing its vigour and original magnanimity, and that no nation should remain isolated in the world, without powerful and tried friends. The two greatest nations in the world have concluded a fruitful and durable alliance. Without renouncing her alliance with France, England must seek hereafter new friends among nations ripe for civil liberty, and ready to assert their legitimate and natural rights in Italy and Germany. The latter does not want for independence, but for life and a national representation. In order to be fruitful, the policy of England must tend to assist other nations to conquer their liberty. I am inclined to believe that ere long in civilised Europe—not even excepting Russia—there will be no other absolute power but Austria. That power, owing to the heterogeneous elements which compose it, can never adopt another form of government. As for the pale satellites of Austria,—such as Naples, Florence, Parma, Modena, and Rome,—it will soon be seen whether they can long continue to govern in an arbitrary and illiberal manner. As respects Sardinia, the glorious presence of her tricoloured banner next to those of England and France has fixed the attention of Europe upon us, and the honest press of every country is now preoccupied with our affairs. In the British parliament the ministers of the queen pleaded the cause of Italy. Such are the fruits of the noble, becoming, and straightforward conduct of Count de Cavour, constituting himself in the Paris congress the defender of oppressed Italian nations. The voice of Piedmont has been heard; and if ever the ministers of king Victor Emmanuel were called upon to justify their mandate, they might reply that it was written with the blood of the Piedmontese who fell in the plains of Lombardy and under the walls of Sebastopol. Ministers of the king, I entreat you to preserve entire that precious and noble mandate. To-day you have no other alternative left but to recede or move forward and energetically and loyally execute the honourable and legitimate mission confided to you by Italy and the visible hand of God."

The following is a copy of the note or protest referred to:—

"The undersigned, plenipotentiaries of his majesty the King of Sardinia, full of confidence in the sentiments of justice of



the governments of France and England, and in the friendship which they profess for Piedmont, have never ceased since the opening of the conferences to hope that the congress of Paris would not separate without taking into serious consideration the state of Italy, and deliberating on the means to be adopted for the re-establishment of its political equilibrium, disturbed now by the occupation of a great part of the provinces of the Peninsula by foreign troops. Certain of the concurrence of their allies, they could not think that any other power, after having testified so lively and so generous an interest in the fate of Eastern Christians of the Slave and Greek races, would refuse to interest themselves in the people of the Latin race, who are still more unhappy on account of the advanced degree of civilisation which they have attained making them feel more acutely the effects of bad government.

"THIS HOPE HAS BEEN DISAPPOINTED.

"Notwithstanding the goodwill of France and England—notwithstanding their well-intentioned efforts, the persistence of Austria obliged the discussions of the congress to be strictly bounded within the sphere of the questions marked out before its meeting, and is the cause of this assembly, on which the eyes of Europe are fixed, being about to dissolve, not only without having effected the least amelioration for the ills of Italy, but without giving a ray of hope for the future to the other side of the Alps, calculated to calm the minds and to make them bear the present with resignation. The peculiar position occupied by Austria in the congress perhaps rendered this deplorable result inevitable. The undersigned are forced to acknowledge this. Also, without addressing the least reproach to their allies, they believe it their duty to call their serious attention to the sad consequences that this may have for Europe, for Italy, and especially for Sardinia.

"It would be superfluous to trace here an exact picture of Italy. What has taken place in those countries is too notorious. The system of repression and violent reaction commenced in 1848 and 1849—justified in its origin, perhaps, by the revolutionary disturbances which had just been suppressed—continues without the smallest relaxation. It may even be said that, with few exceptions, it is exercised with redoubled rigour. Never were the prisons and dungeons more full of persons condemned for

political causes; never has the number of exiles been greater; never has the police been more vexatious, nor martial law more severely applied. What is taking place at Parma only proves this too clearly. Such means of government must necessarily keep the populations in a constant state of irritation and revolutionary ferment.

"Such has been the state of Italy for seven years. Nevertheless, the popular agitation appeared recently to be calmed. Italians, seeing one of their national princes coalesced with the great Western Powers for the support of the principles of right and justice, and for the amelioration of the fate of their co-religionaries in the East, conceived a hope that peace would not be made without some relief for their misfortunes. This hope kept them calm and resigned; but when they know the negative results of the congress of Paris, when they learn that Austria, notwithstanding the good offices and benevolent intervention of France and England, refused all discussion—that she would not even enter into an examination of the means proper for remedying such a sad state of things,—there can be no doubt that the dormant irritation will be awakened among them more violently than ever. Convinced that they have nothing to expect from diplomacy and the efforts of the powers which take an interest in their fate, they will throw themselves with southern ardour into the ranks of the revolutionary and subversive party, and Italy will again become a hotbed of conspiracies and tumults, which may perhaps be suppressed by redoubled rigour, but which the least European commotion will make burst forth in the most violent manner. So sad a state of things, if it merits the attention of the governments of France and England, equally interested in the maintenance of order and the regular development of civilisation, must naturally preoccupy the government of the King of Sardinia in the highest degree. The awakening of revolutionary passions in all the countries surrounding Piedmont, by the effect of causes of a nature to excite the most lively popular sympathies, exposes it to dangers of excessive gravity, which may compromise that firm and moderate policy which has had such happy results for the interior, and gained it the sympathy and esteem of enlightened Europe.

"But this is not the only danger threatening Sardinia. A still greater is the consequence of the means employed by Austria



to repress the revolutionary fermentation in Italy. Called by the sovereigns of the small states of Italy who are powerless to repress the discontent of their subjects, this power occupies militarily the greater part of the valley of the Po and of Central Italy, and makes its influence felt in an irresistible manner even in the countries where she has no soldiers. Resting on one side on Ferrara and Bologna, her troops extend themselves to Ancona, the length of the Adriatic, which has become in a manner an Austrian lake; on the other, mistress of Piacenza,—which, contrary to the spirit, if not to the letter, of the treaties of Vienna, she labours to transform into a first-class fortress,—she has a garrison at Parma, and makes dispositions to deploy her forces all along the Sardinian frontier, from the Po to the summit of the Apennines. These permanent occupations by Austria of territories which do not belong to her, render her absolute mistress of nearly all Italy, destroy the equilibrium established by the treaty of Vienna, *and are a continual menace for Piedmont.*

“Surrounded in some degree on all sides by the Austrians, seeing developed on her eastern frontier, completely open, the forces of a power which she knows not to be animated by friendly feelings towards her, this country is held in a state of constant apprehension, which obliges her to remain armed and to take defensive measures which are excessively burthensome to her finances, already tasked by the events of 1848 and 1849, and by the war in which she has just participated.

“The facts that the undersigned have exposed suffice to make appreciated the dangers of the position in which the government of the King of Sardinia finds itself placed. Disturbed within by the action of revolutionary passions, excited all round by a system of violent repression and by the foreign occupation, threatened by the extension of Austrian power, it may at any moment be forced by an inevitable necessity to adopt extreme measures of which it is impossible to calculate the consequences. The undersigned do not doubt but that such a state of things will excite the solicitude of the governments of France and England, not only on account of the sincere friendship and real sympathy that these powers profess for the sovereign who alone, among all, at the moment when their success was most uncertain, declared himself openly in their favour; but, above all, be-

cause it constitutes a real danger for Europe. Sardinia is the only state in Italy that has been able to raise an impassable barrier to the revolutionary spirit, and at the same time remain independent of Austria. *It is the counterpoise to her invading influence.*

“If Sardinia succumbed, exhausted of power, abandoned by her allies—if she also was obliged to submit to Austrian domination, then the conquest of Italy by this power would be achieved; and Austria, after having obtained without its costing her the least sacrifice, the immense benefit of the free navigation of the Danube and the neutralisation of the Black Sea, would acquire a preponderating influence in the West. This is what France and England would never wish: this they will never permit. Moreover, the undersigned are convinced that the cabinets of Paris and London, taking into serious consideration the state of Italy, will decide, in concert with Sardinia, on the means of applying an efficacious remedy.

“C. CAVOUR.

“DE VILLAMARINA.

“Paris, April 16th, 1856.”

The Austrian government was angry at this spirited appeal against its iniquities. Count Buol accordingly addressed a despatch to the representatives of his country at Florence, Rome, Naples, and Modena. In it he described the note of Sardinia to the cabinets of Paris and London as “only a passionate appeal against Austria.” The occupation of some of the Italian states by the troops of Austria, was, he contended, necessary on account of the intrigues of the revolutionary party; adding, that nothing was “better calculated to encourage their criminal hopes, and excite their angry passions, than the incendiary speeches which have been lately delivered in the Piedmontese parliament.” The document concluded, amidst considerable diplomatic circumlocution, by stating that the Austrian government would do in the future exactly what it had done in the past.

And what was the answer of England and France to the appeal of Sardinia? A cold and discouraging one. France, as we learn from Count Cavour, reserved her opinion. The French emperor had no wish to see any great change in Italy, except such as he might direct; for change in that unhappy peninsula involved almost the certainty of revolution; and revolution in



Italy would endanger the throne of France. Lord Clarendon protested that the English government took a deep and sincere interest in the affairs of Italy, and were desirous of doing everything which could properly be done by them with a view to ameliorate the condition of the Italian people. Addressing our ambassador at the Sardinian court, the earl said—"No fresh assurances could add weight to those already given to Count Cavour; and I did not, therefore, think it necessary to send an answer in writing to the note of the Sardinian plenipotentiaries; but as it has come to the knowledge of her majesty's government that it would be agreeable to the Sardinian government to receive one, they cannot hesitate to declare their opinion that the occupation of the Papal territory by foreign troops, constitutes an irregular state of things, which disturbs the equilibrium and may endanger the peace of Europe; and that, by indirectly affording sanction to misgovernment, it promotes discontent and a tendency to revolution among the people. Her majesty's government are aware that, as this state of things has now, unfortunately, for some years been established, it may be possible that it could not suddenly be brought to a

close without some danger to public order, and the risk of producing events that all would deplore; but her majesty's government are convinced that the evacuation of the Papal territory may be rendered safe at an early period by a policy of wisdom and justice; and they entertain a hope that the measures agreed upon by the governments of France and Austria, will lead to a gradual withdrawal of their respective forces, and to bettering the condition of the subjects of the pope."

It was plainly evident that the English government also intended to stand aloof, and leave Italy unaided to achieve its own freedom, or to submit to its gloomy fate. How could those who sway the destinies of this country depart so far from the traditions of office as to act in a way displeasing to their darling ally, Austria? Yet it is strange, too, to those not in the secret, how that the policy of the government of a free country, like England, ever steadily favours the most corrupt stronghold of despotism in Europe! England and Austria hand-in-hand! It is as though freedom and slavery should strive to dwell together; or protestantism and papal tyranny unite in an incongruous and unnatural connection!

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## CHAPTER XX.

PEACE CELEBRATION AT THE CRYSTAL PALACE; NATIONAL PEACE REJOICINGS, GENERAL ILLUMINATIONS, AND GIGANTIC DISPLAYS OF FIREWORKS.

PEACE, though accepted in England without enthusiasm, was not destitute of those celebrations and national rejoicings which appear to be necessarily allied to so happy a state of things.

The first festival of which we must speak, though the arena of it was the Crystal Palace at Sydenham, the property merely of a private company, still, from its peculiarity, and the presence of her majesty and a great number of the members of both houses of parliament, rose to the dignity of an imposing national ceremony.

The peace celebration at the Crystal Palace, on the 9th of May, was distinguished by the inauguration of Baron

Marochetti's "Scutari Monument" and "Peace Trophy." With respect to the famous building in which the ceremonial was performed, it was very truly observed, that "whatever may be its merits or demerits in an architectural point of view, there is no building in the world so well adapted for the public *fêtes* of a great nation. The absence of shadow, which distinguishes it so remarkably from all other buildings, is, when it is filled with people, an advantage. The light streams as freely upon the multitudes as it did formerly upon the Greeks at Olympia and Elis. The crystal walls and roof shut out no beam of the sun, while they protect us from the inclemency of the weather. Crowds as numerous as those

which filled the Coliseum of old, or flocked into the vast squares of Oriental cities, can assemble together without fearing anything from the variations of our northern climate. Those aisles of slender pillars, that complicated tracery of the framework, fleck the sky with graceful lines without sensibly diminishing the light. This is an advantage which we might never have enjoyed but for the genius of Paxton. And, while we have all the light of the sun, we have all the grandeur and beauty of a palace and a garden combined. The crystallised thoughts of the giants of art stand like sentinels along the sides of the long passages; the elegant forms, the gorgeous colours, the rich clustering of the choicest plants, stud the floor like a marvellous mosaic; while pendant from the lofty roof float aerial baskets overflowing with flowers and foliage, almost realising the vision of Thompson's *Spring*, descending 'veiled in a shower of shadowing roses.' The place, too, was felt to be one peculiarly adapted for a peace festival, filled as it is with those marvels of art which are never produced so abundantly as when a nation is left to develop its energies, unencumbered with the burdens, and unhurt by the horrors of war."

On the opening of the doors of the palace an immense number of people flocked into it; and before the commencement of the ceremony (although admission was only to be procured on rather extravagant terms), nearly 12,000 persons had assembled. At about three all the seats on the floor and in the galleries, which commanded a view of the middle of the great transept, were filled with a dense mass of people wedged closely together. In the centre of this spot a *daïs* had been erected, with seats for the queen and her party. In its vicinity a number of benches had been raised for the accommodation of spectators; while the nearest galleries were devoted to the peers and members of the House of Commons. The space near the *daïs*, on the right-hand of her majesty, was set apart for her ministers, and that on the left for the Crimean officers. The presence of the latter—many of whom were maimed or had sustained other serious wounds—excited considerable interest. Still more, however, was elicited by a body of the Crimean soldiers, consisting of detachments of the Coldstream guards, Scotch fusiliers, grenadiers, and artillery, together with some highlanders and small parties from various line regiments. These men

formed a guard of honour in attendance upon her majesty.

The Queen and her party, comprising the Duchess of Kent, Prince Albert, the Prince of Wales, the Princess Royal, the junior members of the family, together with several of the nobility, arrived at half-past three, and entering by the north transept, passed at once to the *daïs*, where they took their seats amid enthusiastic cheers. After the performance of the national anthem, the model of the Scutari Monument was slowly unveiled to the sounds of solemn music. It consisted of an obelisk 100 feet in height, made in imitation of granite, and supported on a pedestal, at each corner of which was an angel with folded wings, the features bearing an air of calmness tinged with severity. The inscription on the monument ran—"Here are buried soldiers and officers who fell in the defence of Turkey, in the years 1854-'55-'56, in the reign of Queen Victoria." The following appropriate hymn, written for the occasion, was then sung, somewhat oddly, if not inappropriately, to a *Russian* air. Surely we had composers equal to the occasion: nor could there be any necessity for paying a compliment to the musical ability of our recent foes.

"God, the all-terrible! King, who ordainest  
Great winds Thy clarions, the lightnings Thy  
sword;  
Show forth Thy pity on high where Thou reignest;  
Give to us peace in our time, O Lord!

"God, the all-merciful! earth hath forsaken  
Thy ways of blessedness, slighted Thy word;  
Bid not Thy wrath in its terrors awaken:  
Give to us peace in our time, O Lord!

"So shall Thy children, in thankful devotion,  
Laud Him who saved them from peril abhorr'd,  
Singing in chorus from ocean to ocean,  
'Peace to the nations, and praise to the Lord!'"

The Peace Trophy was next unveiled. It was a colossal allegorical figure of the goddess, clothed in a garment of silver, over which was thrown a scarf of gold. In the right-hand was an olive-branch; while the left grasped some ears of corn. The figure was placed on a square base of green marble, which, in its turn, stood on an octagonal pillar, at the base of which were eight statues the size of life, silvered, gilt, and bronzed. The whole reached the height of 100 feet. Though tinselly and gaudy in execution, rather than chaste in design, the unveiling the trophy elicited loud cheers; for such an hour of excitement was not the time to be critical. On the



revealing of the statue, "Oh, lovely Peace!" was sung by Madame Rudersdorff.

At the desire of her majesty, the Crimean soldiers defiled round the *daïs*, the bands playing French and Sardinian airs, followed by "Rule Britannia." Her majesty then retired, after having been presented by M. Negretti, the photographer, with a stereotypic representation of the ceremony, taken a few minutes previously from one of the upper galleries. All the soldiers who contributed to this festivity were decorated with Crimean medals. A medal was also struck by the machine established on the premises, bearing on one side the trophies of the allies, with the circumscription, "Fall of Sebastopol, September 8th, 1855;" and on the other the words, "The Allies give Peace to Europe, March 30th, 1856."

We have now a far more striking ceremonial to speak of. A national celebration of the peace was appointed to take place on the 29th of May. For some weeks the inhabitants of the metropolis had anticipated this festivity with a considerable degree of interest. Business was suspended for the day; London was brilliantly illuminated; and at night, exhibitions of fireworks took place, which exceeded in magnitude and beauty all previous pyrotechnic displays in this country. All the resources of Woolwich arsenal had been for some time in operation in producing the requisite artistic designs and radiant toys for the occasion. Four exhibitions of fireworks took place: one in Hyde-park; a second in the Green-park; a third on Primrose-hill; and a fourth at Victoria-park. This was done for the convenience of the people of London, and to prevent a dangerous crowding to one spot. No partiality, however, was shown; the programme was the same for the east as for the west; for the throngs of Spitalfields and Whitechapel, as for the polished denizens of Belgravia and May-fair. In each place the entertainment was precisely the same, with the exception of Primrose-hill, where, though in some respects different, it was not inferior. In general these festivities were hailed with pleasure. Certainly there were some morose people who contemplated the spectacle with a grudging dislike, and who calculated how many quatern loaves might have been purchased with the sum blazed away in fireworks. This was but a trivial and petty mode of reasoning; for it is certain that the channels of charity were not drained, or in

any way touched for the promotion of rejoicing. Surely a nation so wealthy as England can afford to celebrate a great historical event with some degree of magnificence. Moreover, no body of men can labour, either with brain or muscle, without occasional relaxation; and it is surely right that those who cannot procure enjoyment for themselves, should, in a time of national rejoicing, have it provided for them at the public expense.

Though the day was dull and sunless, yet London presented all the evidences of a great festival. The shops were mostly closed; while, from the windows of the houses and public buildings in all the main thoroughfares, banners floated heavily in the air. Upon the river a forest of masts displayed innumerable and many-coloured flags; while merry peals of bells were mingled with the booming of cannon from the Horse-guards and the Tower. Vast and expectant crowds sauntered through the streets, gazing upon the preparations made for the evening illumination, and enjoying the brilliant display in anticipation. The west end was especially animated; for, in addition to the other attractions, her majesty held a drawing-room, and a detachment of life-guards was stationed at the upper end of St. James's-street, to maintain a clear passage for the throng of carriages and brilliant company who attended it. "The parks," said a daily journal, "were very early visited, and, at noon, looked as gay as they usually do on a fine Sunday at four o'clock. There was a most wonderful variety of constructions prepared for the night; some like the scaffoldings which conventionally represent the building of the Temple; some like gymnastic apparatus, or the instruments of suspension and self-torture used by the Fakirs; others simply like gibbets, windmills, sign-posts, railway signals, or the rigging of Chinese junks. Most delightful they were to gaze upon, instinct with fire, and life, and hope. Like the prizes of social life, or the institutions of one's country, they stood charged with power and full of promise. How they would soon blaze away! What glory, what coruscations, what hues; how soaring, how sublime! For the present, indeed, they looked mere anatomies; but the dry bones would soon start into life and motion. Of all human mimicry and artifice, there is nothing more beautiful than fireworks; nothing like the glory of



the heavens, the fury of volcanoes, or the splendour of meteors.”

Night came on, and then London burst forth into a brilliant blaze of light. Of the illuminations which everywhere met the eyes of the thousands and hundreds of thousands of spectators, we will speak presently. First, of the pyrotechnic displays. As the appointed hour approached (half-past nine), the parks presented a striking appearance; for on the green sward human beings clustered almost as thickly as leaves in the forest or sands upon the sea-shore. Happily, the behaviour of all, even to the poorest and utterly uneducated, was decorous in the extreme; and there was nothing in the demeanour of these mighty crowds to which the most censorious could take exception. A few minutes before the commencement of the spectacle, the Queen, Prince Albert, the members of the royal family, Prince William of Prussia, and other distinguished persons, took their seats in a pavilion erected at the north end of Buckingham-palace, facing the Green-park.

As the fireworks were the same in each park, we shall speak of those in the one we have just mentioned, for the sufficient reason that we were present there. At the appointed signal there was a continuous discharge of maroons, accompanied with brilliant illuminations, with white, red, green, and yellow fires. As these smouldered down, sending clouds of white smoke into the air, and throwing into strange relief the scaffolding and weird devices of the unexploded fireworks, they gave the impression of a burning town, in which nearly everything had been consumed save the blackened rafters and skeletons of houses. Then, for two hours, followed every conceivable design of elegant and dazzling pyrotechnic art. Flights of rockets, a hundred at a time; revolving wheels, suns, stars, golden streamers, and fiery serpents chasing each other through the air. Gerbs, Roman candles, tourbillons, shells, and fixed pieces of the most fantastic designs and brilliant hues. The eyes were dazzled with the intensity of the light; while the constant explosions favoured the idea which sometimes occurred to the mind, that the spectator was gazing upon a battle-field at night. It was strange

\* As it may not unreasonably be supposed that we have fallen into an inadvertent error in stating that this enormous number of rockets were discharged into the air almost at once, we will quote from the official programme of the fireworks the last division, which gives the particulars. The whole ex-

to believe that so fierce and apparently ungovernable an element as fire, could by any artistic process be rendered so delicately obedient to the will of man. What exquisite and brilliant forms did it not assume—now showers of descending stars varying to all the colours of the rainbow, but far deeper tinted and more real; fountains of fire, startling in their rushing rise, and inexpressibly graceful in their descent; profusions of fairy-looking flowers, showing in their evanescent glory like a vision of the excited imagination; sheaves of yellow corn standing out against the dark sky; and, in one instance, a gigantic yew-tree, apparently of lustrous silver, impressed every one with a sense of mild radiance and exquisite beauty. The effect of colour in some of the devices was gorgeous. The bright green emerald, the pale sapphire, the gay amber, the pure topaz, the sweet-tinted amethyst, the rich garnet, the blue turquoise, the dark lapis-lazuli, the rare jacinth, the elegant onyx, the delicate opal, the gaudy gold, and the brilliant diamond—all gay and glittering colours were there combined, and presented such a dazzling profusion of tints as the eye could scarcely tire to look upon.

The triumph, however, of the entertainment was reserved for the close of it. This was a tremendous bombardment, during which the air was constantly filled with flights of rockets, and was intended as a representation of the last grand attack upon Sebastopol—the blowing up of the magazines and works, and general conflagration. As an introduction to this, there were five fixed pieces, all of complicated construction; the centre being an enormous one which, amid all its fantastic blazing and revolving, exhibited the words, in fire, of “*GOD SAVE THE QUEEN.*” Language fails to convey a vivid idea of the deafening, roaring, crashing, and grand appearance of the termination, during which the proud fortifications of Sebastopol were supposed to succumb. Then rose up into the blackness of night, emulous of the very stars which they seemed utterly to extinguish, rapidly one after another, six flights of rockets, comprising altogether no less than ten thousand of these beautiful and brilliant instruments.\* The effect was sublime, awful, and perhaps hibition consisted of no less than twenty-four divisions in each park:—“Fixed piece, fountain of 12 pr. gerbes, 2; fixed piece, fountain of Roman candles, 2; fixed piece, Guilloché, 2; fixed piece, Saxon cutting-piece, 2; fixed piece, ‘God save the Queen,’ 1; Roman candles—batteries of pearl



as like to the terrible scene which took place when the Russians were driven by a frightful bombardment to abandon Sebastopol and blow up its magazines, as anything that could be conceived. It was such a spectacle as a man could not reasonably expect to witness more than once in his life: truly, "Never was nobler finish of fine sight."

Turn we now to the illuminations, which were very general, and in many instances very brilliant. Of these we intend only to notice a few devices, which were remarkable either for their originality, eccentricity, or good sense. Of the innumerable crowns and stars, and wreaths, and rosettes, and festoons, and "V. R.'s" and "V. A.'s," together with the numbers of middling, pasty-looking, and unimaginative transparencies, and the words "Peace," "Pax," "Alma," "Inkermann," "Sebastopol," &c., we have nothing to say further than that similar things are always a matter of course at illuminations, at least in this country; and may very well be imagined without further words on our part. The first we have to mention may be described as a discontented eccentricity, though it was not alone in the expression, on this festive occasion, of its dissatisfaction of the mode in which our late affairs had been conducted. It was at the house of Mr. Collett, Upper Belgrave-street, where a large transparency, with a black border, bore the words, "In mourning for a disgraceful peace, the certain result of a war disgracefully conducted." Dudley House, in Park-lane, the residence of Lord Ward, was illuminated in a style of unusual splendour and magnitude. The entire front of the mansion was a sheet of light, the outline of the building being traced out in lines of fire; while at the top was a coat-of-arms, contained within wreaths of laurel. There were no less than 20,000 jets of gas; and the amount consumed was estimated at 2,000 feet a minute. Six flags, also of noble dimensions, were suspended from the roof. At the Turkish embassy, Bryanston-square, there was an illumination of a splendid and somewhat novel character. Around the fifteen windows in front of the house ran a beading of variegated gas-lamps—red, green, and white. In the centre of

the building was the star and crescent, brilliantly lighted on a red ground. On the right were the initials "V. R.," surmounted by a crown on a green ground; and on the left was the cipher of the sultan, on a green ground, which, beyond being his signature, was understood to express his various titles. Along the coping, above the second story, ran a continuous line of jets, reflected through small lamps of various colours. The balconies of the windows had transparencies attached to them, representing the arms of the different European powers engaged in the recent war. There was also the representation of six urns over as many pilasters. From these imaginary urns issued tongues of red flame, which gave an outline to the whole picture, and brought forth with greater vividness the white light of the gas. The French and Russian embassies also attracted considerable notice from the magnificence of their illuminations. Most of our west-end clubs also shone out in great splendour.

At the house of Mr. Marshall, a tradesman in Oxford-street, a transparency was exhibited, with the words, "Now may Europe rest in peace:" above this was an enormous coffin, with the inscription, "In memory of military aggression, who expired at Sebastopol, after a severe attack of Alma, and a subsequent shock of Inkermann:" below this was the Russian eagle. In the same street were some others of a critical kind. One, an illuminated placard, with the words, "Peace to the remains of the heroes who fell in the Crimea, and the victims of mismanagement." Another tradesman, of a sombre and cynical turn of mind, had hung his shop with crape; while two black flags were suspended from above; one bearing the word "Kars," and the other "Starvation." In one window was a design representing a widow mourning for her husband; and in another a mother weeping for her son. Nailed in front of the shop was a long strip of black cloth, with the words, "Mourn for the lost brave;" and immediately over the door were sixteen tall, black candlesticks, containing as many rushlights; and below them was inscribed, "Watch-lamps for the dead." The designer of this unpleasant and lugubrious affair (which only wanted a few skulls and bones from some neighbouring churchyard to complete its incongruous repulsiveness) ought to have been a misanthropic undertaker on the verge of bank-

streamers, 7; tourbillons, 50; discharge of rockets, blue, 50; discharge of rockets, yellow, 50; discharge of rockets, green, 50; discharge of rockets, red, 50; flights of rockets, 200, 600, 1,400, 2,000, 2,600, 3,200: total, 10,000.



ruptey, and afflicted with a complication of asthma, gout, neuralgia, biliousness, and indigestion. Unfortunately for the perfect fitness of the matter, the man was an umbrella-maker.

Messrs. Cramer, Beale, and Co., of Regent-street, exhibited an allegorical scenic representation of "Concord," from the pencils of Grieve and Telbin. Britannia and Gaul, in the classical costume of the respective countries, exchanged professions of alliance and good-will at an altar, on which burnt the undying flame of patriotism. Gaul was supported by her soldiers, and Britannia by her seamen. Beneath the genius of each country shone medallions of the reigning sovereigns; the whole incased in a magnificent frame, glittering with the orders and flags of the allied powers. At Mr. Claudet's photographic gallery, in Regent-street, there were two large royal crowns, not placed, as in ordinary cases, flat against the wall, but modelled complete, and supported on elegant brackets on either side of the royal arms. Between them, and enclosing the coat-of-arms, like a wreath, was the motto, "*Pax artis vita*," illustrative of the necessity of peace to the free and liberal development of the arts and sciences. At Messrs. Medwin and Co.'s was a transparency representing the allied soldiers receiving the laurels of victory. The names of the battles fought in the Crimea were inscribed on scrolls; and surmounting the centre figure were the words, "England and France united give hope to Hungary, unity to Italy, freedom to Poland, peace to the world." It must be regretted, however, that in sober truth, this inscription was as extravagantly hopeful as the umbrella-maker's display was desponding.

We will not occupy our reader's time on

\* On the subject of the oppressed nationalities, the following words of Mr. W. J. Fox, addressed to his constituents at Oldham, express a broad, common-sense, and probably very general view:—"I confess some of the expectations I felt on the subject of the war have been disappointed. I thought it might have ended in a kind of crusade against despotism universally. I thought there might have been, incidental to the conflict, the liberation of the Hungarians, the Poles, and of the Italians. That is postponed; but it is only postponed. The time is coming—and it may perhaps be nearer than we imagine—when the oppressed nationalities will rise in their majesty, assert their rights, and obtain their liberty. God send that it may come soon! Our sympathies, our hearts and hopes, and wishes are with them. *But this was not an object for which the war could have been prolonged.* The war was made on definite

this subject further, by any description of the brilliancy of the public offices, and the private houses that rivalled them; or by telling how that the west end of London surpassed the city, and the city utterly eclipsed the east end. We will merely conclude by noticing a very unassuming-looking transparency which appeared against the house of Mr. Holyoake, a bookseller in Fleet-street. We do so because it elegantly, yet pointedly, denoted the shortcomings of the recent treaty. The transparency had no decoration, only the following inscriptions:—"Peace is incomplete without the freedom of the nationalities."\*

"It is no peace.

Annihilated Poland, stifled Rome,  
Dazed Naples, Hungary fainting 'neath the thong,  
And Austria wearing a smooth olive leaf  
On her brute forehead, while her hoofs outpress  
The life from Italy."†

Though London was necessarily the principal scene of the peace festivities, they were by no means confined to it. Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dublin, Liverpool, Manchester, Sheffield, and many other cities and towns had their respective rejoicings, in which, in some cases, illuminations and fireworks formed a part. Bell-ringing, cannon-firing, processions, and public dinners were in abundance, nor were school-children and the poor forgotten; entertainments and refreshments being, in many towns, provided for them upon a generous scale. At Liverpool, upwards of 25,000 children (the scholars of the combined schools of the locality, ragged schools included) were taken to Wavertree-park, which had been thrown open for the day for their reception, and refreshments were bountifully distributed to them. Those poor children will—even when men and women—have a pleasant recollection of the peace festival. So, also, grounds, for limited purposes, and in conjunction with allies. Technically, the objects of the war were accomplished. Turkey was saved, and has only to work out her own regeneration. Russia, I am happy to see, has recently manifested a pacific disposition; and the exoneration of the country from the recruitment of the conscription for a number of years, is a kind of pledge of promise of a peaceful tendency and disposition, which I think we ought to meet with gratification and to reciprocate with pleasure. But, nevertheless, we cannot look upon the state of Europe without deep feelings of anxiety. We cannot but foresee the coming and inevitable storm; we cannot but trust that while there will be reforms in England, there will also be emancipation for Europe."

† Elizabeth Barrett Browning's *Casa Guidi Windows*.



will a number of Crimean soldiers in the town, who were hospitably regaled with a substantial dinner by the mayor. Numerous loyal and congratulatory addresses on

the peace were subsequently presented to her majesty from the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and from many other public bodies.

## CHAPTER XXI.

VISIT OF THE EMPEROR ALEXANDER TO WARSAW; HIS POLITICAL AMNESTY TO POLISH ABSENTEES; REFLECTIONS ON THE CONDITION OF POLAND; ADDRESS OF THE POLISH EXILES TO THEIR COUNTRYMEN; POLISH DEPUTATION TO COUNT WALEWSKI; THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA AT BERLIN; TERRIBLE INUNDATIONS IN FRANCE, AND SYMPATHY IN ENGLAND FOR THE CALAMITY OF THE SUFFERERS; ARRIVAL OF GENERAL WILLIAMS IN ENGLAND; THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND DECORATES THE SOLDIERS OF SARDINIA.

THE proceedings of the young Emperor of Russia at this period, and all that tends to illustrate his character, are fraught with interest to those who study the exciting history of the present age.

On the 18th of May, the czar Alexander II. left St. Petersburg on a visit to Warsaw, doubtless with a view of attaching to himself and his government the unhappy people of Poland. After pausing for a short time at Moscow, he arrived at Warsaw on the 22nd, and on the following day was joined by his sister the grand-duchess Olga, with her husband, the crown prince of Wurtemberg. The emperor did not enter Warsaw until eleven o'clock at night, when he found the city illuminated in his honour. Wax candles innumerable; lamps, Chinese lanterns, transparencies, with the imperial cipher or allegorical designs, burned at the fronts of the principal buildings. He was received by an immense crowd with huzzas and cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" which he acknowledged with apparent and probably real emotion. The czar seemed an estimable young man enough, and by no means a profound political or social actor. On arriving at the palace he was received by Prince Gortschakoff, surrounded by foreign envoys, civil and military notabilities of Poland, and the highest dignitaries of the empire. After the customary presentations were over, the emperor retired into his apartments to obtain rest after the fatigues of his long journey.

The following day, accompanied by a numerous *cortège*, he visited the Greek cathedral. At the doors he was received by the archbishop Arsene and his clergy, who

offered him bread and salt with the apostolic benediction. After remaining during a short liturgy, the emperor visited the citadel and inspected some regiments of infantry. During the stay of the czar at Warsaw, he issued the following amnesty to all Poles who remained in exile on account of their political opinions or conduct. It was, however, not without an exceptional clause, which might be made to include any one who was obnoxious to the government. In fact, it was rather an exhortation to all classes of Poles absent from their birth-place, to apply for permission to return to it. There was nothing new or extraordinary in this; its chief value being the assurance it contained, that the emperor was disposed to treat all such applications with the greatest possible leniency and indulgence that the respective cases would admit of. The act of the emperor was, indeed, rather one of policy than of clemency. It was a renewal of an attempt frequently made before, and always unsuccessfully, to attract back to Poland men, industry, and talents, which the impoverished country stood greatly in need of.

"H.M. the emperor, being desirous of showing his paternal clemency to those who, having unlawfully left the kingdom of Poland or the eastern governments of the empire, now regret their fault, and wish to return to their country, and being, at the same time, willing to convince them that their previous offences are forgotten, deigns to authorise his embassies abroad to receive their petitions for the grant of a permit to return. The authorisation to re-enter their country will be immediately granted to the

petitioners, and they will not be subjected to any further investigation or responsibility to the courts of justice. On the contrary, from the moment of their return, they will all resume their civil rights and the privileges of their respective ranks; and, after three years of irreproachable conduct, they will be admissible into the public service, so as to become useful to their country and to be placed in a position to prove the sincerity of their sentiments. Those of the emigrants who, by their proceedings, have constantly shown, and still show, an incorrigible hatred towards the Russian government, are excepted from this act of his majesty's mercy."

In a speech the czar addressed to the nobles and officials of Warsaw, he also observed—"My line of conduct towards your country is an absolute oblivion of the past. I am satisfied with the Poles; not only because, in spite of the revolutions and wars which have just shaken the whole of Europe, they have not forgotten the duties which they have to fulfil towards their sovereign and towards themselves, but also because those among them who have fought in the ranks of my army have given proof of great bravery and fidelity. I bear them all therefore in my heart, and I shall never cease to love the Poles as my own children. Tell this, gentlemen, to your countrymen; but tell them, at the same time, that the period for wild reveries has passed away. Let there be none of them. *I wish Poland to be happy, and she cannot be so but by her union with Russia.*"

Perhaps the Poles would be more happy and prosperous if they were to forget their nationality, and accept, with what cheerfulness they can, the state of things that has been forced upon them. This, though to many of them a painful sacrifice, would be better than for their country to remain in the state of sad distraction which has so long torn and harassed it. The partition of Poland, the erasure of her name from among the nations, was undoubtedly an European calamity. But instead of throwing away virtuous indignation upon the subject, let us bear in mind that the

\* What the patriots of Poland, its sojourners in other lands for the sake of that freedom they could not find at home, did think of the conduct of the Russian emperor, the following address to his countrymen from the president of the general assemblies of the Poles, will graphically show:—"Fellow-Exiles,—The czar's boasted amnesty has appeared at last in all its stages. Alexander announced it in his

independence of Poland passed away from her in accordance with an inevitable law of nature. Poland was a nation of serfs and petty tyrants. Her own nobles were her destroyers; their oppressions and dissensions murdered their country. Poland never had a PEOPLE, in the sense in which we understand the word in England. Its inhabitants were a race of ignorant and superstitious serfs, and their lordly owners kept them what they were, while they despised them for being so. What is called the *fall* of Poland—that is, the transfer of power from the hands of an unworthy nobility—was the result of an unshunnable retribution. Weak native tyrants succumbed to strong foreign ones. Did Frenchmen or Englishmen resemble the superstitious, squalid, serf-masses of Poland, the independence of the two great empires they inhabit would perish likewise. Poland fell on account of its internal weakness and rottenness, the result of the vices of its own rulers. Foreign aggression only struck the final blow; the victim was self-prepared for immolation—bound not with wreaths of flowers, but with chains; robed not in sacrificial robes, but in miserable rags. Despots should remember, that with an oppressed and emasculate people, a state can never flourish. The poverty and want of spirit of its subjects reacts upon the government; and in the hour of peril the tyrant finds divided people, with alienated hearts and nerveless arms. Why should they strike? Perhaps the invader is also a liberator. The slaves will deliberate, and, of two tyrants, choose, if they can, the best. It is ill for Europe that Poland has been engulfed by the despotisms of the continent; but the Polish people are probably better off than when under the rule, or rather the yoke, of their native masters.

This view is not general or popular, but it may still be the correct one. Necessarily, Polish exiles who pass a life in mourning the extinction of their country's name, will not coincide with us; and from these gentlemen the common opinions on the Polish question are received.\* England abounds with talkers of politics, who, unfortunately, speech; then the act itself was published on the 10th of May in the Warsaw *Official Gazette*; lastly, Gortschakoff's circular explains it fully. I entreat you to read all these documents before you come to any decision on the subject, and to weigh well each expression. By this time you must be versed in the real meaning of certain words used by Russia in public documents. They ought not to deceive you,



are not thinkers also; and these parties fancy it a moral duty to exhibit a great deal of indignation whenever the wrongs of Poland are referred to. We are not without sympathy for the Poles—far from it; for we have an earnest sympathy for all who are suffering or oppressed; but we cannot forget the *cause* of their misfortunes.

at least. The speech was evidently composed to deceive our countrymen in Poland; to generate illusions never to be realised; to cement under false pretext the first foundation of the Slavonian empire under Russia, and to lull patriotism in the most obscene materialism. The czar was superb in his rhetoric, as all his predecessors were, when bent on making dupes. He was positively all affection, progress, even liberality. He is touched with Polish 'loyalty,' with the Polish 'bravery' displayed even in his own army; nay, with the sufferings of the exile. He loves us 'as his own children,' and is ready to forgive; only you must confess publicly 'your errors,' beg most humbly pardon, promise solemnly to sin no more; nay, that is not enough, you are expected to give proofs of your 'sincerity.' Do you understand what the last expression means? Merely, in order to convince the czar that you sincerely regret of being once an honest man and a true Pole, you must prove yourselves to be quite the contrary, by denouncing in others the crimes you have abjured. But on the other side, the czar—for he stands not at trifles—boldly promises, 'Poland's happiness.' If you are really a patriot, what would you not be capable of doing for such a purpose? There is, however, one small condition attached to this boon—'No more illusions, no more reveries,' exclaims the czar. The only illusion that enchants into a palace the dark, cold, airless, underground mines of Siberia, in which so many of our countrymen expiate their patriotism, the only 'reverie' that smooths the pillow of long exile, is the independence of Poland. Poles! now the czar has spoken out, you have heard at what price you can get his amnesty, even such as it is. Are you ready to accept it on such conditions? God forbid! The czar, in his fatherly ardour, declared with much logic, for your information, that the only possible happiness to Poland is in the 'union with Russia.' In the first place, what an honourable alliance! for Russia means here the czar's government, abhorred even by the Muscovites themselves; on the other hand, can you not conceive how sweet it must be to witness in others the tortures, the agonies you have to suffer yourselves? And how consolatory to reflect that you are doomed to die under the same weight beneath which you see others expire! If you do not understand such a happiness, my advice is, return not to Poland. The amnesty now granted is no amnesty at all, only the reiteration of the high privilege ever enjoyed by the happy subjects of the czar; in a word, Alexander boastfully, in the presence of all admiring Europe, reminds you that you are at liberty, if you conform to certain most degrading forms, to try his mercy—namely, to petition him for return, which after all humiliation, may or may not be granted, and which is sure to compromise you in the eyes of the world, and of your own family. Finally, there is a certain small clause at the end of the amnesty which nullifies it altogether: just analyse the following grand *finale* to the noble

The exiles of Poland felt that their country had been neglected by the congress of Paris during the negotiations for peace, and a deputation of some of the most distinguished of them waited upon Count Walewski, and presented an address to him, expressive of their convictions upon this point, dated the 3rd of May, and signed by Count

act so much boasted of. 'Those who by their proceedings have shown, or still show, their incorrigible hatred of the imperial government, are excluded from this act of his majesty's mercy.' Why, this insignificant addition includes every one of us—every Pole abroad. Mark, not only the heroes of 1831, but the poor pedlar or Jew that 'unlawfully left Poland,' to avoid the honour and the pleasures of serving in the czar's army; for believe me this unlawful act may, and is sure to be, translated into enmity to the government of his czarish majesty. But suppose that after all the degradation, any of you receive permission to return. What will you do there for your living? Does the amnesty promise to return your confiscated estates, if you had any? No. It is awfully silent on the subject. It merely specifies that, 'after three years of irreproachable conduct,' you will not be admitted, but only 'admissible to the public service'—in other words, degraded in the eyes of the world, suspected by everybody, and rejected by your own family, old and infirm, after twenty-five years' long exile and all its sufferings, what possibly can you do for your living, at least for the first three years? Why you must beg your bread—and not at the door of an honest Pole, but at the iron gate and iron hearts of the enemies of your country; but you shall be allowed to roam at leisure, but must earn your bitter bread by doing the duty of a low spy. Such is, in my opinion, the honourable fate which the czar, in his 'fatherly mercy,' prepares for each of you who shall desert your honourable post. Under all circumstances my advice is, remain true to your noble calling—stand to the last by the grave of your country, a protest against crime and a reproach to Europe. Undebased and uncajoled, stand to the last. Lastly, if it be your fate to wait in vain, let your bones bleach in foreign lands rather than degrade the national honour, confided by God to us. Perchance He will in His own mercy reward your fidelity. If not, then die as boldly and as honourably as you have lived: the faithful hand of your co-exile shall close your eyes; the widowed Poland—thy own *beau idéal*—shall breathe a prayer and a blessing over thy grave, and your memory shall remain sacred, not only to Poland, but to every honest man, whatever be his nation. Fling, therefore, back, every gift proceeding from the hand polluted in blood; reject with scorn the amnesty offered by the chief of the arch-enemies of your country—fling it back into the very face of the Hetman of the famous Cossacks that cut the breasts of the Polish women in 1831. We can well afford to receive death at the hands of the enemies of our country, but never favours—never dishonour. Placed as I am, by your own free choice, in the proud position I occupy, I thought I ought not to remain silent on the occasion; at all events, none of you shall have a right to say that the man in whom you ever confided was mute when your honour was at stake, and that he did not warn you in time."—B. WIERCINSKI.



Christian Ostrowski, together with several thousand members of the Polish emigration. It was regarded as a last appeal to the great powers of Europe, and an earnest protest against the abandonment of their national rights. We extract one or two passages which convey the sense of the document. After alluding to their rejected offer of assistance to the allies, the memorialists thus continue:—"During the course of the negotiations opened at Paris for the conclusion of peace, we did not raise our voice in the name of Poland; for we could not believe that in a congress assembled to re-establish the ancient relations between the powers of Europe, the question of Poland would have been totally set aside. We left to France and her allies the task of pleading our cause at the same time as that of Turkey, and we thought that our silence ought to entitle us to this consideration. The deliverance of oppressed nationalities would, we thought, be the necessary consequence of the western alliance. But now, when the treaty of peace, ratified by the powers, has been made public, and as neither in that official instrument, nor in the protocols of the conferences which preceded it, have we found the name of Poland, we cannot, without denying the past, without abandoning all regard to the future, remain silent, and thus renounce the rights which even our enemies and those of France had recognised as legitimate."

Admitting the important fact that France and England, by declaring war against Russia, yet assumed no new engagement with regard to Poland, yet the memorialists did not consider that a reason why nothing should be stipulated in her favour by the congress. It was in the power of the plenipotentiaries, nay, they considered it an obligation imposed on them, to demand from Russia the establishment of the kingdom of Poland as it stood in 1815.\* They continued:—"The Eastern question—the definitive solution of which no one has dared to indicate—cannot be detached from the question of Poland. Any combination the object of whose solution would be the exclusion of Poland, would be at once marked by weakness and fragility. Such must be the case, for Russia only negotiated

with the view of delay; her traditional policy is in every respect the same; and the interposition of Poland is still the only logical and rational means of arresting her progress towards the west and south. From the present date she declares war against the Circassians, who by their religion are connected with the sultan. To-morrow it will be the turn of the Persians; the Eastern road to the Black Sea remains always open to her. There is an inexorable necessity in the life of nations as of individuals, which cannot be avoided by any expedient. One of two things—either Poland will be freed, or Turkey and Austria will, sooner or later, pass under the Muscovite rule. Let the Greco-Slave empire be not forgotten—that empire planned by Peter I., and realised by his descendants, would be composed of near 100,000,000 men! 'Tzarogrod,' the city of the czars!—such has been for centuries the Russian name of Constantinople. Napoleon has said, 'The assimilation of Poland would render Russia all powerful!' The plenipotentiaries, we feel sure, will take these things into consideration, in order to secure for their work the character of solidity and durability."

Turning away from questions which form the problems of the future, let us proceed with our narration of the events of the present. A patient chronicle of facts is of more value than dim prophetic guesses about unborn events. Historical prophecies are easy things to write, and pleasant sometimes to read; but they have the disadvantage of usually being utterly unlike the truth when it stands revealed. Strain your eyes as you will, against the mystic future the gates of Cloudland are ever impenetrably closed!

After a very short sojourn at Warsaw, the Emperor Alexander proceeded to Berlin to visit his uncle the King of Prussia. The emperor was *fêted* and treated with all the honours due to his exalted rank in the capital of Prussia, where, and at Potsdam, the second city of the kingdom, he passed his time. General Williams of Kars was at Berlin at the same time, on his return to England, and was honoured with an invitation to the table of the king, who, together with the emperor, treated the brave soldier

\* Undoubtedly it was in the power of the plenipotentiaries to make such a demand; but with the representatives of Austria and Prussia amongst them, it was equally certain they never would do so. Had, however, such a demand—unwarranted by the

chequered and partial success of the war—been made, peace would have been rendered impossible. Russia would never have consented to such terms until exhaustion had been succeeded by national paralysis.



with the greatest distinction. It is related that the Prince of Prussia, observing him while viewing the interior of a church at Potsdam, manœuvred so as to come round by one of the side aisles, and meet the general face to face, to whom he at once introduced himself; and, after shaking him by the hand, entered cordially into conversation with him.

Reviews, hunting, the opera, dinner-parties, and private musical entertainments were the objects which occupied the time of the emperor and his relative the King of Prussia. An English correspondent at Berlin, gave the following not very flattering picture of the personal appearance and demeanour of the emperor:—"Military men here, who are not a little pedantic in the small minutiae of parade service, find fault with the bearing of the young emperor, and would fain imply that he is no thorough-paced officer; his management of his own person, his horse, and his sabre, are all matter of unfavourable comment. This disadvantageous judgment is the more probably well grounded that it certainly cannot have been produced by any unfavourable contrast forced upon their notice by the bearing of their own king, at whose side he rode; for a less soldierly-looking officer can hardly be imagined than the King of Prussia, without resorting at once to the ridiculous. This he certainly is not, but he is equally removed from the eagle-eyed, rapid, energetic, firm-seated horseman, who forms the first fundamental outline of the commander. If the emperor on this occasion was less adroit in drawing and handling his sabre than the officer who uses the same accoutrements he has been accustomed to for years, he may be excused on the score of the novelty of his position and his uniform, while the king habitually handles his sword very unlike one who ever intended to use it. But this they both have in common—that one can easily see they are better men than they are soldiers, and both seem to possess the art and the goodwill to captivate the affections of those with whom they come in contact by a delicate consideration of their feelings. As they were riding down the line of cavalry on Saturday morning (May 31st), and came up to the lancer regiment of which he is chief, the emperor made a vault sideways with his horse, and took up his position in front of his regiment as its commander, and saluted the king as he rode by—a little amiable attention that gave rise to a very hearty de-

monstration of kindly feeling on both sides. As the cavalry passed on he resumed his place at the king's side. The emperor hardly looks so old as he is—thirty-eight; appears to be about 5ft. 10in. high, rather slight than stout, and by no means of the athletic form of his father; his countenance, when not deformed by the Prussian lancer's cap, as I at first saw him, is expressive of mildness and goodness, and a certain degree of conscientious perseverance. Possibly there may be at other times a greater appearance of imposing energy than it just now wears; for, according to all accounts, he suffers very much from the fatigue that his present position entails upon him. I have seen him again twice, as he was returning from the Kreuzberg and shortly after he was going out again to Potsdam. On each occasion he was seated in the corner of an open barouche, in the one instance with his brother Michael, in the other with his adjutant seated on his right side and somewhat forward, so as to receive and return the salutes of the people. The object of the emperor seemed to be to gain a little time and rest for himself by escaping unnoticed and unrecognised; and in by far the majority of instances he was successful; and long after that unostentatious young officer of lancers had driven by, the people remained standing and gaping for the emperor. On each occasion he was attended simply by two mounted policemen, to clear the way, and followed by another open carriage with his adjutants and attendants, but with no guard of honour or escort."

Alexander left Potsdam soon after midnight on the 2nd of June, to return to St. Petersburg. It is said that uncommon hour was chosen because the Russians have a superstition against commencing a journey on a Monday. Such leisure as his public occupations left him during his sojourn at Potsdam, was devoted to business, which frequently kept him up until far into the night. He is reported also to have eagerly availed himself of every opportunity of paying his respects to the empress-mother, who had visited her native place, in the hope of in some measure strengthening a broken constitution.

At this period a calamity fell upon France, which, though strictly forming part of the domestic history of that country, yet we shall speak of here, because it elicited an



amount of active sympathy in England which tended to bind more closely the bonds of alliance between the two countries. We allude to the terrible inundations in the south and central districts of France, by which much life and property was lost, whole villages were immersed, and in some cases partially swept away; and even large towns suffered a similar catastrophe.

A great agricultural exhibition was being held at Paris; strangers attended that city from all parts of Europe, and everything was proceeding with harmony and prosperity. Suddenly a change took place; rain fell incessantly for two days and nights, and then dreadful news came from the provinces. The city of Lyons stands at the conflux of the Saône with the Rhone.\* This city and its neighbourhood was the chief and earliest scene of the calamity. The river Rhone, swelled by the mountain-torrents amongst which it takes its rise, was

\* The inundations which have caused such extensive calamities in the departments of the south naturally direct attention to the questions connected with the hydrography of some of the great rivers of France. The Rhone, which stands in the first rank, rises in Switzerland at the foot of Mont Furca, in the canton of the Valais, the whole of which it traverses. It has its rise from three different springs, and forms for itself a very irregular bed among rocks and innumerable glaciers. It afterwards falls over an immense precipice near the chapel St. Nicholas into the small plain of Oberwald, where it receives several tributary streams. From its source as far as Martigny—a town situated at the commencement of the Great St. Bernard road, and which was almost entirely destroyed by the terrible inundation of 1818—the Rhone follows a south-western course. At a short distance from Martigny it suddenly turns to the north-west, and after passing through a narrow gorge throws itself by two branches into the Lake of Geneva, and at about twelve miles further on enters the French territory, near the Fort de l'Ecluse, and forms the frontier between France and Savoy. The river in ordinary times is not more than 12 feet wide at Oberwald. Above the Lake of Geneva it is 150 yards wide. On leaving the lake, and at its confluence with the Arve, it is 88 yards wide; and on entering France 175 yards. From its source to the Fort de l'Ecluse its fall is 1,496 yards. The Rhone after quitting Switzerland, runs towards Lyons, and on passing through the Lake of Geneva, is hemmed in on its right bank as far as below Ceyssien, by the slopes of the Jura, and on the left bank as far as its confluence with the Uchès by the Montagnes aux Vaches in Savoy. Between l'Ecluse and Genisseat it runs through a narrow defile about twelve miles in length. After Genisseat, the mountains retire from the banks of the river until near Vienne, where they again approach it, and continue so until its confluence with the Ardèche on the right, and the Durance on the left. After this the banks become lower. The Rhone falls into the Mediterranean after a total course of 825 kilometres (about 515 miles.) It is navigable for about 315 miles.

the principal source of the mischief. The river rose many times its usual height, the torrent overflowed the embankments, and threatened to sweep them away. The principal streets of Lyons were under water, and only to be approached in carriages or boats. Walls and trees were undermined and fell, and some houses were involved in a similar destruction. On the 31st of May the dike of the Grand Champ gave way to the extent of 150 yards. The released water formed a lake around a fort which was being constructed in the neighbourhood, and 1,100 soldiers who were at work there were thus subjected to a novel and alarming kind of investment. Happily, information was immediately sent to the proper authorities, and the soldiers were brought away in boats without loss of life. The traffic on the railways was interrupted, and the road from Lyons to Geneva broken up in many places.

Unhappily, the destruction extended far. Its principal tributaries on the right bank are the Ain, the Saône, the Ardèche, the Ceze, and the Gard; and on the left, the Guier, the Isère, and the Durance. The Saône, one of the largest rivers in France, rises in the department of the Vosges in the arrondissement of Mirecourt. It traverses the departments of the Haute-Saône, the Côte-d'Or, and Saône-et-Loire, separates those of the Rhone and Ain, and falls into the Rhone at Lyons, after a course of about 280 miles. As far as its confluence with the Oignon it runs through a narrow valley; it becomes navigable below Gray, and at about this point the situation of the country changes; the valley widens on its left bank, while on the right it is skirted by the slopes of the mountains of the Côtes-d'Or and of the Charolais. The principal affluents of the Saône are the Doubs and the Oignon, on the left, and the Ouche and the Azergue, on the right. The question of the overflow of the Rhone and the Saône has for a long time occupied serious attention. Without entering into the causes which may be derived from the laws of terrestrial philosophy, it is interesting to know the opinion on this subject of Vauban, one of the most celebrated men that France ever possessed. This superior engineer, on being consulted by Louis XIV. on the question of the overflow of rivers, gave it as his opinion that the most effectual means to prevent the recurrence of inundations was always to keep in a good state the depth and width of the beds of rivers and streams. Colbert profited by this idea, and some years after issued an edict which obliged governors of provinces to keep the beds of rivers and streams perfectly clear and in good order; and there still exists a celebrated decree issued by the parliament of Dijon in 1698, which condemned the administration of the rivers and forests of Burgundy to a fine of 6,000 crowns for the benefit of the hospitals, for having neglected to clear out the bed of the Saône, and for having allowed it to get narrower in some places. These facts now possess great interest; and it would be curious to ascertain whether, since the end of the 18th century, the narrowing of the beds of rivers has not had a very powerful influence in causing the repeated inundations.



beyond Lyons. At Valence, the Rhone covered all the lower parts of the town. Vizile and Bourg d'Oisans were also inundated. All the manufactories at Vienne were stopped by the waters. At Tournon most of the streets were impassable, except by boats; and at Avignon the quays and the low streets were all under water. The river Romanesche overflowed its banks, washed away several bridges, and inundated the plains. The Isère, the Gier, the Cher, the Loire, the Loiret, and all the rivers leading into them, also broke over their banks; and similar accounts were received from all parts of the south of the country.

At Lyons, when the dike of the Fête d'Or, near the Grand Champ, gave way, the water covered the east plains with great rapidity. The tocsin was sounded in all the neighbouring villages to give the alarm; still many persons were surprised in their sleep, and could only save themselves, half-dressed, by wading through the water and leaving all their property to be ruined or swept away by the flood. Many others were compelled to remain in the upper part of their houses, and wait until assistance could be brought to them. In some places the sick and feeble were laid on mattresses, then placed on rafts hastily made for the purpose, and thus carried to a place of safety. It was impossible, at the time, to form any correct idea of the loss of life or property. Some melancholy facts, however, speedily became known. At the Brotteaux, several of the houses were washed down before the inhabitants could be got out, and many of them perished. At Charpenne a man, his wife, and their child, were buried beneath the ruins of their house. Furniture, trees drawn up by the roots, dead cattle and sheep, were constantly seen floating rapidly down the Rhone. Even small wooden houses were observed upon the bosom of the fierce current. Much of the country resembled a vast lake, studded here and there with islands.

Many other painful particulars were soon circulated. A boat, containing six soldiers, capsized in the Plaine du Grand Camp, and three of the unfortunate men were drowned. A man residing at La Part Dieu, whose house fell down and buried the young wife to whom he had been but recently married, threw himself in despair into the Rhone. A woman living on the Quai d'Albret, who saw her husband drowned while rendering

assistance to some sufferers, dashed herself out of a window on the fourth story, and was killed on the spot. On the roof of a house, a young woman was seen holding a child in her arms, and crying for assistance. A boat which made towards them arrived just as the house began to give way; the wretched mother threw her child into the arms of one of the boatmen, and the next moment sank to death amid the ruins. After the waters had retired, no less than three children were found beneath the walls of one house that had been overthrown. Other dead bodies were discovered, most of them in a state of decomposition. A pernicious malaria also arose from the vegetable-charged mud which, as the water retired, it left to a considerable depth upon the land.

Scarcely was the information of these calamities received at Paris, than the Emperor Napoleon left St. Cloud, attended only by a few officers of his household, and proceeded by special train to Lyons, which he reached on the following day, June the 2nd. He took with him all the money then at St. Cloud (a sum amounting to 300,000 francs), for the purpose of supplying the most pressing necessities of the victims of the inundations. Lyons and its neighbourhood is the most republican and socialist locality in France, and therefore necessarily inimical to the imperial government. But on this occasion, the noble promptitude of Napoleon overpowered political antipathy, and he was received with such enthusiastic acclamations as affected him even to tears. The *Moniteur* observed—"The emperor's visit to the sufferers by the inundations of the Rhone, produced on the inhabitants of these devastated districts an impression that cannot be described. The emperor appeared to them like a second Providence. His progress took place amidst tears of gratitude and public blessings. The love and mutual devotion between a people and their sovereign were never displayed in so signal a manner." Everywhere he was saluted with cries of "Long live the Emperor!" "Long live the Empress!" "Long live the imperial Prince!" "Long live the friend and benefactor of the people!" The emperor seems to have deserved this reception; for his conduct was prompt, wise, and generous. On his return from the Charpenne, where nearly three-fourths of the district had been destroyed, he approached the groups of



victims with tears in his eyes, and calling to him particularly the poor women surrounded by their weeping children, distributed to each of them, from a bag which hung at his saddle-bow, money to provide for their first and most urgent wants, accompanied with a promise of further assistance. The gratitude excited in the breasts of these poor people, on unexpectedly receiving such liberal assistance, in sums of fifty, a hundred, and two hundred francs, from the hand of their sovereign, is difficult to describe. Tears and inarticulate sounds of thankfulness choked the rising blessings which they strove to utter. On the Place du Pont de la Guillotière, the emperor had for some time, as his chief attendants, the poor women, children, and fathers of families who surrounded him, and who were deeply affected by the benefits they received, and by the manner in which they were given. In addition to the munificence of the emperor, the legislative corps immediately voted a sum of 2,000,000 francs for the relief of the sufferers. Indeed, an active sympathy was widely spread. The Cardinal Archbishop of Lyons placed his palace at the disposal of the sufferers; and as the waters retired, the churches were thrown open for the reception of the houseless.

The inundations extended even as far as Orleans, which was partially flooded on account of the rising of the Loire. In that ancient city, a house in the Rue d'Orleans was thrown down, and a woman killed beneath the ruins. Indeed, all the principal streets of the town and the adjacent plain, for miles around, were under water. As an inevitable consequence, communications with the surrounding country were entirely suspended. At St. Pryvé the waters rose as high as the tops of the trees, and a newly built house was partly washed down. At St. Benoit and the neighbouring communes, the inhabitants had to seek refuge on the heights. At Clery the waters overflowed the dikes, filled the richly cultivated valleys of Dry and Clery, and caused enormous loss. The bridge over the Allier at St. Germain, which cost more than 2,000,000 francs, was thrown down by the flood. At Virsou the waters invaded the iron-works, covered the quays and many of the streets, threw down three houses, carried away a vast quantity of different objects, threatened destruction to one of the principal bridges of the railway, and interrupted

traffic below the town and on the lines to Bourges and Chateauroux. At Tours, also, there were great disasters. A letter from that city gave the following description of its appearance:—"The Rue Royale presents the appearance of a canal, and boats are plying on it incessantly, carrying relief to the unfortunate inhabitants, who either would not or could not quit their houses. The Mail is like a torrent, and all sorts of things brought down by the Loire and the Cher are floating about it. The ornamental trees on it have been torn up. The railway station, the centre of the commercial activity of the town, is still surrounded by water, as high as the windows. In the garden of the Prefecture, opposite, nothing is to be seen but the tops of the trees; the walls of the garden are thrown down. The Rues de Paris, de Bordeaux, and du Rempart, built on the old ramparts of the city, are under water. At every step we take we see the ravages of the waters; and from the Route de Grammont we perceive, in all their horror, the effects of the catastrophe in the adjacent country. As far as the eye can reach, there is water—nothing but water. Wherever the eye rests, it sees farms submerged, houses that cannot be inhabited for a long time to come, even if they can ever be inhabited again; and on the heights thousands of victims grouped together without shelter and without food. Even the dark and narrow streets of the old city, occupied by the lower classes, have not escaped. From the Rue Borgne to the commune of La Riche; from the Champ de Mars to the Mail; and from the Place d'Aumont to Saint Sauveur, is an immense lake, reaching in height to the first story of the houses. Such is the state of our city, after five days of mortal anxiety and indescribable calamities!" Deplorable accounts were received from other places.

Before the departure of the emperor the waters began to subside, though but slowly. Many of the poor and ignorant people regarded this as a miracle produced by his supernatural agency. As the streets of Lyons again became visible, scenes of a distressing kind met the eye at every step. Ruins of houses which had partly fallen, heaps of broken furniture, together with looms, curtains, and bedding on the different floors thus laid open, were everywhere to be seen. The unfortunate sufferers could not be prevailed upon to desert the spot, but bivouacked at the nearest point possible;



and, as the waters retired, sought among the ruins some remnants of their property. Numbers of poor weavers were seen watching with eager eyes for the retirement of the waters, in hopes that they might again get possession of the looms by which they earned bread for themselves and their families. These searchings for property were not, however, made without danger, for, at frequent intervals, was heard the crash of falling roofs and walls. All the streets, as they became clear of the water, were transformed into regular entrepôts, where piles of furniture were collected. On every side fires might be seen, at which some poor drenched and half-naked persons were endeavouring to cook some scanty provisions. At the Mairie of the Guillotière, and at several other places in the city, a distribution of food and money was regularly made. Observers noticed, with surprise, the calm resignation which appeared imprinted on the countenances of the sufferers. Women were seen huddled together with their children, but not a sob or cry escaped them; and amongst those who were engaged in seeking for their property, everything went on without dispute. A common calamity had taught them mutual pity and forbearance.

The emperor returned to St. Cloud on the 5th of June, and at a council of ministers, which was immediately held, he demanded a sum of 10,000,000 francs for the victims of the inundations, in addition to the 2,000,000 already granted. The next morning Napoleon started for Orleans and the valley of the Loire, to distribute relief to the sufferers in the inundated districts in that direction. News from Orleans stated that thirty-seven houses had fallen, that many others were in a dangerous state, and that several lives had been lost. Indeed, Orleans and Tours were said to have suffered as much as Lyons and the south. At Blois, Saumur, and Angers, also, severe disasters occurred. At Angers the slate quarries were overwhelmed with water, and 10,000 persons not only thrown out of work, but also deprived of shelter by the destruction of their cottages. At Tours no less than fifty houses were destroyed; and ruinous losses were sustained by the shopkeepers of the city, who principally occupied the lower parts of it. The Cardinal Archbishop of Tours exhibited a noble nature by going at the head of his clergy to the dikes, and working vigorously with spade

and shovel among the labourers. Further instances of generous devotion to the wants of others were displayed. At a little village named Crévery, three families were surprised by the rise of the Allier, and were only saved at the last moment by the devotedness of some boatmen: a few minutes afterwards the surging water swept over the roofs of the houses from which they had been taken. Another narrow escape took place near Vichy, where two children were surprised by the rise while fishing on a little island in the Allier. They had only time to climb into a high tree, when the island was covered. In that terrible position they remained from Thursday evening until Saturday morning. The provisions they had taken with them were exhausted, and no one was bold enough to render them assistance; for to approach the spot was to encounter almost certain death. At length three sailors from the Crimea entered a boat, and, with the father of the children, set off for the islet, followed by the prayers of all the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. These intrepid men succeeded in rescuing the little sufferers; and, on their return, were welcomed with enthusiasm. In the neighbourhood of Blois every available hand was engaged in strengthening the dikes. Even thirty lunatics were made to understand the general calamity, and desired to work with the rest, which the poor creatures did with great zeal and intelligence. Unhappily these efforts were unsuccessful; the dike gave way—the town was completely inundated; the waters in some places being nearly twenty feet deep. During the visit of the emperor to this locality, he received the same marks of affection and gratitude as in the neighbourhood of the Rhone. Everywhere the population, deeply affected, crowded round and showered thanks and blessings upon him. On the return of the emperor to Paris, the minister of the interior invited the prefects of the departments injured by the inundations, to notify to him those acts of devotion which had been so numerous on these sad occasions. The object was to inform the emperor of the meritorious acts which were worthy of honourable reward.

The details we have placed before our readers are painful and melancholy enough; and we turn with satisfaction to record one point in connection with them that is honourable to humanity. In Paris, and all throughout France, subscriptions were poured



forth with a generous profusion, in aid of the sufferers from the inundations. But this noble feeling extended beyond France; it crossed the Channel, and beat in the bosoms of our public men, merchants, and traders in the city of London! The lord mayor called a meeting at the Mansion-house, for the purpose of expressing the sympathy of England for the sufferings of France, and to raise a subscription for the relief of the victims of the great calamity with which it had so recently been afflicted. The meeting, which took place on the 13th of June, though hurriedly called, was largely attended, and included many of the most distinguished of our city worthies. On taking the chair, the lord mayor announced that he had thought it right to communicate with the chief authority of the city of Paris, to learn what was his opinion upon the subject, and to know whether the general sympathy felt in this country for the sufferings of the French people where the inundations had taken place, would be acceptable to the French nation. He had that morning received a reply from the prefect of Paris, who said—"I am deeply affected, my lord, at learning that in this occurrence the people of London, faithful to the sentiments of fraternity by which they are now for ever united with the people of Paris, are desirous to associate their efforts with ours for the relief of the misfortunes of our country. If I may judge by my own impressions, this circumstance cannot fail to produce a lively feeling in France, and to contribute to draw more closely together the links of the cordial alliance now cemented between the two nations; and certainly it will be a just cause of pride, and a cause of very deep satisfaction to the city of Paris, to see the administrators of the honourable corporation of London mingling their names with ours, and claiming the right of citizenship on the subscription list of the Hôtel de Ville." The lord mayor then read some letters he had received descriptive of the inundations; one of them stating that the waters covered an extent of country not less than 1,250 English miles, and that as many as 40,000 families were sufferers by these terrible disasters. After addresses had been made by Mr. Weguelin, the governor of the bank of England, Mr. Thomas Baring, Baron Rothschild, Mr. Evelyn Denison, Mr. Heath, Mr. Dillon, and Mr. Raikes Currie, it was announced that £5,000 had

been subscribed on the spot as a commencement; and the meeting separated. Her Majesty soon afterwards subscribed £1,000, and Prince Albert £500.

On the 15th of June—two days after the meeting to which we have just alluded—General Williams returned from captivity (if the treatment he received makes it correct to use that term) in Russia, and set his feet again on English land at Dover. He was expected, and received with enthusiasm, both by the authorities and the inhabitants of the town. The former having escorted him to the "Royal Ship" hotel, an address of congratulation was then presented to him. The general returned thanks in an earnest and effective speech, a passage or so of which we will quote as worthy of remembrance. Having paid a tribute to the memory of his brave companion-in-arms, Captain Thompson (who, exhausted and worn out in consequence of the trying duties he had performed, had just expired at Paris), he exclaimed—"Woe to the nation that forgets the military art! Woe to that nation—woe to that nation which heaps up riches but does not take the caution to defend them. I have passed through *armed Europe*, and I take this earliest opportunity of uttering a warning to those who forget the military art!" With reference to himself, he said—"I must tell you that in passing through Russia, from one end of the empire to the other, I have experienced in no small degree the friendship and charm of Russian society. When I arrived at St. Petersburg, the emperor received me in so kind a manner that nothing could have exceeded it. That kindness was repeated at Berlin, where no man could have been received with greater honour. The King of Prussia and the young prince, who is at present in England, and is soon to be allied to England by ties more close and binding than at present, met me at the head of the troops, and treated me with the greatest possible consideration. I return them my most sincere thanks from this British ground. The kindness and consideration which were vouchsafed to me in Russia and Germany were repeated in France, when I arrived among our glorious and brave allies. God grant that that alliance may hold good for many years to come! The day before yesterday I was presented to the emperor, from whom, some time since, I had the distinguished honour



of receiving the cross of commander of the Legion of Honour. I was sorry that, having sent it to England, I was unable to wear it upon my breast upon that occasion. I expressed that regret to the emperor, and explained the reason. His majesty immediately rose from his seat and said, 'I will get you another.' In a moment he brought me out the star of *grand* commander of the order. I felt that the act was towards the English nation, not towards me." After partaking of a *déjeuner* with the authorities of Dover, General Williams took train to London, where other honours awaited him. Amongst these was his appointment to the command at Woolwich. As an artillery officer, General Williams had been able to aspire to but few high commands. Woolwich, however, educates the scientific part of the army; and, whether the artillery are competent to command troops or not, it cannot be doubted but that they may be well selected to preside over the central and chief school of the British army.

We spoke, in passing, of the death in Paris, of General Williams's brave companion-in-arms, Captain Thompson. Perhaps no man ever possessed a more cheery, genial nature, or a brighter and more rose-tinted way of looking at unpleasant matters, than this unfortunate officer. The following extracts of some letters to a friend of his, descriptive of life in Kars, are quite delightful in their pleasant sunshiny volubility. Had Shakspeare's Mercutio breathed and lived, and been on duty at Kars in the autumn of 1855, he might—indeed, he certainly would—have penned just such epistles:—

"See what a capital correspondent I am. I only wrote to you yesterday, and begin again to-day. I have sent R—the sum total of yesterday's slaughter, but the name of the general is incorrectly mentioned. Tell R—to show it to Mr. H—. It is a hurried transcript from the orders of the day, and was sent to me by General Williams. They say the Russians have attacked Erzeroum, but we are so closely surrounded here, that we know nothing for certain. What a jolly drubbing we gave them yesterday. They will think twice before they attack us again. I have not heard from you for so very long, that I hardly know what to write about; so I shall conclude for the present.

"I was up early this morning, and saw the Russians digging graves for their slain.

Then a regiment of infantry formed up by one of the graves and fired three volleys. A signal rocket has just been sent up from the Russian camp, and a gun fired immediately afterwards (half-past seven P.M.) Perhaps we shall have some fun to-night, but there is no chance of my being in it, as I am on the wrong side of the works and shall not be able to leave my post. I am now in the general orders (Turkish) as commandant of the Karadagh, and now that I have some real power, I'll show them what a pattern battery is. I have men at work daily, clearing away the stones, and soon we shall have it so clean that you may eat your dinner off the ground. I have two regiments and twelve guns under my command, and consider myself rather a 'swell' than otherwise. I fear our post has been cut off by the Russians, in which case I shall have to wait for a week or more before I hear from you. The Cossacks are all over the country, robbing and plundering the villagers, who are left quite destitute, as we cannot give them shelter in Kars, owing to our want of provisions.

"We are now obliged to send out to cut all the unripe corn about the country, to feed our cavalry and artillery horses, and I begin to fear for the lives of my poor little cats, and to wonder how they will agree with me when it comes to the worst. I dare say I have often eaten cat before without knowing it, and 'they say' it is uncommonly like rabbit. I hope sincerely 'they' may be right. However, there is abundance of fish in the river, and plenty of horses. The general is much better, but there is a kind of ravenousness about your slave, at breakfast especially, which is rather appalling, and augurs ill for him, in case we get on very short commons.

"I had a present made to me to-day by a Turkish pasha—of what do you think?—a bottle of champagne, and I am going to drink your healths in it to-night, and to give very little to my interpreter, as it don't agree with every one, you know. As I rode up to-day the women surrounded me, clapping my knees, and praying, for the love of Allah, that the English beys would not desert them; to which I answered, 'God forbid;' and a very good answer it was, seeing that I could not do it if I wished it ever so much. All our communications are cut off, and we have nothing left for it but to harden our hearts and fire away. I only wish somebody was kicking me violently



down Regent-street at this moment; I would willingly give him a £10 note as a reward for his exertions, and immediately charter a 'Hansom' for Gloucester-street. I must keep this letter open till to-morrow, in case anything happens during the night; so good-night to all of you. I am going to drink my champagne, and then tumble into bed till twelve o'clock.

"I resume my scribbling: nothing occurred during the night. I can't make out what the Russians are about. They have more than 30,000 men, and won't attack us. The day before yesterday some Cossacks, who were out plundering, came upon a poor little boy who was herding three calves. They took the calves away from him, and then shot him through the leg because he began to cry. The poor little fellow was brought in here, and the doctor amputated his leg, but to no purpose, for he died during the night. I wish I could catch those Cossacks; I would have them pinched to death with red-hot pincers. Did you ever hear of such barbarous cruelty?"

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"I am in a great rage. My dinner arrived and apparently had been cooked in the ashes; and I have therefore been compelled to dine upon three eggs, which I happened to have by me.

"8 P.M.—Immediately the bad dinner, to which I have before alluded, arrived, I wrote down to the general a plaintive appeal against the cook's cruel treatment of me, and I have just received the answer. He begs me, if I can find time, to come down to-morrow, and hear him in strong terms reprimand the cook for his negligence; and in the meanwhile he has sent me up a very nice piece of corned beef, some cold rice pudding, and some bread and cheese; and your slave has accordingly recovered his good humour. Oh, for some ales!!! XXX preferred."

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"My cats have, I fancy, discovered my horrible intentions towards them; for they steadfastly refuse to get plump and fat. However, eaten they will be, fat or thin; that's certain. General Kmety has found three bottles of a rather sour species of *vin ordinaire* in one of his boxes, and has sent me up a bottle as a great treat; so I drink all your healths first, and his afterwards. You may imagine the sociability of our life up here when I tell you that I have not

seen him for nearly a month, as we cannot leave our batteries on any account.

"Our general rode up to see me yesterday, as he had heard I was not well; it was the first time I had seen him for some days. However, I had nothing the matter but a little sickness, caused by catching cold on picket duty, and I am all right again now. I am obliged to be always on duty now, and always necessarily in uniform, as an example to the slovenly Turks, whom I always pull up roundly when I see them improperly dressed or going about without their swords."

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"My hair and beard were this morning (9th of September) full of fine black dust, and the sheets of my bed were begrimed with it. My eyes are still quite sore from it. I think we are going to have an early winter, which will soon send the Muscovites away. The cold has taken me quite by surprise. Yesterday was as hot a day as I ever remember in England; I had the sides of my tent up, to allow the breeze to come in. In the evening it began to blow, and this morning it is so cold that I should be very happy to sit by a fire. The Russian camp looks so miserable all among the snow on the hill-side. My only amusement is writing to you, and smoking *tchibouques*, and reading all your old letters over and over again. Every letter I received from you since 1854 is safe in my little desk.

"The Russian cavalry have been down in my front to-day, and I sent a round shot slap into the middle of them. I saw four horses going back to their reserve directly afterwards, so I concluded it must have done some mischief. They charged down, and gallantly captured four poor worn-out old horses, that had been sent out of our lines for being useless, and one of these got away from them. We have either shot or otherwise got rid of all our useless cattle; and the Russ is quite welcome to take what can be found astray. My hands are so intolerably cold, that I must leave off till the sun comes out and infuses some life into me.

"Last night, about ten or eleven o'clock, I was walking up and down to keep myself warm, when suddenly the whole country in front of the Karadagh appeared lighted up, and I saw that the Muscovite was at his deadly, unmanly work, burning the corn, lest our foragers should get it. It gives one comfort to think, that it must be a sign of their approaching departure. '*Fama volat*' that General Mouravieff is superseded by



General Lüders, who commanded a division in the Crimea. I do not think Lüders could make a better business of it than Mouravieff has done. No one could have stopped our communications better, or placed us in a more effectual state of blockade than Mouravieff. However, wait a while till Omar Pasha really does come, and then you may kill the fatted calf as soon as you please. The only way I can manage to keep my hands at all warm, is by keeping them everlastingly in my pocket. It is much colder on this hill now—this 10th of September—than it was any time during the winter of last year, even in London. It froze hard all last night, and it is freezing now.

"8 A.M.—I am making myself an enormous great-coat, to be all lined with white fox skin, and it is expected to be rather a superior article for winter wear. The Russian Cossacks have all commenced their winter clothing, and they look like so many bears on horseback. We have to-day disbanded the regiment from which we had so many deserters, and given the remainder of the men over to different regiments, with strict orders to look well after them. What are those fellows over the way about? They sent a large force off in the dead of the night towards Erzeroum. They are foolish to burn the corn, because they simply cut their own throats by it. They require an immense store to keep their enormous cavalry force in working order; and, if they think to starve us out by such work, they are much mistaken, as they will shortly discover.

"If the Russians do mean to spend their Christmas with us we shall have our horses to eat; and we have no idea of surrendering on any terms. However, my opinion is, that we have seen nearly the last of them; and may Omar Pasha catch them on the road when they leave us! The cannon-shot from this battery the day before yesterday slaughtered two Russian dragoons. This we hear from a deserter from the regiment. My tent has been thronged with visitors all day to see the burning fields."

The Queen of England had complimented the soldiers of France by decorating a number of them with medals in honour of their bravery, and she now showed that she had not forgotten those of Sardinia. On the 15th of June there was a grand review in Turin of all the troops returned from the

Crimea, in order that they might receive from the hands of their sovereign, Victor Emmanuel, the medals sent them by the Queen of England. Early in the morning, 15,000 men, consisting of engineers, artillery, cavalry, infantry, sailors and marines, were assembled on the Place d'Armes, under the command of General della Marmora. On one side an amphitheatre had been erected, with a chapel in the centre; on the other, a series of pavilions were raised for the accommodation of the royal family, the ministers, the diplomatic and other bodies, and for the public generally. They were all tastefully adorned with appropriate emblems and devices, and embellished with the united flags of the allies, and various ensigns of the house of Savoy.

Victor Emmanuel appeared on the ground about the hour of nine, attended by a brilliant suite, including the French, English, and Turkish ambassadors. Having ridden down and inspected each line of troops, he drew up his horse in front of the temporary chapel, and a religious service was performed, followed by the chanting of the Ambrosian Hymn, and a salute of twenty-one guns from a neighbouring battery. Victor Emmanuel then faced his troops, who had formed into close columns, and read to them the following address:—

"Officers, Non-commissioned Officers, and Soldiers!—It is scarcely a year since I took leave of you with regret at not being able to bear you company in your memorable expedition. Now I rejoice to see you again, and tell you you have deserved well of the country.

"You have worthily answered my expectations and the hopes of the country; you have kept your word to our powerful allies, who to-day give you a solemn testimonial of it. Firm under the calamities which afflicted some of you, intrepid in the trials of war, always disciplined, you have increased the power and the fame of this strong and beloved part of Italy.

"I take again the colours which I consigned to you, and which you have brought back victorious from the East. I will preserve them as records of your fatigues, and as a sacred pledge, that whenever honour and the interest of the nation oblige me to return them to you, they will be by you, as ever, on the field of battle, both equally well defended and illustrated by new glories."

When the king had finished speaking, he distributed the English medals to the supe-

rior officers of each regiment, who, in their turn, gave them to the junior officers and the soldiers. The latter then defiled past the king, and marched to the Piazza Castello, where their colours were to be deposited. That ceremony over, they returned to the Place d'Armes, where they bivouacked and had provisions served out to them by the municipality of Turin. In the evening they retired to their respective quarters. The men regarded their decorations with a proud admiration, and both officers and men spoke in glowing terms of their English allies. The inhabitants of Turin were delighted with this military festival, and exhibited their satisfaction with much enthusiasm. The feelings and habits of this

Italian people are traditionally of a military tendency; and the conscription and national guard not only develop such a feeling, but unite the citizen and the soldier by ties unfelt in countries where men only adopt the profession of arms from choice, instead of assuming it as a birthright. Turin, therefore, was decorated with innumerable flags, while manly-bearded lips shouted lusty huzzas in the streets; and large, lustrous eyes, expressing the excitement of their fair possessors, shot down from the crowded windows sweet glances of approval upon the passing soldiery, who had suffered and fought in the cause of Europe, and whose bravery had crowned patient and almost despairing Italy with an undying laurel.

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## CHAPTER XXII.

A LAST GLANCE AT THE TROOPS IN THE CRIMEA; INVESTITURE OF THE KNIGHTS OF THE ORDER OF THE BATH; UNDESERVED AND INDISCREET EULOGY HEAPED UPON THE LATE LORD RAGLAN; DISBANDING OF THE TURKISH CONTINGENT; MEMORIALS OF THE DEAD; ENGLISH GRAVES IN THE CRIMEA; SILLY EPITAPHS, AND NAMELESS GRAVES; EVACUATION OF THE CRIMEA; A VISIT TO THE BATTLE-FIELD OF THE ALMA.

We are now approaching the

"Last scene of all  
Which ends this strange eventful history."

In directing our attention, for the last time in this work, to the thinned and shrunk camps in the Crimea, and in tracing the abandonment of that famous and romantic tract, we cannot but hover reluctantly over the theatre where such prolonged and terrible struggles took place, where so much exalted heroism was displayed, and so much harrowing suffering endured. We have mentally followed our brave soldiers so long, and chronicled their proceedings with so much industry and sympathy, that we seem almost to have been present with them. In vision we have been so; our pulse has throbbed with them on the march, our heart has felt pained and sick with them in their privations; unbidden tears have started into our eyes as we have recorded their darker sufferings; military ardour thrilled our nerves, and made our heart beat high, as we seemed to stand with them by the bloody stream of the Alma and amidst the horrors of the valley of Inkermann; while a

sense of wild and half-savage exultation pervaded us as the ringing shouts of victory drowned the groans of the wounded and the dying. Then we watched that prolonged and bloody siege with alternate feelings of weariness and hope, sometimes fearing that the engineering skill of Russia had made the grim fortresses of Sebastopol impregnable to mortal assailants; and at others, believing that the enormous means, the unshaken courage, and the almost superhuman perseverance of the besiegers *must* accomplish their object. Then, when the great catastrophe came at last—when, by the lurid light of a burning town, and amidst the roaring and crashing of magazines and fortresses, the hosts of Russians retreated across the harbour from the granite slaughter-houses they had defended with such heroic patience,—then a tumult of excitement reigned in every pulse, and we felt as if we had taken part in the deeds of horror that had been performed upon that awful night. It may be weakness: but feeling all this, we cannot but linger reluctantly, even fondly, over the scenes hallowed by such heroic suffering—



rendered glorious by such gigantic achievements.

It was summer in the camp; but, notwithstanding the exhalations which the hot sun drew from a soil thick in every direction with the remains of the dead, our army continued in health. The heat was frequently cooled down by strong breezes from the sea. "Dust-storms and small whirlwinds," said Mr. Russell, in one of his picturesque paragraphs, "sometimes favour us, and tiny spiracles of bits of paper, chips of wood, feathers, and light rubbish play about the plateau, fantastically careering here and there, till they are quite exhausted, when they maliciously precipitate their cargo at the door of a hut, or in 'the centre of a fellow's garden.' The taste for gardening is, I am glad to say, well developed; and it is all the more graceful and laudable that it is indulged under the most disadvantageous circumstances. Most seeds have a decided cryptic tendency here, and refuse to come up and look at the sun. If they do, there are the rats, the cats, the dogs, and the fowl at them night and day—besides flies and ants, and creepers of infinite variety of shape, and a multiplicity of legs, claws, teeth, and nippers. The French have been more successful than ourselves; perhaps they had better ground, and paid more attention to watering. Their little gardens by the Tchernaya are quite green; ours are generally of a fine Vandyke brown. Military horticulture is of an eminently culinary character. None of your fuchsias or camellias, or pretty plants and flowers with ugly names, but strong-smelling, vigorous potherbs—they are the *desiderata*. An acre of mignonette is not worth a square-yard of spring onions; miles of glowing orchids would not be compared for a moment with a few lettuces, or even a good bed of dandelions, of which the French have taught us to make a pungent and excellent salad. The longing for 'green meat' is but imperfectly satisfied, notwithstanding the number of coasters which come into Balaklava, and notably into Kamiesch, laden with vegetables. When a man asks you to dinner, his lure is not fish or game, or even a turkey, or a bustard from Sinope, but 'a jolly salad.' Nothing can be more picturesque than the flotilla of these native boats, with cargoes of fresh vegetables and eggs, at anchor in our bays. Their strange forms, the high prow, quaintly carved side, curved gunwales, and towering triangular stern (which evidently took its origin in times be-

fore men learned the art of bending timber), the slender masts, and long spars; but for the latter, Xerxes might have led such a fleet past Athos. In this warm weather the mainyard is lowered away lengthwise, fore and aft, and a sail is thrown over it; and in the shade thus formed the reis and the crew, much beturbaned, gaily dressed, varicoloured, sit, smoke, and look at each other with great gravity, being only afraid, if one is to judge by their looks, of the arrival of customers."

The brave old veteran, Lord Gough, arrived at the Crimea in the *Terrible*, on the 4th of June. He came by command of her majesty, to perform the ceremony of investiture towards those officers on whom had been conferred the honour of the order of the Bath. A salute was fired in compliment of the famous Indian warrior, and he was received by Sir W. Codrington and his staff.

The ceremony of investiture took place on Friday the 6th, at head-quarters. A large arm-chair, dressed in flags and covered by a canopy, was the substitute for a throne. It occupied part of one side of a square, and bodies of troops made up the other three; while in the centre stood the united bands, amounting altogether to the imposing number of 320 performers. Shortly before the hour of twelve, the measured salute of a French battery announced the arrival of Marshal Pelissier and the most distinguished of his generals, followed by an escort of chasseurs. Then an English salute of nineteen guns roared a hearty welcome to Marshal Pelissier; and General Codrington, in full uniform, advanced on foot to meet him. The English general was accompanied by Admiral Stewart, his personal staff, Colonel Blane (his military secretary), and most of the head-quarters departmental staff. The troops presented arms, the band struck up "*Partant pour la Syrie*," the French marshal and generals dismounted; and all, in a little procession, approached the extemporised throne with a terrible clanking of spurs and sabres. The procession, as it approached, filed right and left of its own accord, and surrounded the chair of honour with a barrier of English and French uniforms strangely commingled together. Lord Gough stood erect beneath the canopy, in the costume of a colonel of the life-guards; and in his frank and graceful bearing, seemed the *beau ideal* of an English soldier. After saluting the general, Lord Gough took his seat, and the royal



commission was then read. Another salute of twenty-one guns was fired, the hands played "God save the Queen" and "Rule Britannia," and then the ceremony of investiture took place. Each of the officers to be decorated, beginning with Marshal Pelissier, was introduced beneath the canopy, where he received the *accolade* and the insignia of the order, together with a very warm grasp of the hand from the royal commissioner, who expressed to each his wish that "he might live long to wear it."

The ceremony over, Marshal Pelissier, General Codrington, and Lord Gough, mounted their horses and inspected the troops, who received them with all honours. The men, catching the enthusiasm of the hour, gave three cheers for Lord Gough, and another salute was fired. The old general was delighted with such a recognition of his past deeds, and made the following address to Sir William Codrington:—

"Having just now fulfilled the orders of my sovereign, by the ceremony of investiture, I am called upon to perform a most pleasing duty—to express to you the gratification I must, as a soldier, feel at witnessing this noble display before me,—a British army of which my sovereign and country may well be proud, whose achievements history will record, exhibiting deeds of self-devotion, patient endurance, and daring; forming altogether a brilliant example for others to imitate, and to surpass which would be impossible. Never have I witnessed a display more cheering to a soldier's heart. The bronzed and ruddy countenances of the men bespeak the judicious arrangements for their health and efficiency. On their re-

turn to their native land I am persuaded they will be received by a grateful country with that heartfelt warmth to which their noble deeds justly entitle them.

"To you, general, I am indebted for being able to perform, with the dignity due to the occasion, the pleasing task confided to me; and I pray you now to convey to your noble comrades, and to accept for yourself, my warmest thanks for the cheers which have greeted and honoured my name, which I accept as an assurance of goodwill towards me, and as a proof of my having, during a long career, earnestly and faithfully performed my duty to my country."

Lunch made an agreeable conclusion to this interesting business. A review of the French troops remaining in the Crimea afterwards took place, for the edification of Lord Gough, who was entertained in the evening by Marshal Pelissier. Every mark of respect was paid to the veteran by the marshal and his staff, who all seemed extremely pleased with the honours bestowed upon them by our queen. Lord Gough visited the battle-field of the Alma on the 10th of June, and sailed the evening of the same day on his return to England.

We have already referred,\* in terms of censure, to the fulsome adulation heaped upon the memory of the late Lord Raglan. The attentive reader of this history is aware that we have based our opinion on this point upon well-known and undisputed facts. Yet, as there are many who still suppose that general to have really been exactly what his persevering adulators represent him, we will back our opinion with the authority† of Mr. Russell, who, in a letter of this period, thus expresses himself:—"Let

\* *Ante*, p. 253.

† Amidst the quantities of trashy adulation that were spoken or written upon this point, the truth did peer out sometimes in other directions also. From an able article, subsequently published in the *Daily News*, and entitled the "Falsification of History," we extract the following passage:—"When the army was transferred to the Crimea, the management was so provident that for many weeks the men had not a change of clothes. The commander-in-chief was so farsighted, that when poor Commissary-general Filder, in the madness of his common sense, demanded again and again where the army was to be a month hence, the only reply vouchsafed was, that the commander-in-chief could not tell. In the beginning of October it was determined to open trenches, to arm siege batteries; and yet Sir Richard Airey declares it was only in November that it was resolved to winter in the Crimea. The army was posted seven or eight miles from its supplies of food and ammunition, and the road by which alone these

supplies could be brought up was a quagmire. Lord Raglan's plan was to keep the army in front of the enemy. No troops could be spared to make the road, and therefore they starved. No roadmakers were to be got at Constantinople, and none were sent for from England—because, as Sir John Burgoyne said, the idea never occurred to anybody. The government at home were kept so thoroughly informed of the state of things by the officers on the spot, that the first intelligence which reached the prime minister and his colleagues of the terrible sufferings of the soldiers, and their imminent annihilation, was the information of newspaper correspondents. The government itself and the commander-in-chief were so utterly incompetent to supply the army with clothing and the necessities of life, that a fund was collected, and successfully distributed by three or four private gentlemen. The hospitals were in such a disgraceful condition—partly through the incompetence of an aged purveyor—that a band of heroic ladies was needed to remedy



me say, that the attempts which have been made in high places to cast a fictitious glory round departed memories, have been singularly injudicious, inasmuch as they have recalled attention to the facts and to the past, and have excited comment and discussion respecting events and conduct well-nigh forgotten. In recent speeches at home, there have been efforts made to create the impression, among lords, commons, and populace, that Lord Raglan shared the privations and hardships, as he undoubtedly participated in some of the dangers, of his men; and General Airey distinctly averred, that his lordship animated the army to endure its sufferings by his own example, and by the influ-

the evils; while the services of the purveyor, after he had been declared incompetent, were retained by the direct interference of the commander-in-chief, Lord Raglan. The indignation of the country was not to be suppressed. Investigation upon investigation took place. Throughout the whole of this painful history, the only men who suffered rebuke were Lord Lucan and Commissary-general Filder. Of Lord Lucan we say nothing, but the commissary-general, as it now appears, seems to have been the only man who had any foresight, or anticipated the difficulties which would certainly arise. If the British army in the Crimea had been well-fed, well-clothed, moderately worked, and ably handled, the man who would have reaped the glory would have been the commander-in-chief, Lord Raglan. But as the army suffered from starvation, nakedness, and overwork, the commander-in-chief, Lord Raglan, is the man who must be held responsible. There may possibly be circumstances which may render his position an anomaly in the history of war; but until these circumstances are established we are entitled to assume their non-existence. An army of 25,000 men within seven miles of the amplest resources, with the soldiers perishing of starvation and overwork, and the cavalry horses so reduced by want of food that they sank exhausted by the wayside while they were led by their riders—ransack history and produce a case at all parallel to this, in which the commander-in-chief has been held irresponsible. The case of Lord Raglan may be the first; but we must observe that his friends have chosen a strange mode of defending him; for throughout every single investigation his name has been suppressed—his hand is nowhere visible. These facts having been established, the public had come to the conclusion that the conduct of our military officers had exhibited gross incompetence. For a time, indeed, the incompetency was admitted. We were conjured to remember that after forty years of peace men had forgotten the art of war; that the House of Commons had destroyed everything by its parsimony; that changes were in contemplation, and were being carried into effect. There seemed to be some spirit of repentance. But now that the storm has blown over, a change has come over the spirit of that dream. The first thing that you see on opening a newspaper is the account of some banquet to some Crimean hero, at which he is generally presented with a magnificent sword. The other day the late quartermaster-general, Colonel Percy Her-

bert, had this honour conferred upon him; and some two days ago, Lord Cardigan had the same ceremony performed at Leeds. Both these officers took the opportunity of eulogising the conduct of the late commander-in-chief, Lord Raglan, but neither of them stated any single fact which should induce any sensible man to estimate very highly the merits of that most gallant officer. Colonel Percy Herbert talked in a foolish way about the abuse that was poured upon the Duke of Wellington, and seemed to think that the fact of being abused was an argument in a man's favour. The cases are very different. At the time when the duke was rising into fame he had everything against him. Faction ran high. The ministry had great difficulty in supporting him, and even in their attempts to support him were miserably shortsighted. But the more his conduct was investigated the more sagacious seemed his counsels; and the longer he continued commander of the army the more he inspired confidence, and achieved signal success. Above all, he selected his officers with singular sagacity and admirable justice. He would not endure incompetence. And, indeed, to pretend that, with the resources of England at his feet, he ever placed his army in such a position as Lord Raglan placed his, is a mere calumny. Lord Raglan, on the other hand, had everything in his favour. Not a man opposed; every one cried 'God speed.' He might have had what he asked for. He had the choice of his officers. He appointed his staff. But he was not equal to the emergency; and it is clear that the more his conduct is scrutinised the more imbecile it seems. It is painful to make these observations; for Lord Raglan was a most gallant old man, and died at his post. But because he died like a brave man, he is not therefore to be elevated into a scientific officer. Since it has now become the fashion for every 'petting petty officer' to weep over the fall of his chief, and to denounce the ingratitude and ignorance of the public, we hold it expedient to remind the public of notorious facts, and to record the deliberate opinion of military men of science, that Lord Raglan was utterly useless as an administrator. To judge from the orations of aldermen and country gentlemen, the public indignation would seem to have been unjust. Let us not be deceived. *Laudari alaudato viro* is an excellent maxim; and we cannot but think that the fame of Lord Raglan has suffered more from the eulogies of incompetent men, who owed much of their promotion to his personal favour, than from any other cause."



queen; and on the very morning after the battle of the Alma was fought, I recollect seeing a large table, covered with a snow-white cloth, laid with silver and covers for breakfast, in front of his lordship's marquee, within a few yards of the blood-stained field. On the march, he occupied good Russian houses at the Katcha (Eskel) and at the Belbec. On the night before we entered Balaklava, Lord Raglan slept at the post-house on the Tchernaya, and he lived in a very well-furnished and commodious house in the former town, till he moved up to the house, surrounded with vineyards, trees, and outhouses, which has been the head-quarters of the English army to the present day. As to the influence exercised by his lordship in sustaining the spirits of the officers and men, I can only say my recollections differ from those of General Airey; and I can well remember loud and general complaints being made at a time that Sir R. Airey, the quartermaster-general, and eye of the army, could not see, owing to an attack of inflammation of the conjunctiva, which, whether well founded or not, showed that the commander-in-chief had, in the winter of 1854-'5, little merit in the army for the virtues which are now so boldly ascribed to him. What use do these delusions and misstatements subserve? What possible advantage can it be to deceive a nation, and seek to benumb its faculties, corrupt its judgment, and falsify its opinions?"

The evacuation of the Crimea proceeded, though not with any great rapidity. On the 17th of June, the last of the Turkish contingent took their departure from Kertch, and once again Russian authority prevailed in that ruined town. The much-distrusted experiment of placing English officers over Turkish troops, was regarded by military critics as being entirely successful. An unbounded influence was acquired by the officers over the men, and obedience on the part of the latter was followed by respect and even affection. Indeed, the docility of the Turkish soldiers is a matter of surprise to all Europeans who have been associated with them; and their imitative powers, and desire to please those who treat them well, enable them very soon to adapt themselves to European discipline. The Turkish government was adverse to the affair, for they were animated by a natural fear of foreign interference. At the close of the war, the contingent was therefore disbanded and broken up. On the farewell parade of

the force, after an address from their general, the men spontaneously gave three cheers for the Queen of England; a circumstance which is quite foreign to the habits of the East. To her generosity they attributed the change in their position. "We came to you," said they, "abused, poor, and ragged; and we return to our homes with your approval of our conduct, our pockets filled, and ourselves well clothed;" adding that, whenever England was at war and wanted soldiers, they would bring their sons and brothers to fight for the "good queen." It is but justice to say thus much of these poor people, who had been frequently described as semi-savages and ruffians. It does not appear that the outrages or offences committed by them exceeded in amount those common to most bodies of European troops of the same number.

The remnant of the British army in the Crimea, relieved from all urgent military duties, occupied themselves in erecting memorials to their fallen comrades, who reposed in honour, though far away from the land which gave them birth, and where, perhaps, most of them had hoped that their bones would have been laid. Such of the soldiers as understood the mason's art were in immense request; and every effort was made by the men, to denote and preserve from desecration the graves from which they were soon to be separated by more than 2,000 miles of ocean. But however distant from England, these illustrious graves will never be forgotten by the countrymen of those who repose in them. Remote as is the region, desolate as may be the spot, it is sacred in the eyes of Englishmen, and will be consecrated in the pages of history. When the bereaved mothers and wives, whose homes were made desolate by the war, shall weep no longer—when they as well as the brave ones they mourn for shall be mute for ever, yet the national memory will dwell upon those distant graves; and the traveller, as he visits the honoured spot, feel—while rapt in solemn admiration of the bravery of the dead, and influenced by sympathy for the fate of those who lie beneath his feet—that he stands on hallowed ground! Hallowed by something more than formal rites and murmured prayers and blessings; hallowed by the ashes of heroes, and even by the awful smile of the Eternal, who, we are taught, accounts the death of the brave in the cause of justice, as an acceptable sacrifice. It must be



so; for never does the character of man seem so exalted as when, purified from sordid motives and from selfish fears, he willingly offers himself to suffer, and if need be, to die, to humble the pride of the oppressor, and to raise from the dust those whom the armed feet of lawless power would trample into it. We cannot weep for men who perish in such a generous and holy cause; yea, more—we almost envy such honoured dead! Such a spirit is common in British bosoms; for all who bear that name are conscious that the prolonged endurance of infamy, whether individual or national, is far more bitter than the brief pang of death. The modern English mother, like the ancient Roman one, can say, "Take my sons, but preserve unsullied the lustrous purity of my country's honour!"

"The Chersonese," said one we have often quoted, "is covered with isolated graves, with longer burial-grounds, and detached cemeteries from Balaklava to the verge of the roadstead of Sebastopol. Ravine and plain, hill and hollow, the roadside and secluded valley, for miles around, from the sea to the Tchernaya, present those stark white stones, singly or in groups, stuck upright in the arid soil, or just peering over the rank vegetation which springs from beneath them."

The French and the Sardinians also left these melancholy evidences of their sojourn upon Russian soil. The former bestowed a good deal of care and taste on one large cemetery near the old Inkermann camp, but took very little pains with their other graves, leaving them unenclosed. The latter erected a stone pedestal and obelisk on the heights of Balaklava, to the memory of their dead comrades. Monuments of an enduring character, to commemorate the 5th of November and the 25th of October, were erected by the English on the heights of Inkermann and on the plain of Balaklava!

Amongst the British graves were many with individual inscriptions. Of these some were suitable and solemn; some had that incoherence and inapplicability so common to funereal compositions; and one, in its quaint familiarity with things we are accustomed to regard as sacred, verged upon vulgar profanity; it was over the grave of one of the naval brigade, and ran thus:—"To J. Tobin: died of wounds received in action." Beneath was this wretched couplet:—

"I am anchored here below with many of the fleet,  
But once again we will set sail our Admiral Christ  
to meet."

This poor trash was evidently written without any profane intention, and may therefore be leniently regarded; but it is at least an offence against good taste. If Mr. Tobin composed it during those last hours of life when the mind frequently wanders and becomes feeble, it should have been disregarded and laid aside; if his surviving friends wrote it, they ought to be ashamed of themselves: it was a libel on his character for common sense and decency. It is strange there is so little of originality amongst us in this respect. The death of a dearly loved one offers even to the most limited capacity an opportunity for the utterance of some brief saying, in which the affection of a life breathes itself forth in a sentence. In the moment of bereavement the sensibilities are awakened, and the mind quickened and concentrated upon one theme. Then is the time when, if ever, the most untaught could utter some remark strikingly to the purpose. Poetry is the language of passion; and in the hour of deep grief, men often utter plaintively poetical lamentations quite unconsciously: yet are our grave-yard inscriptions usually coarsely imitative, often vulgarly profane, and almost invariably hard in expression, and barren of thought or sentiment. Some reform is needful in this matter; the solemnity of the grave should not be vulgarised by flippant limping verses, or by inapplicable quotations from the scriptures.

"The other graves are nameless." Such is the sentence with which Mr. Russell concludes a long enumeration of particular tombs. We respond—they are indeed nameless, but not unhonoured; nameless, certainly, but nevertheless they will never be forgotten. The mingled bones of that host of warriors have gone to dust beneath the long grass and the wild flowers of those now desolate yet once densely crowded spots; but the memory of them, as living men and dying heroes, is enshrined in the hearts of many a family in England, and will be fitly emblazoned in the historic records of our country. The names of those poor fellows are indeed lost; but the grassy mounds that cover their remains are unhewn monuments to their country's honour—evidences of the large heart and undaunted bravery of her children. In future times, when the traveller wanders over this plateau, the simple peasant will say, "These were the graves of the British:" and the former, with uncovered head, and beating heart and moistened eyes, shall respond—"Their fate was a noble one;



peace to their ashes—honour to their memory.”

The final evacuation, by the allied armies, of the Crimea, and its restoration to the Russians, was at hand. Shattered huts, furniture, together with heaps of miscellaneous articles, were consumed in huge bonfires. A great deal of waste necessarily occurred, but this was no doubt unavoidable. Immense quantities of needless stores were also left in the hands of the commissariat officers, which they did their best to dispose of at as moderate a sacrifice as possible. Some stores, such as charcoal and chopped hay, were abandoned, as it did not pay to remove them. Whatever may have been the deficiencies in this direction in the English army towards the commencement of the war, nothing of the kind existed towards its close. Every want was provided for, and plenty ran into superfluity. One of a party of Russian medical officers who visited Balaklava observed, “We heard you were prepared for a three years’ war; we find you are ready for twenty.”

Day after day the troops departed. When the *Calcutta* steam transport, with a full cargo of hussars and horses, cleared out of Balaklava, harbour, they received three cheers from the crews of the *Leander* and *Sanspareil* men-of-war; a compliment they heartily returned. Then, as the last rays of the setting sun burnished up the copper-coloured rocks which lined the rugged coast, the men relapsed into silence. This was broken by a soldier, who exclaimed, “How happy should I be, only I’m thinking of the poor fellows we leave behind.”—“Yes,” responded another, “but they did their work, and we have no cause to be ashamed of them, thank God!—and so good-by to the Crimea!” This feeling, no doubt, was a general one among the soldiers;—a sense of sadness, on account of the many comrades whose bones mouldered beneath a foreign soil, mingled with a consciousness that the fate of those poor fellows was that of heroes; and a sense of joy on their own part that they had escaped that scene of trial, and were soon about to rejoin those who, with loving longings, awaited their return at home.

On the 16th of July, General Codrington forwarded, from Constantinople, the following despatch to the British minister of war:—

My Lord,—Finding that all arrangements would be completed for evacuating the

Crimea on the 12th inst., I wrote the previous day to the officer in command of the Russian troops, a colonel of the *gendarmierie*, at Kamiesch, that I should be ready to hand over the dockyard of Sebastopol and the port of Balaklava on that day.

Her majesty’s ship *Algiers* had entered the port of Balaklava on the 7th inst.; the 56th regiment embarked in that ship on the evening of the 11th; the only troops remaining were one wing of the 50th regiment, which formed the guard of the town that night.

The following day (the 12th), at 1 P.M., all the remaining stores and establishments having been embarked, a company of the 50th was posted outside of the town to receive the Russian troops, and on their approach marched in with the Russian guard, composed of about fifty mounted Cossacks and a similar number of infantry Cossacks.

The usual form of salutes took place, the Russians placed sentries where they wished, and the four companies of the 50th marched on board the *Algiers*. I embarked with my personal staff at the same time. Although the weather was unfavourable we were enabled to quit the harbour of Balaklava that evening. Admiral Sir H. Stewart and Admiral Fremantle were at anchor outside the harbour; they weighed, and we all sailed for this place, where I arrived to-day.

I have, &c.,

W. J. CODRINGTON, General commanding.  
Lord Panmure, &c.

In commenting upon the abandonment of the Crimea, the leading English journal observed—“From every part of the peninsula the four armies have vanished. Three months have been sufficient to convert the thickly peopled plateau and the busy valleys into a solitude; and in a year or two the vines will once more spring up on every side, and nothing will be left to mark the scene of so much heroism and suffering except the graves, which the Russian authorities have bound themselves to respect. With the embarkation of the last battalion the war may be said to have come to an end. What it has achieved we are scarcely able to judge; we are not far enough off to contemplate it in its full magnitude. Some leading results we can perceive. Russia is no longer the arbitress of European politics; Turkey is now in no immediate danger, and has at least a respite of a human lifetime for regeneration, if regeneration be possible



The fear of a Russian march through Central Asia to our possessions on the Indus and Ganges, is now forgotten as an uneasy dream. But whether the czars will abandon their hereditary policy, or have only yielded to what they deem the force of circumstances, we have yet to learn. Whether the world is to have peace, or whether the East is some day again to be the scene of a crusade against Muscovite encroachment, the Englishmen of the present generation must be content to leave in doubt. The immediate effect, however, is the lowering of the Russians in the opinion of the world, and perhaps in their own, while France is correspondingly exalted. The Emperor Napoleon and the country he governs have, by the greatness of their exertions, their unsparing sacrifices, and the energy and skill of their measures, produced an effect on Europe which must influence the course of events during many years. England has gained many and solid advantages by the struggle just concluded; but the admiration of enemies and neutrals is almost wholly reserved for the people who took the leading part in all that has been done. We have, however, this reflection to console us, that a short war has never been favourable to the display of English prowess; and that if we have been denied an opportunity of proving it on the present occasion, yet the exertions which, in a short twelvemonth, doubled our army in the field, and placed it in a state of perfect efficiency, are sufficient proof of what would have been achieved had not peace taken away the opportunity."

We shall take a last glance at one of the most historically interesting spots in the Crimea, and again place ourselves under an obligation to Mr. Russell, by quoting as a whole his final letter from that famous locality. It is descriptive of his visit to the scene of the battle of the Alma; and with this picturesque and brilliant narrative we shall close the present chapter.

"I have now gone twice to the Alma, and have examined the ground of the battle with the ignorance of a civilian and the interest of a Great Briton. The road from the plateau on which for one long year the hopes and fears and anxieties of civilised Europe were concentrated, leads down from the ridge on which the battle of Inkermann was mainly fought, to the deep ravine out of which the materials for the mansions, quays, harbours, docks, and forts of Sebastopol have been hewed. It presents a wild

and desolate aspect. The slabs of oolite tower perpendicularly for several hundred feet, on the right hand and the left, to the verge of the elevated plateau, and rise, like great white walls of masonry, aloft from a base of huge blocks and disintegrated masses of the same substance. This ravine, deepening as it descends, falls at right angles to the valley through which the Tchernaya eats its way to the head of the roads of Sebastopol. At the lower end of the ravine the aqueduct spans it, and then is carried on a light and handsome bridge of masonry, supported on some ten or twelve arches right across, and disappears in a tunnel through the solid rock on the left-hand side. Passing underneath through one of the arches, you find yourself by the banks of the sluggish Tchernaya; and a ride of 500 yards or so past the perpendicular cliffs, perforated with caves, which bound the margin of the valley, leads you to the causeway across the marsh towards Inkermann. An excellent wooden bridge, built by our engineers, stretches across the river; and the marsh beyond is crossed by a high causeway. Arrived at the end of the causeway, the cliffs of northern Inkermann are above you, and the road winds up to a ravine which leads you to their recesses. A curious chapel and monkery in the caves is visible in the face of the cliff. Embrasures are above, before, and on each side of you on entering these fastnesses. The black pupils of these dull eyes have been removed, but there is enough of the works left to show how hot and frequent they could have flashed on you in their anger. There are five batteries on various points of this ravine, and the slopes of the plateau afford many fine sites for field artillery or guns of position. The road is good. On the right, about a mile from the entrance of the ravine, are numerous deep shafts in the clay, from which the Russians draw their supply of water. The road winds gradually upwards till it leads you to the level of the north plateau of Inkermann, just as the Quarries road took you down from the south plateau to the level of the valley of the Tchernaya, from which you are now ascending. Here is the Russian camp, at which we have so often gazed from the heights on the right of our position. It is now very much altered in appearance. The huts have been abandoned, and the men are living in a very pretty, clean, and well-kept camp of canvas, but the purlieus are



very dirty and have the usual disagreeable smell of Russian quarters. The tents are square in shape; and at the top, which tapers to a point from the side of the wall, there is a knob, gilt or painted, which gives them an air of finish. The paths or streets of the camp are bordered with wild flowers and fir branches. The regiments stationed here belong to the seventh division, which forms the first division of the third *corps d'armée*, and are, as well as I could ascertain, the 13th (Smolensko) and 14th (Politsch), and number about 6,000 men. There is a brigade of field artillery—two batteries—close to this camp, and the pieces are very well kept and in excellent condition. The cantonments extend as far as the heights over the valley of the Belbec on the left-hand side, and could have contained about 18,000 men, which considerably exceeds the strength of the whole of the seventh division. A steep road descending from the verge of the plateau at the point where the Russian bazaar is established, leads to the Belbec, which is crossed by two bridges. One of these is a fine, well-built, new structure of wood; the other is that by which the army crossed in the flank march; and the post-house, near which Sir George Cathcart took up his quarters, still remains intact. The fourth division bivouacked here the night before we went to Balaklava, when Lord Raglan slept at Traktir, on the Tchernaya, and Sir George was very uneasy on account of his isolated position, separated as he was from the rest of the army, and believing that a body of Russians intervened between them. It was from this that General Windham rode with despatches to the Katcha, anticipating Commander Maxse's arrival from the Tchernaya by more than half-an-hour; and from this neighbourhood the army turned towards Mackenzie. Lord Raglan reconnoitred Sebastopol from a hillock close to the road on the right, a short time before we fell in with the rearguard and baggage of the enemy. Duvarkoi, or Belbec, is greatly changed since then,—the trees have been cut down, and the valley, once so beautiful, blooms no more. The villas have been used as hospitals, and there are many Russian graves, marked with black wooden crosses, in the neighbouring ravines. From this valley you ascend another steep hill to the top of the plateau, which lies between it and the valley of the Katcha. The ground is covered with dwarf trees and thick brushwood, full of

lizards and small birds, which are persecuted by numerous falcons and hawks. There are patches of naked ground and ashes scattered over the plateau, which show where parties of the enemy were encamped; but the country is not suited to large bodies of men, as water is not to be had, except at the rivers. The plateau is intersected by numerous woody ravines, and the tracks followed by the allied armies are plainly visible. They have been much used by the Russians. A ride of three-quarters of an hour takes us to the valley of the Katcha, still beautiful and rich with verdure; for this part of it is too far from the immediate operations of war, and too much out of the track from Baktchi-Serai, to have suffered much. The place which we approach was once the village of Eskel; it is now in ruins. The Tartar houses are pulled down or unroofed, the population have fled, and the Russian houses are just as they were left by the Cossacks on our approach after the Alma. The church gleams brightly through the dense branches of the fruit trees, which are covered with blossoms; but the large tracts of vineyards which welcomed us nearly three years ago, are now uncultivated. The doctor's house is in a sad plight—one of the first we entered after the Alma—and is still the picture of neglect and ruin. Lord Raglan's comfortable residence is in the custody of an old Tartar, who shows the broken furniture, the sofas ripped open, the chairs smashed, and the beds cut up, with great pride, and leads one to infer pretty plainly that Ruskie did all the mischief. It was at this village that the Russians halted to recover breath after their headlong flight from the Alma; and from it they fled the same night in panic, on the cry being raised that the allies were coming. The Katcha is a deep narrow stream with rotten banks; and some people think it would have afforded a better position than the Alma: but, in fact, it is too near Sebastopol. We found a few Russian soldiers in the houses; and on the first occasion it happened to be the Greek Easter Sunday, and we were most hospitably entertained by a poor Russian family, who insisted on our partaking of painted eggs, of salt pork steeped in vinegar, and cabbage; of brown bread, butter, vodka or white home-made brandy, and Crim tobacco, and then on embracing us because we were Christians—a severe punishment, which, if often repeated, might



lead to recantation. Crossing the Katcha by the bridge, over which our army filed into Eskel, we find ourselves on the steppe—the dry barren plain studded with tumuli, which extends in wavy folds right away to Perekop. At this season of the year it is glorious, with large beds of wild flowers, sweet pea, roses, mignonette, thyme, orchids of all kinds, sweet-william, and many other varieties, whose tame and developed species are the ornaments of our gardens at home; it is musical, too, with the song of birds singing to their mates in the nest; but in September it is an arid, scorched waste, covered with coarse hay, and, as it is devoid of water, it is unfit for pasturage. The ride to the Alma from the Katcha is not more than eight miles; but it seems twice the distance. The white telegraph station, over the river, which stood on the Russian left, can be seen for many miles on a clear day; but on the steppe mirage is very common, and the horizon is rarely well defined. It is often lost in a fantastic margin resembling the sea line of an agitated ocean. Bustards, on the *qui vive* about their young ones, soar slowly before us; and eagles, vultures, and many species of falcons are visible in pursuit of their prey, which must consist for the most part of hares, which are very large and numerous. Some of these hares have been found to weigh 10 lbs. or 12 lbs., and I have heard of a monster who turned the scale at 14 lbs. In one of the hollows in the steppe, about three miles from the Alma, there is a small hamlet; but, with this exception, not a habitation is visible over the whole of this vast expanse of land sea. It is famous ground for a long canter, or as much of a gallop as your horse will stand; so with the help of an occasional scurry after a hare the distance melts away, and, as we go crushing through the sweet flowers, the Telegraph rises higher and clearer till we pull up at the foot of the mound on which it stands. This was the scene of a fierce struggle; and it was here the French had some really hard fighting before they forced the enemy to fly. The Telegraph is a quadrilateral figure of white stone, and it has never been finished. It is covered with names, and on one side is engraved, '*La Bataille d'Alma, 8 Septembre.*' The French had put the right date, the 20th, but the Russians obliterated it, and altered it to their own style. There are fifteen large sepulchral mounds around the Telegraph, wherein lie French and Russians, and the ravines are still full of bones, and of fragments

of clothing and accoutrements. Cannon-shot appear to have been carefully removed. There is an excellent view of the French position and attack from the edge of the plateau. The enemy must have had every movement of the allies under their eyes from the time they left Bouljanak till they halted to form for battle, and the spectacle could not have been one to give them courage or to inflame their ardour. The Russians declare they had only 33,000 or 34,000 men on the field; but, admitting that to be so, they made a bad fight, considering the position they occupied; and their cavalry exhibited that passive and unenterprising character which it maintained throughout the war. An officer of the old Pestal regiment told me that he charged our first attacking body when they were checked with the bayonet, and that if all the troops inside and on the flanks of the redoubts had rushed out simultaneously, the day would have been lost to us; but he was rather surprised when he heard that our third and fourth divisions were still intact, and that the guards, whom he supposed to have been routed, were never broken except in the centre, where the Scots fusiliers wavered for a moment in their advance under the heavy fire of the Russians, and the pressure of the disjointed groups of the light division. The French are disposed to think that the English were too slow in beginning the attack, which it was agreed should not take place till our allies had gained the left of the Russian position. It is certain that Lord Raglan received one, if not two, pressing messages from Marshal St. Arnaud to hasten his columns; but one may ask how it was that here, as everywhere else, the honour of taking the initiative was ceded to our allies, and the opportunity given to them of saying, 'the English were too late.' They only numbered 23,000, whereas we had about 27,000. If it resulted from their position on our right, why did they take the left when we halted before Sebastopol? The assaults on the place were made on the same principle—the French first, the English afterwards; and, whether it be true or false that we were 'too late,' there can be no doubt there was from the beginning a tendency to say so. It is beyond question, in the opinion of many officers, that the light division were not followed closely enough by the first in their advance up the hill at the Alma. In other words, the latter were too slow or 'too late.' The French did their part admirably; and their intelli-



gence and personal activity were wonderfully displayed in their progress up the steep ravines and sides of the high banks of the plateau; but their loss in killed and wounded was under 700 men, while ours was just 2,000. The Admiral Bouet Willaumez, in his recent so-called *History of the French Navy*, distinctly avers, that the English general would not permit the victory to be followed up by marching next day, and that the French were retarded by their allies. A different impression prevails in our army: but this is one of the points which must be cleared up for history by those who were in the confidence of Lord Raglan. The statement, at all events, shows what was the belief of the *chef d'état major* of the French navy in the Black Sea. Of the necessity and of the motives for the delay, of its results, of the practicability of getting such aid from the fleet as would have relieved us entirely from the charge of sick, wounded, and prisoners, I shall not speak; but it is to be remarked that the feebleness and imbecility of our arrangements in this portion of our administration, became apparent at the very first pressure, by the abandonment of our ambulances just at the very time they were most needed; by the disgraceful exhibition of the *Kangaroo*, crowded with sick and wounded till she had to make the signal that she was unmanageable and unsafe, in the sight of the whole fleet; by the sufferings of her miserable cargo, left to the charge of one surgeon, who could not attend to a tithe of his patients, and who could not even get at them if he could have dressed their wounds; and by the wretched, foolish, and cruel expedient, of leaving another surgeon (Dr. Thompson) and his servant on the field to take care of 700 wounded men. Dr. Thompson felt the hopelessness and positive cruelty of such a proceeding, and remonstrated against it; but he was told it had been 'ordered,' and that if the 'Cosacks' came down, his 'professional character' would protect him. Standing on the banks of the Alma, one has many bitter reflections to make, and all the glories of that name cannot sweeten them. The battle itself was one of the most brilliant in the world—the shortest and sharpest; and our army, young in battle but veteran in service, displayed the best qualities of British infantry. We have since heard of the incredulity, of the dismay, with which the news was received in St. Petersburg, and of the subsequent eagerness of the Russian

army to avenge the defeat, and to hurry to the Crimea to drive the allies into the sea. They found a barrier they could not break at Inkermann; but they are a people prone to put faith in their own invincibility, and slow to credit defeat, and they believe in themselves even yet.

"The position of the Alma is so well marked, that it can never be mistaken by any future visitors. The French attacked the steep and almost perpendicular cliffs, which are broken here and there by ravines which mount upwards from the river. They were divided from us by the most marked and extensive of these ravines; and eastward of that boundary the whole of the ground suddenly falls, and, instead of rising abruptly from the Alma, gains the high level of the hills by a series of sweeping undulations, offering many positions for guns, with extensive glacis to the front. Descending from the plateau, some of our party crossed the bridge, and went out on the plain towards Bouljanak to the tumuli which stud the plains, and which denote the extreme range of the Russian guns. On turning round towards the south, the eye takes in the whole scene of battle, from the sea on the right, to the low slopes which formed the right of the Russian position. Their left was separated from their right by a deep ravine running at right angles towards the Alma, and this ravine also is the boundary between the high and steep cliffs which overhang the tortuous course of the Alma on the south bank, from the ford to the sea, and the gentler rising grounds on which the enemy's left lay, and which were strengthened by the redoubt and by the mass of the Russian artillery. It will then be seen how the Russian left depended on the nature of the ground as its best defence, and what a fatal mistake Mentschikoff committed when he omitted to take into consideration the effect of the fire of the ships. That fire soon drove back their left, and forced it to re-form on the centre, which it put into confusion; and the French, ascending by the ravines with the utmost courage and activity, made good their footing on the right, and turned the Russian left completely, with comparatively little loss. The advance of our allies was covered to a great extent by the thick foliage on the banks of the Alma; and the cliffs are so high and rotten that guns could not be used with success against them. The river is much further from the base of



the cliffs than it is from the slopes on the Russian right, where the British attacked, so that it would be scarcely commanded by guns on the top of the plateau; whereas we were under fire for several hundred yards before we reached the Alma at all.

“A huge mound, composed of fifteen or sixteen gigantic graves, at the distance of 400 or 500 yards from the river on its north side, denotes the resting-place of those who fell before the army crossed the stream, or who died after the fight in the ambulances. The road by which we advanced to the bridge, is just as it was on the 20th of September; and on the right, close to the stream, are the blackened ruins of the village of Bourliouk. It will be remembered that the enemy partially destroyed the bridge, but that it was repaired during the action by Captain Montagu, of the royal engineers, and a party of sappers and miners. The bridge has been substantially rebuilt by means of a strong wooden way thrown across the stone arches, and supported by beams and uprights. The old post-house on the right of the road, before you come to the bridge, is about being reconstructed, and a guard of soldiers were lodged in its ruins. It will be, to all appearances, a handsome house of fine white freestone when it is finished. I surveyed its ruins with peculiar interest; for I know a person very intimately who took shelter in this house, part of which was on fire, to get out of a fire still hotter, till he was driven out by a shell falling through the roof; and it was at the wall outside, which is yet torn by shot, that I met the first two wounded officers I saw that day—two officers of the 30th, one hit through the chest or side, the other wounded, I think, in the leg or arm. They were helping each other from the river, bleeding and weak; and I was fortunate enough to be able to bring to their aid a staff-surgeon, belonging, I believe, to the cavalry division, who kindly examined their wounds under fire. Close to this I had previously seen the first man killed—a drummer, who was carrying a litter, and who was struck by a round shot which bowled slowly along the road, and hit him, with a peculiar squashing sound, on the hip. He fell broken in two, and never moved; nor did his comrade, who was carrying the other end of the litter, stop to mourn over his death. After the intrepid rush of the light division up the hill, its wavering, its slow, broken, and unwill-

ling halt, the bold advance of Pennefather's brigade, and the billow-like march of the guards, I was happy again in being able to warn Colonel Waddy, as he approached at the head of the 50th, that he was moving right along the line of fire of the enemy's guns; and, as there was a very conclusive proof given of the correctness of the statement just as I spoke, that gallant officer moved off his men, who were in dense column a little to the left, and got off the road to the fields, whence he rapidly advanced towards the heights. All these things, and many more, came back upon me as I looked around. I could recall that narrow road filled with dead and dying—poor young Burgoyne going past on his litter, crying out cheerily, ‘It's all right—its only my foot;’ ‘Billy Fitzgerald’ shot through both legs lying up against the wall, and chatting away as if he had just sat down after a quadrille; a white-haired field-officer (of the 55th), whose name I don't know, badly wounded through the body, who could only moan bitterly, ‘Oh my poor men! oh my poor men! they hadn't a chance;’ then the river stained here and there with blood, still flowing from the dead and dying who lay on the shallows and the banks, lined nevertheless by hundreds, who drank its waters eagerly; the horrid procession of the dripping litters going to the rear of the fight; the solid mass of Adams' brigade, halted by Lord Raglan's orders, as it emerged from the smoke of Bourliouk; the staff itself and the commander-in-chief, gathered on the rising ground close by; that ghastly battle-field, where so many lay in so small a place, putrescent with heat and wounds; the gray blocks of Russians melting away like clouds, and drifted off by the fierce breath of battle; the shriek and rush of the shells from the brass howitzers in the battery; the patter of the rifle; the rattling roll of the musketry; the frantic cheers of our men as they stood victors on the heights, drowning the groans and cries which for a moment succeeded the roar of battle; the shrill flourish of the French bugles, and the joyous clamour of their drums from the other side of the ravine,—all came back upon the ear again; and the eye renewed its pleasure as it gazed from the ridge upon the plain, where it had before seen the Russians flying in disorder, with their rear still covered by the threatening squadrons of their cavalry. Then one recalled the spot where one had seen some



friend lying dead, or some one—friend or foe—whom it were no mercy to strive to keep alive—Watkin Wynn, stretched on the ground in front of the trench, with a smile on his face—Colonel Chester, with a scornful frown, and his sword clinched in the death-grasp—Monck, with the anger of battle fixed on every feature;—these, and many another friend in the peaceful camp of Aladyn or Devno, rose up as they lived in the memory. The scowling Russians who glared so fiercely on their conquerors and seemed to hate them even as they supplied their wants, then seen for the first time, left an impression respecting the type of the Muscovite character, which has scarcely been effaced now that they have ceased to be '*messieurs nos amis l'ennemi*.' I recalled the two days, passed as no army ought to pass two days—on the field of battle, amid the dead—the horrid labours of those hours of despondency and grief where all should have been triumph and rejoicing; and the awakened vigour with which the army broke from its bivouac on the Alma, and set out with no certain aim, no fixed project, on its chance march, which fate has made so successful and so prosperous.

"The intrenchment can be distinctly seen for a mile north of the river. It is placed half-way down the slope of the little hill-side. There were no other works, trenches, redoubts, or fieldworks of any description; and all the accounts of such defences, filled with riflemen and guns, which have been made public, were erroneous. The enemy had very few riflemen; and the ground, except on the extreme left, was of such a nature that good cover for guns could be had for the seeking. For many years to come the battle-field is likely to remain as it is now; the only difference being, that the vines which flourished on the 20th of September, 1854, may be cultivated once more. On ascending from the river towards the intrenchment, you find yourself on the left completely covered by a rise of the hill in front from the parapet, so that men could form in this hollow for the attack without being exposed to fire; but the Russians, aware of this, sent down on their extreme right large bodies of infantry, who fired at the left brigade of the light division as they were trying to get into order after

crossing the river. On the right, nearer to the bridge, the ground is more exposed to guns from the parapet of the trench; and on advancing a few yards, the fair open glaxis, gently sloping upwards to their muzzles, gives a terrible solution of the reason why for a time the light division was held in check, and lost in a few moments upwards of 1,000 men. At the base of this glaxis, and scattered along the ridge towards the river, are mounds of earth about thirty feet long by fifteen in breadth, which are covered with large stones and slabs of slate. There are fifteen or sixteen of these mounds, and many of them contain the remains of friends and foes. Some small black wooden crosses are placed here and there among these mounds, which rise to the height of two or three feet above the level of the plain, and are all covered with rank vegetation and wild flowers. The parapet of the work is still about three feet outside, and a foot deeper in the trench inside. Near the centre is placed a handsome monument of white stone, with the following inscription:—

"During the attack on these heights, 20th September, 1854, Her Britannic Majesty's 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers lost their commanding officer, Lieutenant-Colonel H. Chester, Captains A. W. Wynn, F. Evans, J. Conolly, Lieutenants P. Radcliffe, Sir W. Young, Bart., J. Anstruther, and J. Butler, all killed on the field; also Lieutenant Appletwaite, mortally wounded, who died 22nd September, 1854. This stone is erected to their memory."

On the other side,—

"The regiment also lost Sergeant J. H. Jones, Colour-Sergeants R. Hitchcock, J. F. Edwards, one drummer, and 40 privates, killed on the field."

"In the ditch of the fieldwork, there are about twenty large graves, covered with long grass and wild flowers. The trench is about 150 yards long, and it is filled with earth, which has tumbled down into it from the parapet; the traces of the embrasures still remain. There are two stone crosses erected inside the trench on heaps of dead. This is all that remains to betoken the scene of the action on our side, except a few pieces of threadbare rags and bits of accoutrements, leather straps, old shakos, and fragments of cowhide knapsacks. And so I take leave of the Alma, which henceforth shall be celebrated in history to the end of time."



## CHAPTER XXIII.

PROCEEDINGS AT CONSTANTINOPLE; THE RAMAZAN; CELEBRATION OF THE BIRTHDAY OF THE QUEEN; THE NIGHT OF DESTINY; POLITICAL UNEASINESS AND SILENT REVOLUTION; OPINIONS RESPECTING THE MENTAL STRENGTH OR WEAKNESS OF THE SULTAN; ENTERTAINMENT OF THE ALLIED GENERALS AT CONSTANTINOPLE; MOSLEM SUPERSTITION AND COOKERY; CONDUCT OF RUSSIA; THE ISLE OF SERPENTS; EVACUATION OF KARS BY THE RUSSIANS.

THE troops of England and France were continually pouring into Turkey, on their return from the Crimea. Transport after transport arrived, and "the cry was still, they come." The Turkish government would possibly have felt some jealousy, if not alarm, upon this point, but that it had had the wisdom to obtain from England and France a convention for the evacuation of Turkey within six months. The document was signed on the 13th of May. This was necessary political prudence. Such a thing as Western colonization in the East was by no means an impossibility.

On the 21st of the same month, General della Marmora and staff arrived at Constantinople from the Crimea. He was presented to the sultan by the *chargé d'affaires* of Sardinia, Count della Minerva, and received in a very flattering manner. The general left for Turin on the 23rd. This month was a gay one at Constantinople. It was the period of the Ramazan, when all Moslems fast strictly during the day, and hold a feast and carnival during the night. From sunrise to sunset, not even a crumb of bread or a drop of water passes the lips of a true believer. The booming of a cannon announces that the last rays of the sun have disappeared beneath the horizon, and then the long fast is at an end. The pipe and the meal have been prepared in anticipation; and after a brief but vigorous smoke, the Turks eat with a heartiness amounting to ravenousness. Sweets follow meat, and meat follows sweets, in almost endless succession. The Turkish *cuisine* is admirable; and, even according to so great an authority as M. Soyer, equal, if not actually superior in inventiveness to the French. Even the aspect of a Turkish dinner is described as being peculiarly provocative to the appetite.

This serious business over, the Moslem washes himself, smokes another pipe, and then issues out into the streets. The houses and the mosques are illuminated; and even

the numerous stalls, at which ices, lemonades, and sweetmeats are vended, each display their coloured paper lanterns. The mosques are crowded; the solemn night-prayer follows; and, for a time, the follower of the prophet is animated by a stern enthusiasm, and appears abstracted in mind from all surrounding objects.

Again he enters the streets, and the festivity then commences in earnest. The avenues are bathed in light, and densely crowded; everybody seems abroad. The seats in front of the shops and *cafés* are all occupied, and singing and music are heard in every direction. On ropes, stretched from one minaret to another of the mosques, are attached illuminations, representing flowers, animals, birds, and ships, which undulate in the air. As the night wears on, the crowd gradually disperses, until at length the morning gun announces sunrise; the revellers then disappear—the hour of festivity is over, and that of fasting has recommenced.

During the Ramazan, on the 29th of May, the English celebrated the birthday of her majesty. It was announced in the morning by a salvo of artillery; while a second, at noon, proclaimed to all concerned, that there was a levy of the whole *corps diplomatique* at the English embassy. In the evening Lord Stratford gave a grand dinner, to which all the English military and naval officers of superior rank, together with the most prominent of the British residents, were invited. The *façade* of the palace was illuminated; and the band of the German legion attended during the dinner. To do it the greater honour, one toast alone was drunk; it was "Her Majesty!" At the same moment, three rockets fired from the courtyard, were responded to by a salute from the British flag-ship.

The evening of the following day (May 30th) was the most important period of the Ramazan. It was Kadr-Guedjessi, or the Night of Destiny, in which, according to the



Moslem faith, the destinies of all true believers are determined for the whole year. This is always the occasion of a splendid festivity; but at this period it was made more magnificent than usual, on account of the conclusion of peace. In conformity with an ancient custom, the sultan proceeded in his state *caïque* to the mosque of Tophane, to perform the prayer of night. The court of Tophane was filled with fantastic illuminations, and thronged with people. A triumphal arch was also erected; and high in the air between the two minarets of the mosque, swung the cipher of the sultan in characters of light. All the Turkish men-of-war in the Golden Horn were dressed up with lamps; and every mosque and *corps de garde* on the sultan's passage added something to the general effect.

As night closed in, the booming of cannon proclaimed that the sultan had left his palace. Shortly afterwards a row of boats, in which blue lights were burning, threw a glare upon the water, and revealed to sight the white *caïque* of the sultan gliding swiftly to its destination. Blue, red, or green fires blazed before every public building; and the English and French men-of-war in the neighbourhood had their masts dressed with lamps. On the conclusion of the religious ceremony, a magnificent display of fireworks delighted the multitude, and the sultan proceeded homewards. The fast of the Ramazan over, the greatest Mohammedan feast, the Bairam, followed, and was also observed with more than customary splendour.

Despite of these festivities, a general feeling of uneasiness prevailed throughout Turkey. It was felt that great changes were passing over the state, and many feared that these changes might lead to deplorable results. "The question to be solved," said a correspondent from Constantinople, "is nothing less than the re-formation of the empire on a new basis. Founded on conquest, its principle was hitherto material force. All the so-called reforms of which Turkey can boast have not changed this principle, but only weakened it, and thus produced that lamentable state which Europe witnessed during the late war. Now, if ever, is the time to establish a new order of things, based on the principle of justice, and to unite by the bond of a common interest the elements which will no longer yield to force. Heavy is, therefore, the responsibility of those who are at the

head of affairs; for with their names will be associated the future prosperity or ruin of their country. If we look at the present, we cannot but have serious apprehensions for the future. A sovereign good by nature, but weak and irresolute, consequently under the influence of his *entourage*—a court more dissipated and corrupt than that under the regency, and an object of contempt and scandal to the population—a ministry basing its power on this corruption, disunited, unprincipled, and ready to sacrifice everything to the momentary possession of power and its benefits—an administration proverbial for its venality and oppression—the *débris* of an army with a broken-down organisation—an exhausted treasury—all classes of the people dissatisfied;—such is the material which exists at this critical moment."

At the same time a struggle for the office of grand-vizier was going forward with a violence that produced a political crisis. In connection with this matter, the *Times* had a leader, in which occurred the following remarkable passage concerning the ruler of the East:—"There is," it said, "we have reason to believe, a secret chronicle, the events recorded in which do not easily reach Western ears. It is said the sultan has almost reached the limit at which he can no longer be held responsible for his actions. The life which this unhappy sovereign has led from boyhood, has made him, at thirty-three years of age, not only prematurely old in body, but almost prostrate in intellect. All energy of will is gone; how long understanding will remain, is a question which no one can answer. He is entirely ruled by a race which it would be an insult even to Naples or Madrid to call a *camarilla*. His wives, his eunuchs, his pipe-bearers, his daughters, do with him whatever they please. He has his fits of rage, his hours of despondency. He changes his mind as often as those who surround him urge him to change it. Such is the sovereign who, at this time of danger and transition, governs the Turkish empire, just saved from the grasp of a hostile potentate, and still occupied by the armies of two powerful allies. Now an imbecile monarch is no prodigy. In most Western States, even where what are called liberal principles have made little way, such a sovereign would find settled laws and customs by which the machine of state might move without his personal superintendence. But in Turkey the sovereign must not only superintend, but initiate.



He is the real ruler of the country which his ancestors won by the sword: he must decide for himself; and to practise on his weakness, is the natural course of ministers or dependents who wish to keep their positions."

What authority the conductors of the *Times* had for the extraordinary statement we have quoted, we are unable to say. The Constantinople correspondent of the *Daily News* implied that it was but an invention. He said—"In my last I had occasion to notice the painful impression produced in all circles by a late article of the *Times*, giving a most dismal picture of Turkish affairs—of the sovereign, the ministry, of everything, in short—founded, it appears, on information 'from Constantinople.' Information is often at fault as regards this place. Here, all sorts of rumours, myths, and Eastern tales are flying about the whole year round; and I venture to affirm that in no other capital will the stranger encounter so many difficulties in forming a just estimate of men and things. Even the accredited and recognised agent of the press lives for the most part at some hotel, in utter isolation; that is to say, shut out from all the best sources of information, his habits, his sympathies, as well as his total ignorance of the language in the great majority of cases, excluding him from all intercourse with the native population. He is thus thrown entirely on his own limited resources—on some casual relations with foreign missions, perchance, or with certain orthodox Galata traders, who supply, I am told, an abundant summary of news for publication—their own authentic version that is to say, and in the purest Attic idiom. Strange to say, furthermore, and for these selfsame reasons, diplomatists, ministers, and other officials so highly remunerated, and whose sole occupation the whole year round is, I presume, to transmit to their governments a regular and accurate account of the *status quo*, are not at all times, I have reason to think, wiser or much better informed than other folks, having but little acquaintance with the native races, and none but official relations, generally speaking, either with the seraglio or the Porte. Hence, they have to depend principally on the wisdom of their dragomans, who, each succeeding day, sally forth betimes on their official and inquisitorial errands, and return home brisk as bees—*crura thymo plena*—big with intelligence, with notes and illus-

trations, but of that colour and description only which it is meant should be conveyed to their respective chiefs. This is all; for 'mum' is the word in the presence of a dragoman, and he rarely succeeds in penetrating into certain matters, on which the *Times* descants so confidently, and with a very imposing air. The fact is, I believe—and it is a fact of the utmost notoriety to all those conversant with the usages and traditions of the East—that the seraglio is a sort of sanctum, a mysterious abode, and isolated, as it were, by insuperable barriers from the outer world. All things relating to this home of the caliph, the spiritual and temporal chief of Islam—his habits, his privacy, his sayings and doings—are considered by these primitive populations in the light of important state secrets. Nay, more, the august name of the sovereign is held sacred, and never breathed but in a whisper, and with profound respect and veneration. His frailties and infirmities, whether moral or physical—and which are more or less inseparable from this mortal state—'his fits of rage and despondency,' as reported by the *Times*, but whether with or without foundation, I am unable to determine—are all matters within the knowledge only of some trusty officers of the imperial household, who are pledged by a more than masonic compact, by honour, by interest, by ardent devotion and gratitude, never to divulge under any circumstances the private concerns of their master. So true is this, that a simple catarrh, the most trivial ailment, if affecting the sovereign, is an event so disquieting, that it rarely oozes out beyond the immediate circle of the royal attendants, 'For secrecy no lady closer,' I vouch for it; and this is a *fortiori* in cases of any real illness, under which, I am credibly informed, the present monarch has never laboured since his accession to the throne. In ancient times, moreover, as at the present day, mystification has ever been the rule and standing order here in all relating to the sovereign; and so much so, that neither bodily nor mental suffering, nor the fury of the elements in the depth of winter, prevent him, it is well known, from appearing in public, at least once a week—on Friday usually—when he goes to the mosque in great pomp, heading the brilliant cavalcade of his whole court and great officers of state. And thus it is, I admit, that grave events at times, and of supreme political importance, may be passing in the very



centre of the *capitolium*, unheeded and unheard, and without ever causing the slightest symptoms of suspicion in the public mind. Such was the case, I am assured on the best authority, towards the close of the last reign, when even Lord Ponsonby, one of the ablest, most vigilant, and most popular ministers that ever represented Great Britain in this country, and possessing necessarily the amplest means of information, owing to his intimate, I may say cordial, relations with the court and great functionaries, was kept in utter ignorance, nevertheless, of the dangerous and hopeless state of the late sultan till within a few days previous to the closing scene. For this information, likewise, I may add, the ambassador was indebted, not to the vigilance of his numerous and well-appointed staff, but to the kindness of a gentleman—a non-official—who, for the general good, and with a view to the preservation of public order, considered himself in duty bound to communicate that important fact, inasmuch as a multitude of disquieting rumours and prognostics were afloat. Well, now, from these few facts and observations, on which you may place implicit reliance, it may be easily conceived that the good folks here are all in amaze, and ask, naturally enough, whence has the *Times* derived these edifying details of the Ottoman court, and what can have been its object in publishing them, whether true or false? Was it, in either case, to discredit, at the eleventh hour, the cause for which we have fought and bled, and lavished such an enormous amount of our national treasure? Surely, if the existence of Turkey be now not only a recognised political necessity, but an accomplished fact in the European commonwealth, she merits at this moment of transition one word of encouragement and kindness, at least, from the leader of the press—instead of visiting thus, whenever an opportunity offers, her sovereign, her statesmen, and her venerable institutions with the severest and most unjustifiable comments. For I distinctly aver, that after the most diligent inquiries here on the spot, and in quarters likely to be best informed, I have been unable to elicit one single fact in support of these allegations. On the contrary, some protest that it is purely an orthodox invention, and all plead ignorance: but this, it is true, would not in itself invalidate the statements of the *Times*, for the reasons above mentioned. But there are others, of

far more weight, which lead me to suspect that the report is groundless, or that it ought at least to be received with extreme caution and reserve—considering the well-known character and principles of Abdul-Medjid, his strong and inflexible will—albeit the very reverse is asserted—and his steady and persevering efforts in the path of reform—the noblest and best heritage of his illustrious sire.”

The Turkish government resolved to celebrate the arrival at Constantinople of the commanders-in-chief of the allied armies with public festivities. It was proposed to give them a great dinner, at which the sultan should be present. This created much discussion at Constantinople, as it was against immemorial usage that any one should be present when the sultan dines except his personal attendants; much more, that strangers should sit and eat in his august presence. As, however, he broke in upon this frigid usage by partaking of refreshment at the balls given by the ambassadors, it was expected that he would go a step further, and preside at the dinner to be given to the generals. The old Moslem party was offended. The Turkish court pronounced itself against this desecration of majesty, and much debate was carried on between it and the ministry on the subject. Eastern etiquette carried the day; and although the sultan received his guests at the imperial palace before dinner, and addressed them in a very courteous and amiable manner, he did not dine with them. The entertainment took place on the 15th of July; and although it had been postponed on account of the absence of Sir William Codrington, still that officer did not arrive in time to be present. The grand-vizier did the honours of the dinner, during which a terrific thunder-storm broke over that part of the Bosphorus where the new palace is situated, and for a time nearly interrupted the festival. The windows were shattered by the hail; and the musicians, who were on the side from which the storm came, were obliged to cease in the middle of a piece, and select a less exposed position. Some Moslem faces wore looks of ominous meaning. It suggested to more than one of the guests the idea of Belshazzar's feast, in which nothing but the finger with the “Mene Tekel Upharsin” was wanting. The Turkish empire was indeed weighed in the great political balance of Europe; but it was left to the future to decide upon its



sufficiency or otherwise. This singular coincidence of the storm interrupting the feast with the "infidels," was taken up by the popular mind as a sign and warning, and commented upon accordingly. It was regarded by the Turks as an indication of the displeasure of the prophet. What most impressed these superstitious people was, that the storm raged only in the region where the palace lies; and above and below it nothing but gentle rain fell. To the Moslem mind a man must be a terrible sceptic indeed if he doubted a supernatural interference after that.

The throne-room of the imperial palace, in which the dinner took place, is described as surpassing all that had ever been seen at

\* We must confess to having entertained an opinion that Turkish cookery was rather a primitive and barbarous affair. According to the famous M. Soyer, who is an unimpeachable authority upon such a point, this is by no means the case. The idle reader, we are sure, will forgive us, and the serious one will, we trust, not condemn us as trifling, for inserting a letter addressed to the *Times* by that famous philosopher of the kitchen, and benefactor of those who have delicate appetites and not very great powers of digestion:—"Sir,—In reply to no end of inquiries from persons meeting me in the streets of Pera, Bujukdéré, Therapia, the Isles des Princes, &c., as to what I am doing in Turkey now the whole of the army is gone; and, as every one here seems so anxious, probably others may feel interested; it has struck me, sir, to inform you personally why I remain here. In the first place, Constantinople and its vicinity are far from being destitute of vital interest; and those who have only seen its beauty from the Bosphorus, and then at first sight condemned the interior of this gigantic city of Constantine, have seen nothing, and are utterly incompetent to speak of it, much less to write upon the curiosities, manners, customs, and way of living of this singular and almost unknown people, though lodged nearly in the centre of Europe. Thanks, now, to my last visit to Constantinople, which time nor duty did not admit of before, I now know it and its neighbourhood as well as London, and much better than Paris. I am pretty well acquainted with Turkish institutions as well as manners and habits, which indeed deviate so much from our fashions that they cannot fail to prove interesting to relate, if not to follow. Though so many authors have written upon Turkey, they have yet left me several virgin pages; and those pages are upon the national cookery of the Moslem people. They have many dishes which are indeed worthy of the table of the greatest epicure; and I shall not consider my Oriental mission terminated to my satisfaction till I see in the bills of fare of France and England their *purée de volaille au rés tomates et coucombres* and *purée de Bahmia aromatisée à la crème* by the side of our potages à la Reine, Portue, Jullienne, and mulligatawny; near our whitebait, red mullets, turbot, and salmon, their fried sardines, bar fish, gurnets, sturgeons, red mullets aux herbes, oyster pilaff, mackerel, salad, &c.; and with our roast beef, saddle-back of mutton, and haunch of venison, their sheep, lamb, or kid, roasted

Constantinople in splendour and magnificence. It was crowded with objects of exquisite taste and *vertu*, enormous looking-glasses, and the costliest furniture of every description, collected from the principal European workshops. Above all was a stupendous lustre, which cast a brilliant light into every corner of the immense saloon. The table was quite in European fashion, spread in gorgeous array, with the most magnificent plateau, massive girandoles, and adorned with an exquisite variety of the rarest Eastern flowers and fruits. The dinner lasted full three hours;\* and, but for the unpleasant incident of which we have spoken, passed off admirably.

The following letter, dated July 14th, *pub-whole*, and the monster and delicious kebab; by our entrées of *suprême de volaille*, *salmis*, and *vol-aux-vents*, their *doulmas kioffee*, *sis kebabs*, *baharram boutou*, *pilaff aux caïlles*, &c.; with our vegetables, their *Bahmia* fried leeks and celery, *Patligan bastici*, and *sakath kabac bastici*; with our *macédoines*, *jellies*, *charlottes*, &c., their *lokounda*, *moukahalibi*, *Baclava gyneristi*, *ekmekataive*. Their coffee, iced milk, and sherbet—in fact, all their principal dishes—might with the best advantage be adopted and Frenchified and Anglicised; not so their method of serving, in which they mix sweet and savoury dishes throughout the repast; and less likely still their method of eating with their fingers, though after several trials I must admit that it has some peculiar advantages; their sauces being of a thinnish nature, require to be absorbed with a piece of bread in order to partake of them, which could not be performed equally well by either knife or fork. Their custom of serving only one hot dish at a time is not new to us, we having borrowed it from the Russians, who probably took it from the Turks. No nation, as yet, has been able to boast of having introduced a single innovation in the way of living of this singularly incommunicative race, the cause of which I can only attribute to the immense distance placed between the relative social position of the two sexes; for while in Europe the *beau seze* forms the soul of society and sociability, in Turkey they are kept in entire seclusion, and almost without any kind of education. My stay here has not only procured me the high honour of an interview with the sultan, but also the advantage of becoming acquainted with one of the most useful and principal officers of his sublime majesty's household, called the *Hachji Bachji*, or general-in-chief of the culinary department of his sublime majesty the *Padischah*, and he speaks with pride of having held that office five years with the late sultan and *Padischah Mahmoud*, and has now retained it for seventeen years with his present sublime majesty. Independent of the private kitchen of the sultan, he has under his command in the various palaces about 600 men cooks, and had in the time of Sultan Mahmoud upwards of 1,000. Having expressed a wish to become acquainted with some of the principal Turkish dishes, and the way in which the dinner was served, he not only cordially gave me the required information, but invited me to a dinner *à la Turc* at the new palace of *Dolma Batchi*. We were only four guests, including himself. Above



lished in the *Moniteur*, gives some interesting details of Marshal Pelissier's brief stay at Constantinople:—

"The sultan, in order to gratify the marshal, had been graciously pleased to order Mehemed Bey, the intendant of the palace of Top-Kapou, to conduct that officer through the room containing the treasures of the crown, and the different kiosks erected by his majesty's ancestors within the circuit of the seraglio. On the morning of the 10th the French ambassador, the marshal, Vice-admiral Trehouart, and the persons who accompanied them, proceeded in state carriages to the seraglio, where Mehemed Bey had prepared for them a splendid breakfast. They afterwards were conducted to the kiosk of Bagdad, a most beautiful construction, built by Sultan Amurath IV., and situate on the highest point of the seraglio. It is impossible to behold anything more admirable than this construction. It is lined inside and out with slabs of porcelain, known by the name of 'Kiachi,' and the finest kind of which was formerly made at Kuchan, in Persia. All the doors, shutters, and panels are of cypress-wood, incrustured with tortoiseshell, ivory, and mother-o'-pearl, in beautiful patterns. The ceiling of the cupola is covered with designs in gold on a vermillion ground, the colour of which is still as fresh and bright as ever. When the visitors had sufficiently admired this wonderful construction, Mehemed Bey conducted them to the private treasury of the sultan. Until of late years the riches accumulated by the Ottoman sovereigns were deposited in coffers ranged in cellars of Byzantine construction; but in expectation of a visit from the emperor of the French, the sultan last year gave orders to have a room prepared and arranged with the objects worthy of being shown to his august ally. The intention of the sultan was in part car-

seventy small dishes formed a luxurious bill of fare, which, after the Turkish fashion, were quickly partaken of, as the Moslems only taste a mouthful of each dish which may take their fancy. He then informed me that the repast we had partaken of was the *fac-simile* of the dinner daily served up to his majesty the Padischah, who always takes his meals alone, and, as no bill of fare is made, every dish in the Turkish cookery code must be prepared daily throughout the year, and only varies in quantity according to the abundance or scarcity of the provisions to be obtained in the various seasons, so that his sublime majesty may find everything he may desire within his imperial call. Further details upon this subject I shall give when I publish my receipts. The Armenian cookery turns very much upon the Turkish style, while the Greek has a type of its own, which, I regret to say, is far from meeting my approbation,

ried out, and, owing to the exertions of Mehemed Bey, a portion of the wonders which the Ottoman treasury contains can be viewed by the persons specially permitted to visit them. The visitor's attention is first attracted by the throne of Kei-Kaous, sultan of Koniah in 1245, which was formerly surrounded by hangings embroidered with pearls and emeralds, now hung up in glass cases. This throne, of solid silver, is covered over with enamelled designs of the greatest beauty, representing the thrones and ornaments of the kings of Persia in the olden time. It is surrounded on every side with cloth of gold, and the cushions are of crimson velvet, embroidered with pearls and precious stones. Close to it are to be seen the shield and sabre which Sultan Amurath wore when he made his triumphal entry into Constantinople after his Persian expedition. These arms are dazzling with diamonds. By their side is the precious box which contained the Koran, and which the Sultan Suleyman carried with him during his campaigns. The lid is covered with jewels of price, among which is a turquoise in the shape of an almond of immense size. To the end of the cord which served to suspend this box is fixed an emerald as large as a hen's egg. In another part of the room are arranged the aigrettes which the sultans formerly wore in their turbans on days of ceremony. The emeralds, rubies, and diamonds collected together in these ornaments are of a size and brilliancy to excite wonder; and it may be safely predicated that Western Europe can boast of few jewels to be compared to those handed down by the ancient sultans. I will not dwell on the beautiful objects in some other rooms; but nothing can surpass the beauty and exquisite finish of the cups of jade, the arms inlaid with jewels, ancient stuffs stiff with gold and silver, China vases,

though in high Greek families I have partaken of excellent dinners; but the Turkish dishes were the most satisfactory, the common cookery of the Greeks being sloppy and greasy; while, *per contra*, the Turk has studied the art of preserving the essence of all the provisions employed, which method will at all times constitute a palatable as well as a nutritive food. Prior to my departure, which will be in a few days, I shall pay a visit to Scutari, to contrast the present state of that busy spot, with its now, as I hear, totally deserted aspect. My remarks upon that subject I will do myself the pleasure of sending in a future letter, in hopes that they may prove interesting to the thousands who have visited that celebrated place on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus. With the highest consideration, I have the honour to remain, sir, your very obedient servant,—A. SOYER.  
"Pera, Constantinople, Hotel d'Angleterre, Sept. 8."



and a most curious collection of timepieces of the 17th century, sent as presents from the sovereigns of Europe. The inspection of the imperial treasury being terminated, the visitors were conducted to the library, erected by Sultan Ahmed, which contains a collection of Eastern manuscripts, such as cannot be found elsewhere; and lastly, they visited the old throne-room, the canopy and chimney-piece of which are covered with silver plates, beautifully enamelled and inlaid with agates, garnets, and turquoises. A theatrical performance followed, at the conclusion of which the marshal and his party proceeded to the Porte, and inspected a body of troops drawn up on the vast esplanade of the seraskierate. Everywhere the marshal was the observed of all observers."

The allied armies were rapidly leaving the Turkish shores; but even before they had all embarked, the conduct of Russia began to excite uneasiness. The Isle of Serpents, a mere barren rock in the Black Sea, had from its insignificance not been mentioned in the treaty of peace. This place was regarded as belonging to Turkey; but, prior to the war, the Russians, taking advantage of its being uninhabited, had erected a lighthouse upon it. The light had been extinguished, and the building deserted on the outbreak of hostilities; but now Russia, alive to the circumstance of the island not having been alluded to, sent a few men—eight only—to avoid the creation of suspicion, and took possession of it. The Turks immediately sent an officer, with fifty men, to induce the Russians to withdraw, which it was soon seen they had no intention of doing, unless they were compelled to do so.

Anxious to make the inhabitants of the east of Europe and of Asia believe that her power had not been injured by the war, Russia also hesitated in surrendering the town of Kars to the Turkish government, as it was bound to do by the third article of the peace. To restore this famous town and fortress to the Turks, was to confess to an inability to retain it—a humiliation which the czar deferred as long as possible. This unfair and graceless behaviour caused a part of the allied fleets to be kept in the Black Sea by the governments of England and France, as a remembrance to the czar that the powers to whom he owed the destruction of his navy on those waters, were still at hand, and ready to act if necessary. Thus the promptness displayed by England and France in evacuating the Turkish dominions, met

with no response from Russia. She clung pertinaciously to Kars, and remained there as long as possible, destroying works, cutting down forests, refusing English officers the right of visiting the spot, and, during her little term of power, playing the despot after the fashion of Warsaw or Tiflis. The same was the case with the mouth of the Danube; there, also, the Russian troops remained until the latest day allowed by treaty, apparently with the desperate hope that, perhaps, something might happen to enable them to refuse the cession altogether. With respect to the territorial cession of a part of Bessarabia to the Danubian provinces, the czar raised doubts on the topography, and seemed anxious to escape from a condition which made the boundary line of Russia recede instead of advancing. On this exhibition of litigious and undignified temper, the *Times* observed—"It can hardly be to impose on civilized nations that the Russian sovereign makes this display of impotent obstinacy. Indeed, the impression it must leave on Europeans is rather that Russia is weaker and more sorely wounded than was thought. To see her lingering at the spots she must leave, and performing acts of paltry tyranny to the last, cannot raise her in the eyes of German or Italian. But it may be that, on some ignorant and confiding races, the spectacle of her armed occupation, after the allies have left the East, may have an influence. If she hold Kars after France and England have withdrawn their armies from Constantinople, the fact may be explained consistently with Russian interests among nations to whom Russia alone speaks. Nevertheless, in the end such subterfuges can be of little avail; and the conduct of Russia, by destroying any nascent feeling of confidence among the western nations, will bring on her evils far overbalancing any advantage which a dilatory evacuation can procure."

Towards the end of July, Captain Hillyar, in the *Gladiator*, was sent to Serpents' Island to inquire into the exact nature of the Russian occupation. Captain Hillyar found there the fifty Turks and eight Russians; the latter unarmed. As the island contained but one building, the Turks and Russians were living together, the latter being treated by the former as their guests, and supplied with everything. This was done in consequence of the orders to that effect from the Turkish government, which was naturally anxious to avoid a collision. The Russians, however, were excluded from



the lighthouse; the latter being their excuse for coming to the island.

Captain Hillyar, on reporting this to Admiral Lyons, was sent back to the island with instructions to offer to the Russian lieutenant and his men there a passage to Odessa. The Russian officer excused himself from accepting this offer, by stating that his orders were to remain on the island until further instructions from his superiors. Captain Hillyar then proceeded to Odessa, and asked the authorities to send for the Russian detachment on the island. The governor requested time to telegraph to St. Petersburg for instructions; and the answer from thence was, that the Russians could not be removed until the question of the Serpents' Island was settled by the conference at Paris, which was to meet for the settlement of the affairs of the Danubian principalities.

Captain Hillyar again returned to the island, where he stationed himself, and sent a gun-boat, which had been placed at his disposal, to the admiral, with an account of what had passed. The admiral returned instructions to the captain to remain in observation, and to prevent any attempts the Russians might make to increase their force. This precaution was soon seen to be not without its use; for, a few days later, a Russian steamer made her appearance before the island, having on board M. Botianoff, *conseiller d'état* and *gentilhomme de la cour*, and a staff for the re-establishment of the lighthouse. On making the Turkish commander acquainted with his commission, the *conseiller* was informed that the lighthouse was already restored, and that he had no orders to receive any further reinforcement of Russians on the island. M. Botianoff, finding that his intention of landing an additional force on the island was frustrated by the precautions taken by Admiral Lyons and the Turkish government, steamed away in the direction of the mouths of the Danube. Captain Hillyar, suspecting that this was done with a view of taking the superior commanding Turkish officer by surprise, and gaining through him an order of admission to the island, sent the *Snake* gun-boat, which overtook and passed the Russian steamer; consequently, when M. Botianoff arrived he found the Turkish commander *au fait* to what had passed, and on his guard; so that the object of the Russian was foiled there just as well as at the island. The Turkish government attached great im-

portance to this small matter, as they were very naturally jealous of the slightest evasion of the treaty.

To return to Constantinople. A Russian ambassador arrived at that city, and was received by the sultan on the 25th of August. It was a formal audience, and both parties declared their satisfaction at diplomatic relations being established between the two countries. This might be considered as a shaking hands on the part of the two governments after the recent conflict.

Before this the Russians had evacuated Kars, and that ancient town and fortress was again in the hands of the Turks and under the authority of the sultan. The 6th of August had been fixed for the ceremony of restoration. On the 3rd, three British officers—Major Peel, Major Fraser, and Mr. Evans, 9th lancers—entered Kars as the representatives of the country and army to which they belonged. On reporting their arrival to Colonel Lorismelikoff, the Russian governor and commandant of the town, they were at once received with much respect and hospitality. General Boutloff insisted upon giving up his apartment for their accommodation; they were invited to dine with the governor every day during their sojourn there; horses were placed at their disposal, and an escort of Cossacks appointed to attend upon them. Perhaps these civilities might have been intended to repay the friendly reception which Colonel Lorismelikoff and his suite had shortly before experienced from the officers of the British staff, on the occasion of a recent visit to Erzeroum. Yet it must be observed, that since the establishment of peace, the meeting of British and Russian officers had, in almost every instance, been characterised by feelings worthy of gallant gentlemen and soldiers. The craft and insincerity which seemed to pervade the policy of the Russian government, had apparently left untainted the character of its military officers. Although a government commonly reflects the spirit of the people, yet it must be confessed that few Englishmen are prepared on all occasions to endorse the foreign policy of the ministry of this country. What would be wrong in an individual, appears, by some mystic process of reasoning, to be considered right on the part of a state.

"The next day," said one of the party, "we visited the scene of the bloody fight of



the 29th of September, being accompanied by a Cossack officer, who was himself engaged in that memorable struggle. His account of the whole affair was clear and circumstantial. He related every incident, and pointed out every spot of special interest; and it was impossible not to admire the composure—I may say the stoicism—with which he thus detailed, for our information, the particulars of as signal a defeat as his countrymen sustained throughout the war. The ridiculous will always tread upon the sublime; the absurd will not be scared even from a battle-field. Here it attached itself to the person of one of our party—a robust John Bull, who, got up in his best staff uniform, was obliged by some whimsical chance to ride in a Cossack saddle, on a little ragged, restive horse; when nothing but his innate horsemanship enabled him to hold on with his knees doubled up at an angle of forty-five degrees. Such an exhibition would prove irresistible at Astley's; still it failed to disturb the gravity of our solemn mentor."

Early on the morning of the 6th of August, the English officers started with their Cossack escort to meet the Turkish troops who were about to march into the town under the command of Hussein Pasha. They consisted of two battalions of infantry, two companies of chasseurs, one troop of lancers, and two guns, which was the force appointed to garrison Kars until further orders. The British officers and their Cossacks having joined the Turkish troops a few miles from the town, accompanied them on their march into it. On approaching the fortress they found the Russian infantry formed in line to receive them, outside the works, on the Erzeroum road. When they were about ten yards from the Russians, the Turks halted, and deployed into line, parallel to and facing their late foes. After the exchange of salutes the lines broke into contiguous columns of sections, and marched, side by side, into the fortress. Almost immediately the Turkish flag was hoisted on the citadel, salutes were fired, the Russian guard and sentries relieved by the Turks, and the famous old fortress was again in the possession of its former owners. The affair, however, was rather frigid and formal; no enthusiasm was displayed by the Turks, and no cheering followed their establishment in their old quarters.

The next morning the mushir arrived; for either etiquette or personal feeling had

prevented his entering the fortress until the Russians had abandoned it. As before, the British officers, accompanied by their Cossacks, rode out several miles to meet him. The mushir rode into the town without any display, and at once retired to the quarters provided for his reception.

In the afternoon the mushir, accompanied by a number of Turkish officers, met the Russians and the British by appointment, all *en grande tenue*. Count Lorismelikoff was surrounded by all the members of his staff, and each side was attended by a mounted escort. Filing through the narrow streets, they proceeded to the Russian camp, where a grand review had been ordered in honour of the mushir. On clearing the heights of Karadagh they were met by General Kruloff and his staff. Whatever might have been the secret feelings of the Turks and Russians towards each other, there was no want of outward cordiality between the two chiefs; and taking their places in front, they headed the procession the rest of the way.

Along the road the Cossacks and Bashi-Bazouks kept up a constant succession of mock skirmishes and single combats, in which each party made the best display of his peculiar tactics. The superior adroitness of the Cossack was, however, conspicuous, both in horsemanship and in the use of his weapons. Some of their feats were astonishing. Occasionally a man, when closely pressed by his adversary, and while riding at full speed, disappeared over his horse's side, where, holding on by the heel, he left nothing but the sole of a buskin as a mark! His wily little horse, thoroughly trained to all these manœuvres, or rather seeming to exercise an independent intelligence of its own, carried him safely out of harm's way, and he soon after reappeared on the offensive. As these skirmishes at length threatened to exceed the limits of mere display, it was deemed advisable to recall the men to the ranks.

On arriving at the Russian camp, its whole force was found paraded in marching order. A general salute and a round of cheers welcomed the mushir, after which the Russian troops broke into open columns, and marched past; the infantry in slow time, the Cossacks at the gallop. These wild horsemen again treated the spectators to some specimens of their extraordinary equestrian performances. Some of them, while at full speed, sprung from the stirrups



to a standing position in the saddle-tree; others bent down out of sight; while still more writhed and twisted about, backwards, forwards, and sideways, after a fashion that would astonish the stately giants at the horse-guards, while, at the same time, they rent the air with yells and screams of most unearthly discord.

On the termination of the review, the Turkish and British officers were invited to the tent of General Kruloff, where they found a magnificent banquet ready spread. The remainder of the day, and no small part of the night, was therefore devoted to festivity. Champagne flowed without stint, all enmity appeared to be forgotten, and the late foes fraternised heartily. Healths were drunk with uproarious applause; and the

names of the Sultan, Queen Victoria, Napoleon, the Emperor Alexander, Mouraviëff, and Williams, were received with enthusiasm. At length the Russians were excited to such a warmth of friendship, that they could only express it by embraces. The English were especially the objects of these attentions; and our broad-shouldered and bearded officers submitted to be hugged and kissed by their loving friends with as much grace as they could summon. They slept that night in the camp, and the next day set out for Erzeroum, after taking a hearty leave of their hospitable friends. Certainly the Russians were no mean foes, and they well knew how to appreciate a brave and generous enemy. Thus it should be: a nobility of nature divests even war of half its horrors.

#### CHAPTER XXIV.

REVIEW OF THE CRIMEAN GUARDS AT ALDERSHOTT; HER MAJESTY'S ADDRESS TO THEM; TRIUMPHAL ENTRY OF THE GUARDS INTO LONDON; CLOSING OF THE LAST WAR SESSION OF PARLIAMENT; HONOURS AND BANQUETS TO THE CRIMEAN HEROES; DINNER TO THE GUARDS AT THE SURREY GARDENS.

HOME, peace, and festivities! Such may be taken as the text of the present chapter.

First, we have to mention the return of the guards from the late theatre of war, and their welcome into London. Having been assembled at the camp at Aldershott, her majesty appointed Tuesday, the 8th of July, for a review of them in that locality prior to their entrance into the metropolis. Notwithstanding the time of the year, which we naturally associate with blue sunny skies and a soft flower-scented atmosphere, it had rained remorselessly all the preceding night. Day broke drearily and coldly; the surrounding country was soddened and almost flooded; the sky looked dark and heavy; and the rain continued to fall with an incessant pattering that threatened to drench everything and everybody. Added to this, the wind set in from the north-east, and swept over the camp with a keen and bitter blast. So forbidding was the weather, that even the military officers scarcely credited the idea that the review would actually take place.

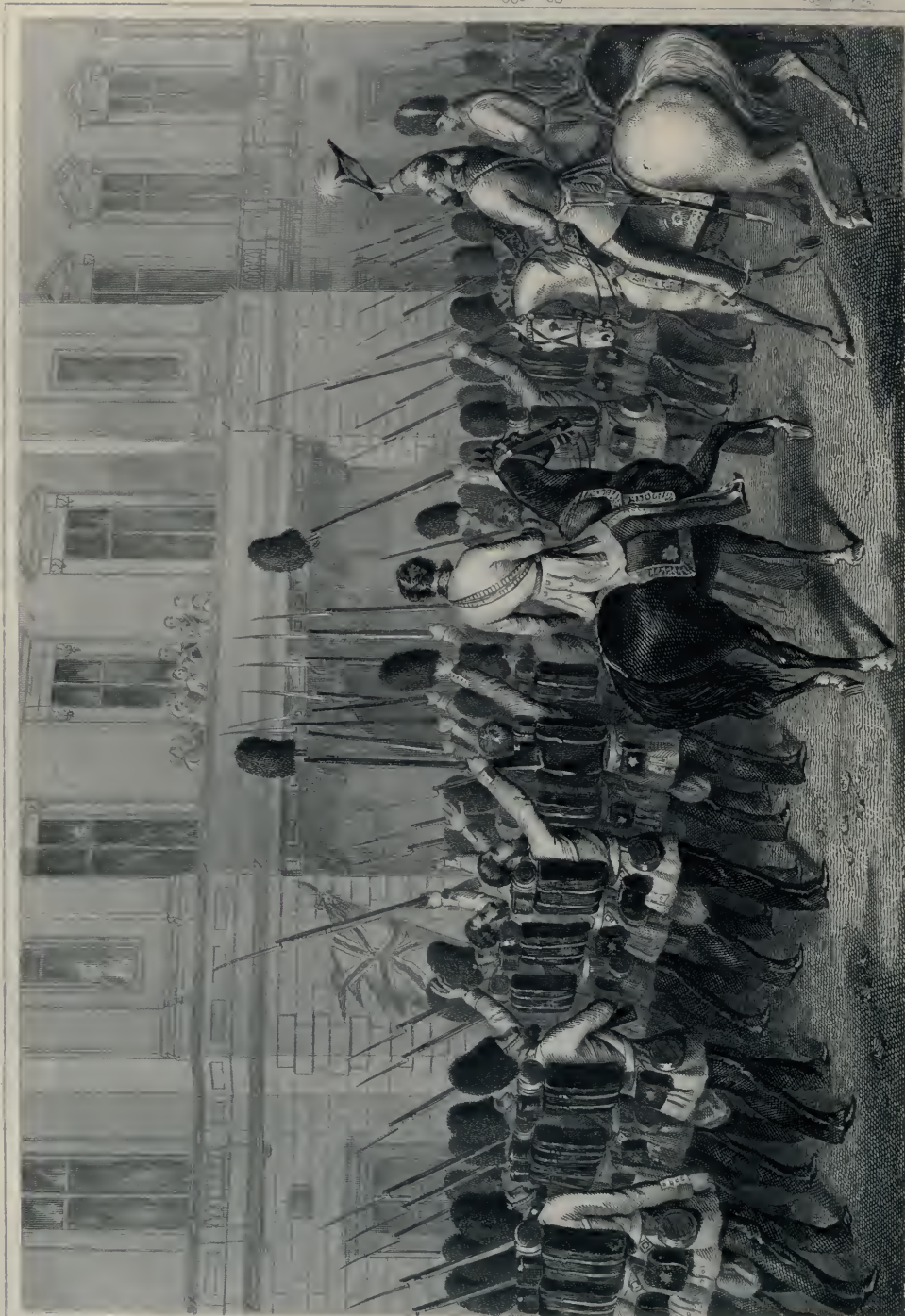
They were, however, deceived upon this point; and shortly after daybreak, the whole

camp was astir, and the busy note of preparation rose above the dismal splashing of the rain and the howling of the wind. At nine the troops were formed in line outside their cantonments, and underwent the usual preliminary inspection by their commanding officers. After this, they marched to the spot appointed for the review—a vast expanse of moorland on the right of the old Portsmouth road. There the men drew up, and formed in double lines from north to south; and so they remained for nearly an hour, while the dismal and persistent rain came down with still increasing violence, and the wind blew fiercely and with a melancholy wailing over the chain of heather-clad hills which bounds that wild and desolate landscape.

The queen and royal party arrived on the ground at half-past eleven. Her majesty was seated in a close carriage, drawn by two white horses; while by the side of the vehicle rode Prince Albert and the Prince of Wales. The King of the Belgians, Prince Oscar of Sweden, the Comte de Flandres, the Duke of Cambridge, Baron Stutterheim, and Lord Panmure accom-







THE QUEEN  
RECEIVING THE GUARDS AT BUCKINGHAM  
PALACE ON THEIR RETURN FROM  
THE CRIMEA

R. Lind.



panied the royal equipage; while a brilliant staff of officers, all dripping wet, brought up the rear. The evolutions over, the sky brightened a little, and the rain ceased for about ten minutes. Advantage was taken of this glimpse of fair weather, and the Crimean regiments were formed in three sides of a square around the royal equipage. At a given signal the officers of cavalry and infantry, who had been under fire, together with four men from each of the Crimean regiments, advanced towards the carriage. As they did so, it was thrown open, and discovered the queen dressed in a riding habit, and wearing in her hat a military plume of feathers. She then rose, and, amidst breathless attention, addressed them as follows:—

“Officers, Non-commissioned Officers, and Soldiers,—I wish personally to convey, through you, to the regiments assembled here this day, my hearty welcome on their return to England in health and full efficiency. Say to them that I have watched anxiously over the difficulties and hardships which they have so nobly borne, that I have mourned with deep sorrow for the brave men who have fallen in their country’s cause, and that I have felt proud of that valour which, with their gallant allies, they have displayed on every field. I thank God that your dangers are over, while the glory of your deeds remains; but I know that, should your services be again required, you will be animated with the same devotion which in the Crimea has rendered you invincible.”

On the conclusion of this address, a shout of “God save the Queen” rent the air; helmets, bearskins, and shakos were hurled up into it; while the dragoons waved their sabres, and created a grand and spirit-stirring effect. The troops were then marched back to the camp, dripping with rain, but apparently very contented. The royal party returned to the Pavilion, and at three o’clock left the Farnborough station for Nine-Elms, where they were received by a guard of honour of the 3rd light dragoons, by whom they were escorted to Buckingham Palace.

Fortunately, the next day—Wednesday, July 9th, when the guards were to march into London—was as bright and genial as the preceding one was dismal and dreary. The three battalions (grenadiers, Coldstreams, and fusileers), comprising about 3,200 men, left Aldershot at an early hour of the morning, and travelled to the Nine-Elms station of the South-Western Railway

in four special trains. On leaving the railway, they were received, by a vast concourse of spectators, with a rapturous shout of welcome. As they marched onward, in lines four deep, the spectacle acquired a touch of domestic pathos, from the bands playing, alternately, “Auld lang syne” and “Home, sweet Home.” The soldierly appearance and bearing of the men attracted general admiration; but those of them who wore long beards and four-clasped medals, were objects of the most particular attention; for they were the men who had stood the brunt of the war during the whole campaign. It would be unjust to praise the guards at the expense of other regiments in the queen’s service; nor have we any intention of doing so; for all our troops did their duty with equal devotion to their country. But we shall still lay before our readers a few statistical facts, to show that the guards were not undeserving of the cordial welcome which awaited them on returning to their head-quarters. At the Alma the fusileers lost 11 officers and 170 non-commissioned officers and men; the grenadiers, three officers and 126 non-commissioned officers and men; and the Coldstreams, three officers and 27 non-commissioned officers and men, killed and wounded. Of the 2,400 men which was the strength of the brigade at the Alma, there were 350 killed and wounded, or one-seventh of the whole number. At Inkermann the grenadiers lost nine officers and 223 non-commissioned officers and men; the Coldstreams, 13 officers and 178 non-commissioned officers and men; and the fusileers, nine officers and 169 non-commissioned officers and men, killed and wounded. Thus 581 men and officers fell out of 1,350 in action. Of the 31 officers killed and wounded, 14 were killed on the spot. The brigade also sustained some loss at Balaklava; and of their sufferings from famine and sickness it is unnecessary to say anything in this place. We have had “something too much of this” already.

As the troops marched along, on their way to Buckingham Palace, each regiment preceded by its band, the bells of the churches they passed rang out a merry peal; flags and banners floated in the breeze; while, ever and anon, a joyous shout of welcome, which rose in the air like the wild gusts of some rude and primitive music, testified to the enthusiasm of the people. It must indeed have been an in-



spiriting sound, those shouts of welcome. To men who felt they deserved such a welcome, no other music would delight so much. During the passage past the houses of parliament to Charing-cross, a perfect ovation was given to the troops. The throngs of anxious spectators were welded into what seemed one great compact mass of human life. The windows of the houses of parliament were crowded with peers, peeresses, and members of the Commons; and along the whole line the appearance presented was extremely animated, not to say brilliant. Few things could more gratify a beholder than the radiant intelligence that sat like light upon the faces of the men, and the warm sympathetic glances that were bent upon the worn soldiers by clusters of beautiful women, arrayed in all those rich colours and bravery which are so fitting to their graceful nature. The balconies of every house, also, were made available for the reception of visitors; and the Horse-guards was literally besieged with spectators; the roofs as well as the windows being crowded. The chapel-royal and the admiralty were equally adorned with living ornaments; and the "finest site in Europe" was thronged with dense masses of people.

When the troops entered St. James's-park the crowd was denser, and the shouting more vigorous than ever. The balcony over the principal entrance to the palace had been prepared for the reception of the queen, the royal family, and the illustrious guests of her majesty. At twelve she made her appearance, accompanied by the King of the Belgians and their royal highnesses the Duchess of Kent, the Princess Charlotte of Belgium, the Duchess of Cambridge, and the Princess Mary, Prince Oscar of Sweden, the Comte de Flandres, the Princess Royal, the Prince of Wales, Prince Arthur, the Princess Alice, and others of the royal children. In the enclosure before the palace were assembled a number of ladies and gentlemen, many of the latter being in uniform; and almost all the windows were occupied by ladies and groups of bearded warriors, whose uniforms, together with the gay dresses of their fair companions, introduced into the scene the element of richness and variety of colour.

Shortly after twelve the sound of the drums of the grenadier guards announced the approach of the column, and the silence of expectation prevailed over the dense crowd. Then the troops appeared, and were welcomed to the presence of their sovereign by

a long, hearty, and unanimous shout. The queen leant forward over the balcony with manifest satisfaction, her eyes beamed with a patriotic joy, and her whole figure seemed to betray something of the excitement of the moment. The troops approached, entered the south gate of the palace, and passed beneath the spot where her majesty and the royal party were standing to receive them. As the men entered the enclosure the queen waved a white handkerchief towards them, and, as they passed before her, she further testified her pleasure at their presence, and her gratitude for their services, by bows and smiles, to which the soldiers responded by cheering most heartily. The other members of the royal family, and the ladies and gentlemen who were in the windows or in the front of the palace, also were zealous—as, indeed, it would have been difficult for any truly English or generous nature to be otherwise—in the waving of handkerchiefs and hats, while the crowd outside rent the air with shouts and hurrahs.

The troops left the enclosure by the north gate, and marched to Hyde-park, where a review had been appointed to take place. Here the masses of people were as great, and the troops were greeted by an ovation as enthusiastic as that with which they had been welcomed along the whole line of march. During the review, the whole brigade of guards, consisting of seven battalions, and including in the aggregate about 5,500 rank and file, stood collected in one body—adamantine in its solidity, grandly imposing in its appearance. The circumstance was to some extent remarkable, as the entire brigade was never assembled together in one place on any previous occasion. After the amalgamation had taken place, the Crimean brigade was easily distinguishable from the other battalions by the stern, weather-beaten look of the men, and their soiled and dusky uniforms.

Her majesty entered the park at half-past one, and the troops went through their manœuvres before her. The gallant bearing of the men, the phalanx they presented, and the marvellous precision of their movements, excited marked and general admiration; and at intervals, when the colours of each regiment were borne past, many of them tattered and torn, and inscribed with the immortal names of Alma, Inkermann, and Sebastopol, added to the older watchwords of Corunna, Barossa, Talavera, Peninsula, and Waterloo, the deep emotion of all pre-



sent was visibly excited, and the people gave expression to their feelings again and again, in cheers which thrilled alike those who heard and those who participated in the touching ovation. As the queen retired from the park, a vast crowd of the humbler classes, who had been pent up for several hours behind the barriers along the northern side of the enclosure, broke through the cavalry and the police who kept the ground clear, and, shouting with a wild kind of delirium, rushed at full speed towards the Crimean soldiers. The incident was explained by the fact that these poor people had relatives and friends among the troops whom they could no longer repress their ardent desire to see and welcome home again. There was something touching in this event—a natural eloquence in that outburst of long-repressed emotion that might teach a fruitful lesson to the selfish!

In commenting on the ceremonial we have described, a writer in the *Daily News* observed—"The irrepressible thought of the 'unreturning brave' solemnised, but only solemnised to elevate, the spectacle. As a sight it was picturesque, as a ceremony it was imposing. It wanted, indeed, the dash and impetuosity of French enthusiasm: there were no maimed soldiers' sons, as when the Zouaves entered Paris, recognising their aged parents in the crowd, and bearing them, oblivious of discipline, on their crossed arms as they marched along; all was subdued, calm, and earnest, sober and heartfelt, as befits the homage which English citizens should pay to English warriors; the men of patient and all-conquering toil to the men of deliberate and unvanquishable valour. Still, though tranquil and orderly, the spectacle was by no means wanting in some of the best elements of the picturesque. There was dignity without pipeclay, and discipline without buckram. They were no holiday specimens of drill and parade—those bronzed men, with their bristled beards and red-tinged bearskins, who marched between the lines of thousands of their fellow-countrymen, and mustered in the palace-court of their queen. Many of them had been in battle, all of them had seen service. The tattered colours—rent and ragged with the iron rain of war—told not more plainly of the hardships of the campaign than the knit brows, and the sunken eyes, and the worn features of many who marched proudly under those honourably-defaced standards. The exhausted looks of some, the spare and fleshless but

muscular frames of others, alike proved the truth that war, even to the lightest-hearted and supplest-sinewed, is at the best 'a tremendous pastime.' It is not often that the civilians in our time have been permitted to look even thus far behind the scenes of the gorgeous and terrible melodrama. The paraphernalia of the parade was stripped off, and we seemed to catch a momentary glimpse of the stern realities of war."

The parliamentary session of 1856—the last war session—drew to a close on the 29th of July. A few days previously, Mr. Disraeli, in the House of Commons, reviewed the proceedings of the government during the session, declaring them to be of an unsatisfactory character, and stating that the ministry, while professing liberal principles, acted upon conservative ones. The *Times* defended the ministers; but a day or two afterwards it described the closing session as one "fruitful in debates, but barren in measures; where everything had been attempted, and nothing done."

On Tuesday, the 29th, parliament was prorogued by commission, and the royal speech read by the lord chancellor. It was as follows:—

"My Lords and Gentlemen,—We are commanded by her majesty to release you from further attendance in parliament, and at the same time to express to you her warm acknowledgments for the zeal and assiduity with which you have applied yourselves to the discharge of your public duties during the session.

"When her majesty met you in parliament at the opening of the session, her majesty was engaged, in co-operation with her allies the Emperor of the French, the King of Sardinia, and the Sultan, in an arduous war, having for its object matters of high European importance; and her majesty appealed to your loyalty and patriotism for the necessary means to carry on that war with the energy and vigour essential to success. You answered nobly the appeal then made to you; and her majesty was enabled to prepare for the operations of the expected campaign, naval and military forces worthy of the power and reputation of this country. Happily it became unnecessary to apply those forces to the purpose for which they had been destined. A treaty was concluded by which the objects for which the war had been undertaken were fully attained; and an honourable peace has



saved Europe from the calamities of continued warfare.

"Her majesty trusts that the benefits resulting from that peace will be extensive and permanent; and that, while the friendships and alliances which were cemented by common exertions during the contest will gain strength by mutual interests in peace, those asperities which inherently belong to conflict, will give place to the confidence and good-will with which a faithful execution of engagements will inspire those who have learnt to respect each other as antagonists.

"Her majesty commands us to thank you for your support in the hour of trial, and to express to you her fervent hope that the prosperity of her faithful people, which was not materially checked by the pressure of war, may continue, and be increased by the genial influence of peace. Her majesty is engaged in negotiations on the subject of questions in connection with the affairs of Central America, and her majesty hopes that the differences which have arisen on those matters between her majesty's government and that of the United States may be satisfactorily adjusted.

"We are commanded by her majesty to inform you that her majesty desires to avail herself of this occasion, to express the pleasure which it afforded her to receive, during the war in which she has been engaged, numerous and honourable proofs of loyalty and public spirit from her majesty's Indian territories, and from those colonial possessions which constitute so valuable and important a part of the dominions of her majesty's crown.

"Her majesty has given her cordial assent to the act for rendering more effectual the police in counties and boroughs in England and Wales. This act will materially add to the security of person and property, and will thus afford increased encouragement to the exertions of honest industry. Her majesty rejoices to think that the act for the improvement of the internal arrangements of the university of Cambridge, will give fresh powers of usefulness to that ancient and renowned seat of learning. The act for regulating joint-stock companies will afford additional facilities for the advan-

tageous employment of capital, and will thus tend to promote the development of the resources of the country; while the acts passed relative to the mercantile laws of England and of Scotland, will diminish the inconvenience which the difference of those laws occasion to her majesty's subjects engaged in trade. Her majesty has seen with satisfaction that you have given your attention to the arrangements connected with county courts. It is her majesty's anxious wish that justice should be attainable by all classes of her subjects, with as much speed and with as little expense as may be consistent with the due investigation of the merits of causes to be tried. Her majesty trusts that the act for placing the coast-guard under the direction of the board of admiralty, will afford the groundwork for arrangements for providing, in time of peace, means applicable to national defence on the occurrence of any future emergency.

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,—We are commanded by her majesty to thank you for the readiness with which you have granted the supplies for the present year.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,—Her majesty commands us to congratulate you on the favourable state of the revenue, and upon the thriving condition of all branches of the national industry; and she acknowledges with gratitude the loyalty of her faithful subjects, and that spirit of order and that respect for the law which prevail in every part of her dominions. Her majesty commands us to express her confidence that on your return to your homes, you will promote, by your influence and example, in your several districts, that continued and progressive improvement which is the vital principle of the well-being of nations; and her majesty fervently prays that the blessing of Almighty God may attend your steps, and prosper your doings for the welfare and happiness of her people."

Though England had not emerged from the war with as much *éclat* as could be desired; yet she was proud of her defenders; and in most cases she had reason to be proud of them.\* For a season, compliments and ovations were the order of the day. In

\* Of the change of feeling on the part of the people towards the army, the *Times* spoke as follows:—"Happily free from the continental burden of the conscription, the country recognises the strong claim upon its gratitude of men whose voluntary and

unforced devotion, blended with an admirable discipline, preserves the credit and character of a kingdom, the vast wealth and possessions of which are so signally contrasted with the slight material instruments of their protection. Rising from the torpid



some places, banquets were given in honour of the Crimean heroes; in others, costly swords or other rich offerings presented to them. A few of the most prominent of these compliments to the brave we propose to notice.

On the 19th of May, the freedom of the city of London was presented to Admiral Lyons. Sir John Key, in presenting it, said—"The tribute of respect which it is my privilege, on behalf of this court (the court of common council), to offer you on the present occasion, I need hardly say, is no tribute from us as a mere assemblage of citizens, but from us as the trustees of a

great national distinction—from us as the dispensers of an honour which has been thought to add lustre to the patriot's name, and new laurels to the victor's brow—from us as the credited exponents of public feeling, from whom the rest of the country learns how to do homage to its wise, and how to reward its brave." The admiral, in a brief reply, observed, that he yielded to no man in zeal for the public service; and that during the two-and-forty years he had served the state, he had conscientiously performed his duty to the best of his abilities. He added—"This beautiful box will be

slumber, in which war was long dreamed an impossibility, and repelling that paradoxical fanaticism which denounced even self-defence as a sin, the towns and corporations of England attest at once their recognition of an obvious truth and their sense of high desert. They attest also something else. They demonstrate a change in popular sentiment and popular prejudices most striking and most fortunate. Can any two phases of feeling stand out in more distinct contrast than that which greets the return of the British army from the Crimea now, and that which greeted the return of the British army from the Peninsula in 1814? Yet what were the achievements of the two? The present army comes back from a campaign of two years—two years fraught indeed with great toil, trials, sufferings, and mortality, and eventually crowned by no unworthy consummation. The former returned from a campaign of six years, in which 'they had won nineteen pitched battles and innumerable combats; had made or sustained ten sieges, and taken four great fortresses; had twice expelled the French from Portugal, once from Spain; had penetrated France, and killed, wounded, or captured 200,000 enemies, leaving of their own number 40,000 dead, whose bones whiten the plains and mountains of the Peninsula.' Yet the present army is cheered, *fêted*, and embraced by accompanying thousands; while their predecessors (with some few exceptions) resumed their garrison duties without show, pomp, or salutation. In the language of the historian whom we have already quoted, that 'war terminated, and with it all remembrance of the veterans' services.' Many reasons might be alleged for this change. *The army was unpopular because it had been employed as a police in times of civil commotion.* It was unpopular through the retention of some hazy, constitutional doctrines, about standing armies. It was unpopular because certainly since the death of Wolfe, and almost since the time of Marlborough till the beginning of this century, it had performed no brilliant achievement; and what it had done under Wellington in Spain was depreciated by faction, or misrepresented by ignorance. And Wellington's domestic policy, founded upon that extreme caution which sometimes is as dangerous as temerity, perhaps tended to confirm this unpopularity. By keeping soldiers 'out of sight of the people' as much as possible, he rather strengthened the suspicion that a soldier's calling was at once cheerless and disreputable. The popular notion of a soldier in England was for a long time that he was a sort of refuse man, kept in a fusty square, to

be alternately drilled and flogged, and exhibited as little as possible, save for the suppression of riots. The identification of the whole community with the military calling was wholly absent from a people who saw very little of soldiers under arms, knew little of the extent of empire committed to their custody, and who associated their 'trade' with the recruiting sergeant's blandishments, the drunken promise, the painful parting from home, the canteen, and the cat-o'-nine-tails. Cause and effect, as usual, reacted on each other. A bad name was given to the soldier; and it was too often from the worst men that soldiers were recruited. Decent labourers groaned over the son who enlisted, and a decent housemaid had rarely the moral courage to retain a 'sodger' lover. But, as public attention became directed to the state of the army (which, of course, was done by civilians)—as India was twice seriously threatened within three or four years, and saved mainly by those brave troops who carried the pluck and vigour of Englishmen to 'the heights of Candahar and the sands of the Punjab'—as the huge military resources of continental states forced upon the British intelligence their wonderful aptitude for foreign aggression or domestic subjugation—there came over the minds of the people a compunctious recollection of important services in war recommended by the most docile discipline in peace, and the army gained in popularity. Then came the Russian war, and with it an innovation which startled others besides military martinets—the almost daily publication of every event that happened within the camp. The English public were made spectators of a siege 3,000 miles away. They saw not only the salient and exceptional actions which lend life and brilliancy to the monotony of a siege, but every incident of the soldier's life—his toil in the trenches, his watches, his hungers, his fastings, his nakedness, his disease. They, apart and comfortably housed, saw their gallant countrymen enduring with heroic constancy work which required thrice as many hands as could be spared to do it, and, in the face of shot, shell, stinted rations, famine, and infection, maintaining an heroic devotion and a disciplined subordination worthy of the race whose sons had calmly mustered to parade on board the doomed and sinking *Birkenhead*. Every household in the kingdom thus became, as it were, in something more than imagination, spectators of the sufferings and the glories of the camp; and the enthusiasm which each stage of the siege had kindled, burst into that flame which now greets the disembarking troops in England."



handed down as an heirloom, and preserved by my children, and my children's children, as a memorial of one of the proudest events of my life."

Sir Colin Campbell, on his return, on the 1st of July, to his native city of Glasgow, was received enthusiastically by almost the whole population. The same day he was presented with the freedom of the city of Glasgow, in a box of solid gold. A valuable sword, subscribed for by 6,000 of his countrymen, was also presented to the veteran warrior, accompanied with a biographical eulogy by Sir Archibald Alison. The enthusiastic cheering which followed when the learned historian, at the close of an eloquent address, presented the sword to the brave old soldier, must, indeed, have caused him to feel for a moment "the electric shock of a nation's gratitude."

The laurel-wreathed cup of honour contained yet another draught for the noble Scot. The following day, Sir Colin was entertained at a banquet in the city-hall by the inhabitants of Glasgow. On this occasion there were about a thousand persons present, and the lord provost filled the chair. The veteran's health having been drank, he said—"After an absence from Scotland of fifty-two years, I am now come back to receive the highest honour which a large body of my countrymen are able to pay me. This is the most valuable reward, besides what is felt in a man's own conscience, that it is possible to give; and, believe me, if I cannot reply to your kind and enthusiastic reception with the skill of a practised orator, my thanks come no less truly from my heart because they are clothed in homely language. I have served in all parts of the world for three-fourths of the period allotted to a man's life; but my fortune and my name have become principally known to you from the accident of my being appointed to command that glorious highland brigade. To those valiant soldiers I owe the honour and the happiness of seeing you this day, and of being your youngest burgess, for which honour, and for all your kindness, I beg to return my thanks." Sir Archibald Alison then proposed, "Our Allies!" in one of those eloquent speeches to which an audience ever listens with attention and pleasure. In allusion to the ambition of Russia, he observed—"The great Napoleon said, forty years ago, that in half a century Europe would be either republican or Cossack. That memorable

expression, pregnant in meaning which the world did not perceive at the time, but which we now see, had been gifted almost with a prophetic spirit, as indicating the condition in which we are happily placed. I believe that no one who has looked across the Atlantic, has not seen the danger of Napoleon's words being realised; and that within the time specified, Europe would be either republican or Cossack. The alliance was the only secure bulwark against this. These two great nations have learnt to emulate the talents of each other, and surpass each other in friendly strife in maintaining the cause of freedom throughout the world. \* \* \* This alliance will be fraught with prominent consequence to both countries: modern Europe has been cemented in the most lofty, and in the noblest of ways. The foundations of it were raised in the glorious fields of Alma and Inkermann; and the superstructure has been laid in the inundations of the Rhone. If the foundations were laid in blood, the superstructure was raised in peace. These two nations had been called upon to support each other on the field of battle; and they had been recently called upon, by what he would call a merciful dispensation of Providence, to show their feelings of Christian charity. \* \* \* He hoped that this alliance, founded upon the principle of the French emperor—"The French empire; that is, peace!"—will be substantial and lasting. He trusted the time would never come when the two countries would be severed again; but that they might look back to the wars of this time, when two great nations were made to mutually respect each other, when they fought a mutual battle, when they stood side by side, and laid the foundations of that high respect which, in nations alike as in individuals, was the only real foundation of a permanent alliance and lasting regard. He trusted the alliance would never again be broken. He trusted that the arts of diplomacy would in no way affect it; but that it would be fed by the good sense of England, the chivalry of France, the interests of both countries, and by mutual regard.

"'Foreign foe, and false beguiling,  
Shall our union ne'er betide;  
Hand in hand when peace is smiling,  
And in battle side by side.'"

Dr. Gillan, in proposing the health of Colonel Stirling and Sir Colin Campbell's staff of the highland division, paid the following well-deserved compliment to the brave troops



they commanded:—"Wherever danger lowered darkest, or steadiness was demanded, there flapped the kilt, there swung the philibeg, there nodded the feathers, there screamed the pipes, and there flashed the claymore—like to the eye of a tiger when about to pounce on its prey."

Upon General Williams, honours fell almost in showers. He was selected by the electors of Calne to represent them in parliament. On the 29th of June he was invited to a banquet, given for the purpose of doing him honour, at the Army and Navy Club. In responding to the enthusiasm with which his name was received, the general thus generously included his companions-in-arms in the oration:—"My career—whatever it may have been—which has been received with so much honour,—my history, is associated with that of both my brother officers who are present here this evening. But I must tell you there sits Colonel Lake—there sits the man who was continually by my side, working by day at the fortifications, and watching unceasingly by them at night. There, too, sits Teesdale. Alas! Thompson is no more. I cannot present him to you; but I can assure you that they never would have lived until the eventful day of the 29th of September, if I had not laid upon them the iron hand of discipline. For, day by day, they were engaged with the enemy; and it was only my stern word of command which preserved them up to the last day of the struggle. Let me also point out to you my young secretary—a youth, whom I took with me from his mother, and who proceeded step by step in his career, until the eventful day, when, taking command of a battery, he did most essential service to our cause. I wish to associate myself with these my gallant companions-in-arms, and to share with them the honour which you have bestowed upon me." After speaking in high terms of the Turkish soldiers under his command, General Williams paid a sounding compliment to those of the late enemy. "I wish," he observed, "to say also a word respecting the army of General Mouravieff—that splendid army, that army of polished steel. I assure you it was magnificent. It was with the greatest devotion to their sovereign that they came down upon us from day-dawn to sunset, for seven mortal hours; and although they sustained the most severe losses, there was not a single moment of hesitation in the efforts and movements of that fine army. They came forward, attack after attack, in a

manner which would have gladdened the heart of every soldier to have seen. When they were assailed by a fire as well-directed as ever came from a position, they never recoiled until the moment when they were ordered to do so; and when the game was up, they treated us like friends and brothers. They sacrificed themselves in the most splendid, most beautiful manner; they detached themselves from the flanks of the columns, they came forward and made walls of themselves in front of their batteries. When we came to mix among them, only two months after this terrible infliction, as the Turks would say, 'there was not an evil eye among them;' there was the eye of friendship, and the hand of a comrade, from one end of Russia to the other."

The freedom of the city of London, together with a sword of the value of a hundred guineas, was presented to General Williams; and, on the 9th of July, a grand banquet given in his honour at the Mansion-house, at which a long list of noble, military, and political celebrities attended.

Yet another sumptuous and magnificent dinner, with the same object, was given by the members of the Reform Club on the 12th of July. Every preparation was made to give due *éclat* to the occasion. The exterior of the club was brilliantly illuminated; the word "Kars" being conspicuously exhibited in gas letters over the principal entrance; and the dining-hall was profusely decorated with arms, flags, banners, and laurel-wreaths, tastefully grouped into appropriate devices. On this occasion, General Williams, in alluding to his recent election to occupy a seat in parliament, observed—"I enter the House of Commons solely that I may, on fitting occasions, offer to the country my opinions on military matters, with which I have, perhaps, some acquaintance, and also on the affairs of the East. On these two questions, and on no others, do I take my seat. It is quite impossible that a man who has served his sovereign for thirty-two years, twenty-seven of which have been passed abroad, can have anything to do with the party politics of this country; and, moreover, as I stated to my constituents, I am wholly untinged by interested views or personal ambition. I trust that my future conduct will bear out these professions. I hope I do not flatter myself when I say, I believe that I am looked upon by the people of England with a certain degree of respect, and, perhaps I may presume to add, affection; and the expression



of my convictions, at suitable opportunities, may be of some little service. At the same time I feel equally confident that if I venture to dabble in things which I don't understand—if I once attempt to go beyond my depth, I shall forfeit all the influence I have acquired."

Sheffield was not behindhand in complimenting our national defenders. On the 29th of July, the inhabitants of that town gave a public dinner, in the Cutler's-hall, to the officers of the 4th royal Irish dragoon guards, to celebrate their return from the Crimea. Amongst the guests were the Earl of Cardigan, Lord Wharnccliffe, the Hon. James Stuart Wortley, Colonel Hodge (the commander of the 4th dragoon guards), Lieutenant-colonel Rainier, and Lieutenant Massey, better known as "Young Redan Massey." The youthful appearance of the latter, who did not look more than twenty, and his requiring the support of a crutch, in consequence of injuries resulting from a wound, excited general sympathy in his behalf. In the course of the evening his health was drank with three times three, amid enthusiastic and prolonged cheering. The addresses on this occasion do not call for comment.

Major-general Windham, though a young hero, was not without his share of public honours. He arrived at his native town (Norwich) on the 1st of August, and was publicly received with demonstrations of enthusiasm from all classes. The shops were mostly closed; a triumphal arch was erected in honour of the brave soldier; and he was carried through the streets in procession, attended by a guard of honour, derived from the artillery corps then stationed in the city. A body of upwards of 600 well-mounted tenant-farmers formed part of the escort. On arriving at the Guildhall, a complimentary address was presented to him. In replying, he said—"Since I landed in England, I have met, from the queen downwards, with such a reception as many bad half-hours in the Redan would have been well passed to secure." In alluding to the sufferings and exploits of the British army during the late war, he added, with a touch of that dashing spirit for which he had become distinguished—"With regard to the attack on the Redan, in connection with which you have been pleased to speak so kindly of me, I may say that I believe, in a military point of view, no one doubted that the distance was too great; but Sir James Simpson had

no power to alter the arrangements, when it was decided that the French should attack the Malakhoff and various points of the town. We had then nothing to do but to attack the Redan. It was attacked with good spirit, but from an immense distance. We held it for an hour, but were ultimately repulsed. Surely, if we lost any *prestige* by having attacked the Redan, and not having carried it, we should have lost infinitely more if we had been cowards enough not to make the attack at all. We cannot blame our commander-in-chief for having said—'Although we are not ready, and in proper position, to attack the Redan at the distance of 289 yards, it shall never be said that the English army stood by with folded arms, and allowed the French to take Sebastopol.' If we have lost a *prestige* as it is, we should have lost infinitely more if we had not made the attack; and, although I don't pretend to be the hero you would make me, I would rather have been buried in the ditch of the Redan, with the second division and the light division above me, than that the British army should not have borne its fair share in the assault on that occasion."

On the same evening General Windham was entertained at a banquet in St. Andrew's-hall; the chair being taken by the Earl of Albemarle, who, in the course of an address, presented him with two swords which had been purchased by subscription: one being a very handsome dress sword, in a crimson velvet sheath, elegantly embossed; while the other was a service sword, in the ordinary steel scabbard. In doing so, his lordship said—"My gallant friend is not a coxcomb in anything, except it be in his weapons; and I recollect that, previous to the purchase of the sword, on his being consulted, the only condition he made was, that the hilt should be well fitted to the hand, so that he could strike a good stroke with it. Here is my gallant friend's fighting sword; and here is his holiday sword. With all my admiration of my gallant friend, and my wish for his advancement in the service, I do hope, for the progress of civilisation, for the prosperity of this country, and for the cause of humanity, that this sword (the warlike one) may never be unsheathed. But if Providence should order otherwise, and if the queen should require the services of her soldiers again, sure I am that this sword will never be drawn in vain, but that it will add fresh laurels to the wreath which already encircles his brow,



and give us fresh cause of pride at having him for our countryman."

General Windham, who was greeted with the warmest enthusiasm, made a really very interesting and gossiping speech, such as could be listened to with pleasure in less excited and more critical moments than those which usually follow a public dinner. We will give a compressed version of it here:—

"On casting my eyes round this table, I am happy to see many faces that I well remember when I was a boy. I have on my left Lord Albemarle, who knew me in my boyhood. I see near me Lord Hastings, who has known me from my childhood; and I regret that indisposition has prevented my oldest, my best, and my dearest friend—and the friend of my father too—from being present on this occasion. It may, perhaps, be somewhat unbecoming that, at a public meeting of this nature, I should give expression to my feelings of private and personal regard. I am aware that heroes are supposed to possess hearts of adamant, but as I don't set myself up as a great hero, I hope I may be allowed to have a little feeling. Besides, Norfolk men have always been famous for their attachment to their homesteads. I well remember one old man at Felbrigg, who lived to be upwards of ninety, and who was only beyond the hundred of North Erpingham three times in his life—twice to come to Norwich, and once to go to Lynn; and when he arrived at Lynn, he was so near the confines of the county that he at once became ill. I well remember the first attack on the Redan on the 18th of June, 1855. I was not employed in that attack. I was merely in reserve; and I incurred no more danger than any of my friends whom I see around me. I happened to be sent by Sir H. Bentinck to find out what was going on, when I saw a man, two or three yards ahead of me, walking along the trench. A round shot flew over the parapet, and almost hid him in dust. I thought he was killed; but when the dust subdued, I saw an individual whose countenance presented a curious admixture of fright and joy. Scratching his head, he said to me, 'Why, dash my buttons, but that was most amazing!' The moment he opened his mouth, I knew from what county he came, and I said, 'Aye, aye, my boy; we'd much better be digging potatoes at threepence a rod, in Norfolk, than fighting here.' He was astonished that I had

hit upon his native county; and his only reply was, 'What, are *yew tew* from Norfolk?' But, gentlemen, let us do justice to our own county. Turn your eyes there (pointing to the portraits by which the hall was surrounded), and tell me if you don't see, represented upon canvas, some of the finest men this or any other county has produced. I should be ashamed of myself if I thought any service I have performed could even approach the heroism of the gallant Nelson. (General Windham here turned round and, amid loud cheering, pointed to the portrait of Lord Nelson, which hung immediately behind his chair.) I have regarded him as one of the least selfish of our heroes; and if any future service of mine should only entitle me to have the smallest miniature hung at his feet, I should feel the utmost pride. I am touched beyond measure by the reception which I have experienced to-day. As one of the army, and as a Norfolk man, I am proud to see that so many officers of the staff and of the army have to-day put on their red coats and honoured me by their presence. Their attendance is a proof to you, gentlemen, that the approval of my conduct is not confined to this county, but that there are some men in the army who think with you that I did my duty. Our noble chairman has told us that he served at Waterloo, and that I have gone over his head, but that he is not jealous; and I believe that many of those over whose heads I passed in the Crimea felt no jealousy towards me. One of the best, as well as one of the oldest soldiers in our army there—Major-general Garrett, who served in the Peninsula when I was in my cradle—came up to me when my promotion was announced, threw his arms, not quite like a Frenchman, round my neck, but like an Englishman round my shoulders, patted me on the back, and said, 'My good fellow, I am charmed at it. They sent you through a devil of a fire; you did it well; and I should not be worthy of my own promotion if I did not congratulate you.' That fine old officer has not yet been promoted, but most sincerely do I hope that he and many others, who have performed as efficient services as I have, will, at the end of this great war, receive their reward. Lord Albemarle has called me the 'Hero of the Redan,' but I feel some delicacy in allowing that title to be conferred upon me. I received orders from General Markham to attack the Redan about three o'clock in the



afternoon of the day previous to that on which the assault took place. I received those orders, I trust, calmly. I looked into them to the best of my ability. I went home. I arranged all my affairs for this world, and, as far as time would allow me, those of the world to come. I said my prayers that night with sincerity; I slept soundly; I woke early, and entered the battle. If that constitutes a hero, you may give me the title. There were many others who did their duty just as well as I did. When I look at Welsford, and Hancock, and Gough, and Unett, who commanded parties of the light division; when I look at Tyler, and Cuddy, and others in my own division; when I look again at Lysons of the 23rd, and Maude of the 3rd, who fought with the enemy hand-to-hand at the Redan, I must say I should be a scurvy fellow if I appropriated all your praise to myself. Believe me, that my title as 'Hero of the Redan' is more due to my seniority than to my superiority. I detest false humility as much as I do vain boasting. I don't pretend that I did not do my duty like a soldier; but I say also that there were scores of others, of all ranks, who did their duty quite as well as I did. I feel proud that Sir James Simpson singled me out to speak of me with kindness; that General Markham mentioned me in terms of approbation; and that my much-respected friend, Sir W. Codrington, the commander-in-chief in the Crimea, did the same. When I cast my eye round this table, I see many young officers present who, I doubt not, will own I did my duty fairly; and I trust no one will be able to say that I ever did, or that I ever will, bear my honours with undue pride."

The most interesting of these entertainments, however, was one which took place at the Royal Surrey Gardens, on Monday, the 25th of August. A public subscription had been for some time in progress, for the purpose of inviting the guards—the men, not the officers—to a public banquet. The funds necessary were raised by subscription, because the dinner was to be a compliment and an expression of kindly feeling from the people of London to the soldiers who had returned from the Crimea. The day was a tolerably fine one, and the decorations of the gardens, together with the amount of company that flocked to them, rendered them exceedingly brilliant and animated. About 2,000 gallant fellows, comprising the grenadiers, the fusileers, and the Cold-

streams, were the guests. They marched to the gardens without their arms, and wearing their foraging caps, instead of the customary heavy bearskin. The officers who accompanied them were in undress uniform. The streets through which they passed were densely crowded, and the cheering of the people was enthusiastic. Each regiment was preceded by its band, playing "Home, sweet Home," and airs of a similarly domestic character.

The great concert-hall, in which the dinner was prepared, presented a really magnificent appearance. There was a profusion of military trophies; the flags of England, France, Turkey, and Sardinia were suspended from the galleries and balconies, and festoons of flowers and garlands of laurel met the eye in every direction. In front of the first gallery were shields inscribed with the names of distinguished officers of the allied armies, and encircled with branches of laurel. Behind the chair was a white escutcheon, bearing the name of "Florence Nightingale;" while the word "Redan" was inscribed in the left corner, and "Malakhoff" in the right. Groups of fashionably dressed ladies occupied the galleries, and among them were many noblemen and distinguished officers. The private box, to the right of the chair, was occupied by the lord mayor, while the consolidated bands of the three regiments filled the orchestra. As the body of the hall would not admit all the soldiers who were invited, those who could not find room in it dined in a great tent, formed by an awning extending from the top of the firework balcony to the margin of the artificial lake. That they should, as far as possible, see and hear what took place within the hall, the lower windows of the building were taken out.

The soldiers took their seats in an orderly manner, and, though in the presence of lords and ladies, displayed as little of bashfulness as they would have done of timidity on the field of battle. Sergeant-major Edwards, the senior sergeant of the guards, occupied the chair. Though the oldest soldier in the British army (for he had worn the queen's uniform for one-and-twenty years), he was still only in the prime of life. He had served through the whole of the Crimean campaign, and was offered a commission, which he had the good sense to decline. On his return to England her majesty sent for him, and appointed him one of the yeomen of her guard. He was also honoured by



being made the Prince of Wales's preceptor in calisthenic exercises, and was given to understand that he should have an office in the prince's household when that establishment was formed. On taking his seat at the head of the table, he was received with enthusiastic shouts of applause, which he acknowledged with the frank courtesy of a soldier. On each side of him sat three tall, stout staff-sergeants—magnificent fellows, with sunburnt faces and thick bushy beards. The dinner followed, which, it is to be regretted, was by no means so substantial and good as was desirable. Instead of barons of beef, or gigantic pieces of tempting ribs and sirloin, there was a scanty allowance of cold ham and lettuces, and a correspondingly scanty allowance of cold plum pudding. Certainly each man had a bottle of Dublin stout to himself, and a quarter of a pound of tobacco to take home with him. This was well enough; but, we suppose for fear the soldiers should get too hilarious, only one bottle of gooseberry champagne was allowed for every three men to drink the after-dinner toasts with. Only fancy a stout guardsman, with the appetite of a wolf and the digestion of an ostrich, luxuriating, on a public festival, in about two glasses and a-half of real British champagne! The ill-timed parsimony which produced this result was not the fault of the subscribers for the dinner; for, after all expenses were paid, there remained a considerable sum to hand over to some military charity. Perhaps some managing busybodies intended this result. If so, it was an imposition upon the subscribers, and a contemptible trick upon the brave soldiers. We should have thought the magnates of the city would have acted differently. Surely they know what constitutes a good dinner. For them salad, cold ham, and gooseberry wine might have been a novel change; but it must have been a disappointment to private Jones and Smith, who, probably, had never really dined, in the exclusive and luxuriant sense of the word, once in the whole course of their lives.

The best part of the entertainment during dinner was not furnished by the viands on the table, but by the regimental bands in the orchestra. The meal over, and grace

\* The duke had very recently been raised to the chief command of the British army. His predecessor, Lord Hardinge, had been taken seriously ill on the 8th of July at Aldershot, when the queen reviewed the troops there. As his state rendered him totally unfit for the duties of his highly responsible position, he had the wisdom at once to resign. On

said, the chairman rose and proposed the health of "the Queen." Nothing could have been more appropriate than to have had such a man as Sergeant-major Edwards in the chair, though necessarily a very homely style of oratory was to be expected from him. The ladies, gentlemen, officers, and members of the nobility in the galleries, must have been a little surprised and amused at hearing her majesty several times referred to as "the individual." Cheers and laughter were excited by the inconsistent oddity of the term; but the warm, loyal feeling of the veteran soldier, radiated in his brief though uncourtly words. We need scarcely say that the toast was received with rapturous acclamation, or that a grand effect was produced by the performance of the national anthem, by the consolidated bands of the guards, in conjunction with 300 choristers.

The chairman then said—"I want you to drink the health of 'Prince Albert and the rest of the Royal Family.' Now, mind, I say the rest of the royal family, which, of course, includes my pupil, the Prince of Wales. May he follow in the steps of his royal parents, and may the day be far distant when he will wear the British crown."

Mr. Harker, the toast-master, then rose, and waving his white wand in the air, shouted in a stentorian voice the word "Charge!" The astonished soldiers rose instantly on their feet, and looked fiercely round, as much as to say, "Whom?" They were, however, soon relieved from their perplexity by the excellent official who had created it, who added in soft accents, "Your glasses, gentlemen—your glasses." Roars of laughter followed, and his direction was complied with by such of the soldiers as had not finished off their gooseberry; the rest—that is, the great majority—looked as delighted and as enthusiastic as was possible with empty glasses before them. The chairman then rose and made the following quaint and characteristic speech, which we print with all the enthusiastic interruptions it was received with:—

"Another toast for you! (Cheers.) I beg to propose 'His Royal Highness the General Commanding-in-chief,\* our Soldiers and the 16th of July appeared the general order which conferred the chief command upon the Duke of Cambridge; and on the 24th of September Viscount Hardinge expired at his residence, South Park, near Tunbridge Wells. The most remarkable incident in his lordship's career was, that he was the son of a country clergyman; entered the army



Sailors, the Chaplains of the Army, and our brave Allies in the late war.' (Vehement applause.) I wish to say a few words to you as comrades. Now, mark me, I wish to talk to you as comrades. Hear me, old hands of Alma and Inkermann! I need not say anything to you in praise of the Duke of Cambridge. (Cheers.) He must live in your hearts, and in the hearts of all British soldiers, as he will in mine eternally. Our greatest pride must be to say that we were guardsmen at Inkermann. (Enthusiastic cheering.) The Duke of Cambridge was there (loud cheers), and that is saying enough about him. As for our brethren of the line, I am sorry—if I can be sorry for anything on such an occasion—that the table was not big enough for them as well as for us. But, as the table was too small (laughter), I am sure that they will not envy us our happiness; but, on the contrary, that they will be rejoiced to learn that we have been so well received. As for our sailors, the good feeling that subsists between you and the blue-jackets is known to the world. We are indebted to them, and they are indebted to us, for many a kindness. You know it as well as I do. (Cheers.) There never was anything like the good feeling which subsisted during the war between you—the “red soldiers” as they called you—and the blue-jackets themselves. (Loud cheers.) With respect to our brave allies, if I were the greatest speaker that ever lived, I could not do justice to their noble conduct. Oh, my comrades, you saw the day when you could have knelt down and worshipped them as you would your God. Don't you remember them when you saw them coming over the hill? (Tremendous cheering.) As for the chaplains in the army, they did their duty like men; and so little notice had been taken of them in military assemblies, that I am sure you will be glad to have an opportunity to return them thanks for all their kindness. Therefore, I include them in the toast, comrades, and I hope you will make it a bumper.”

The following verses, written for the occasion by Mr. G. Linley, were then sung by the chorus, and rapturously *encored* :—

“Oh! brave were England's mailed knights,  
That won at Agincourt,  
And bright the page of hist'ry shines  
With deeds they did of yore.

in 1798 as an ensign, and eventually worked his own way to the dignities of governor-general of British India, and of commander-in-chief.

But ne'er was valour more display'd,  
In battle's mad career,  
Than by the gallant British hearts  
Whom now we welcome here.  
Yet, while on glories past we dwell  
And ancient heroes praise,  
A brighter lustre hangs around  
The warriors of our days;  
To them we fill the wine cup now,  
To them we raise the cheer;  
God bless the gallant British hearts  
Whom now we welcome here.”

The health of the chairman, committee, and subscribers to the dinner-fund, was then drank, and responded to by the lord mayor from the box he occupied. In sitting down he proposed the health of Sergeant-major Edwards, who, he said, “in every respect—whether as regarded his height, his beard, his looks, or the tinge of gray on his hair, which marked the old and honourable soldier—was an honour to the British army. He hoped the gallant sergeant would be long spared to serve his country with honour, and to be as useful to the regiments of guards as he had been that day.” Turning to the soldiers, his lordship added—“Now brave fellows, you know how to fire; let us have a good volley!” The suggestion was readily adopted; and the hall rang with repeated bursts of applause. The old soldier having replied, the troops repaired to the gardens to witness the amusements provided for their entertainment. Two hours afterwards they returned to the hall, and listened to an excellent concert, amongst which was the following song, composed for the occasion, and entitled, “Hurra for the Guards.”

“For us, beneath the sword they fell  
And cold and want defied;  
For us, three battles nobly gained;  
For us, like heroes died.  
Old England on their deeds may dwell  
With gratitude and pride.  
Hurra for our brave, gallant Guards,  
Who've won us such renown!  
Hurra for our brave, gallant Guards!  
Their brows with laurel crown.  
Hurra! hurra! hurra! hurra! hurra!

“Kind Heav'n that in the strife defends,  
Hath sav'd this valiant band;  
With fame the warrior treads once more  
His own dear native land,  
And kindred souls and bosom friends  
Greet him with heart and hand.  
Hurra for our brave, gallant Guards,  
Who've won us such renown!  
Hurra for our brave, gallant Guards!  
Their brows with laurel crown.  
Hurra! hurra! hurra! hurra! hurra!”

An exhibition of fireworks closed the amusements of the day; and at nine



o'clock, the soldiers were mustered and marched back to their respective barracks. Independently of the military, not less than 20,000 spectators were present at this interesting festival.

A similar banquet, at which about 2,300 soldiers, sailors, and marines were entertained, took place on the 16th of September, at Portsmouth. The recipients of this spontaneous act of homage were all wearers of medals, and many of them were also decorated with the insignia of the French Legion of Honour. After the descriptions we have just given, any long account of this banquet would be out of place. It is pleasant, however, to say that on this occasion the error of giving a showy and shadowy dinner was avoided. One is glad to hear that, amongst other good things, there was abundance of cold roast, boiled, and corned beef, venison-pasty, together with hot potatoes and bread. As to beer, two quarts was the specified allowance for each man, but it was, in reality, served out *ad libitum*; and to each man two ounces of tobacco were given after the repast. Many of the neighbouring gentry also had sent hampers of game as contributions to the banquet. Altogether, such a dinner was provided as a hearty, hungry soldier could thoroughly appreciate. Dr. Engledue, a gentleman much esteemed in the town, presided, and discharged the duties of chairman excellently. In proposing the health of the Duke of Cambridge, he observed—"He could not

avoid telling them on that occasion what civilians thought of his royal highness and of them. He would ask, who led them across the Alma when they dashed up its steep, rushed forward to the Russian batteries, and drove the enemy to the rear of his own intrenchments? Who led them in the early morn, on the memorable 5th of November, when they were outnumbered by ten to one—

"And foot to foot, and man to man,  
They fought as only Britons can,  
Until thy glades, O Inkermann,  
Ran ankle-deep in blood."

They had no idea what effect their deeds on that day produced in England, as related by Mr. William Russell. Every man's breath was held, and his pulse beat quicker and quicker as he bent over the glowing narrative:—

"Nothing could daunt, nothing dismay,  
Those island warriors on that day,  
Through all the changes of the fray,  
No matter how the battle sped,  
Unbroken stood the line of red  
Majestically firm.  
The line of red that never yields,  
Victorious in a hundred fields!"

Their commander-in-chief stood by them on that occasion, amid their perils; and he was with them still, now that those perils had passed away." The following day a dinner was given to the officers, naval and military, of the troops and seamen then stationed at Portsmouth, who had been entertained on the preceding one.

## CHAPTER XXV.

### CORONATION OF THE EMPEROR ALEXANDER II. AT MOSCOW, ETC., ETC.

THE coronation of the Emperor Alexander II. seems a natural pendent to the events related in this history; and something more than a mere statement of the fact appears to be required in a work where we have treated so fully the incidents of the great struggle which so recently convulsed Europe. Fortunately, we possess ample materials to select from—a circumstance for which we must be thankful to the enterprise of the proprietors of the two

most influential organs of the press of this country. The letters of Mr. William Russell, of the *Times*, and those of Mr. John Murphy, of the *Daily News*, addressed from the theatre of the events described to the editors of those journals, are both of them prolific in point of fact, and fluent, graceful, and pictorial in style. If we have drawn heavily upon the previous labours of these gentlemen, and especially upon those of Mr. Russell, we are proud to make a public



and grateful acknowledgment of our obligations. In doing so we feel no blush; for the subsequent historian, let his literary rank be what it may, must do the same. To these great depositaries of facts he must refer, unless he is content to miss the life-like charm which genius imparts to its narrations, to preserve only the fleshless bones of the past, and to leave to posterity the task of supplying from imagination those colourings and touchings of humanity which he might have drawn from fact.

The coronation of the young emperor—the “apostle of progress,” as he is regarded by the most civilised portion of his subjects—did not take place until the 7th of September; but as early as the month of April he issued the following manifesto on the approaching ceremonial:—

“We, Alexander II., Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias, King of Poland, &c., make known by these presents—

“When we ascended our ancestral throne of Russia, and grand-duchy of Finland, and the throne of Poland, which is inseparable from it, in the midst of severe trials, both for us and our country, we resolved in our heart to defer our coronation so long as the thunder of arms was not silenced within the limits of our realm, and the blood of our glorious Christian warriors, who had signalled themselves, both by deeds of rare courage and by self-sacrifices, had not ceased to flow. Now that beneficent peace is restoring to Russia her former tranquillity, we intend, in conformity with the example of the former pious emperors, our predecessors, to be crowned, and to receive the prescribed anointment, and at the same time to have our dearly beloved consort, the Empress Maria Alexandrowna, participate in the same. While we thus make known to our faithful subjects this our intention, which, with God’s help, shall be carried into execution in the month of August of this year, we invite them at the same time to join their prayers to ours, that God’s blessing may descend on us and on our government; that God may help us, while placing on our head the imperial crown, to take upon us the oath and vow to live solely and alone for the good of the nations that are put under our rule; and may Almighty God enlighten all our thoughts and inspire all our acts by the bestowal on us of His Holy Spirit!

“ALEXANDER.

“St. Petersburg, April 29th, 1856.”

For some time enormous preparations

were made, with the object of conducting the ceremonial with unparalleled magnificence; and it is stated that the coronation cost the Russian government no less than 6,000,000 roubles, or £1,000,000 sterling. Moscow, the ancient capital of the empire, the “holy city,” as it is termed by the Russians, was selected to be the scene of the gorgeous pageant.

On the 28th of August, the emperor and empress left St. Petersburg, and arrived the same evening at the palace of Petrovsky, a country seat about four miles from Moscow. The following day they entered Moscow amidst the strains of martial music, the roar of artillery, and the clangour of the bells of about 400 churches, which drove the rooks and pigeons in swarms out of their resting-places, to wheel and circle in the air. The entry of the emperor constituted a really gorgeous spectacle: he was preceded by a body of *gendarmes-à-cheval* and squadrons of Cossacks of the Black Sea, bearing above them a forest of red lances, with blue pennons. After them came a great number of the *haute noblesse* on horseback; their breasts covered with orders, stars, crosses, and ribands innumerable. Most of them were in military uniform, and the rest wore the old Russian boyard dress—a tunic glistening with precious stones, golden belts studded with diamonds, and high caps with aigrettes of brilliants. They were followed by deputies on horseback, riding two by two, from the various Asiatic races which have submitted to Russia. There were Bashkirs and Circassians, Tcherkess, Abassians, Calmucks, Tartars of Kazan and the Crimea, Mingrelians, Karopapaks, Daghistanis, Armenians, Kurds, Samoides, Chinese from the frontiers of Siberia, Mongols and wild mountaineers from remote places unknown even by name to most Europeans. Then came the court lacqueys, runners, negroes, and huntsmen; a number of vehicles containing officials; others, blazing with gold, bearing the members of the imperial council; then the body-guard of the emperor—gigantic fellows, wearing gilt helmets and cuirasses, and milk-white uniforms, and riding steeds of the highest breeding and most perfect beauty; and, finally, amidst the tremendous cheering of the people, and the measured hurrahs of the soldiers, the emperor himself. “His majesty,” said Mr. Russell, “is tall and well formed, although he does not in stature, or in grandeur of person, come near



to his father. His face bears a resemblance to the portraits of the Emperor Nicholas; but the worshippers of his deceased majesty declare that it is wanting in the wonderful power of eye and dignity and intelligence of expression which characterised the father. His majesty is dressed in the uniform of a general officer, and seems quite simply attired, after all the splendour which has gone past. He wears a burnished casque with a long plume of white, orange, and dark cock's feathers, a close-fitting green tunic, with aiguillettes and orders, and red trousers, and he guides his charger—a perfect model of symmetry—with ease and gracefulness. His features are full of emotion as he returns with a military salute on all sides the mad congratulations of his people, who really act as though the Deity were incarnate before them. It is said that several times his eyes ran over with tears. To all he gives the same acknowledgment—raising his extended hand to the side of his casque, so that the forefinger rises vertically by the rim in front of the ear."

Mr. Murphy describes the czar as "a slight, well-made man, above the middle size, but nothing approaching the Jove-like proportions of the late emperor. His face is quite German, with a mild, almost saddened expression, but full of thoughtfulness and intelligence. His majesty's close application to business may affect his looks, but certainly he has by no means the appearance of robust health." After the staff of the emperor came the grand-dukes, together with many foreign princes and their suites. Of Constantine, Mr. Russell says—"A countenance with more iron will, resolution, and energy stamped upon it, one rarely sees, and the Russians are not unjustifiably proud of the ability and activity he displayed when the allied squadron was expected at Cronstadt." The empress-mother, broken by prolonged illness and suffering, but attired in a truly imperial style, also joined the procession. "A cloud of light drapery, through which diamonds shone like stars, floated around her, and on her head was a tiara of brilliants. The carriage in which she sat was a triumph of splendour—all gold and crimson velvet; and on the roof, which was composed of similar materials, was the likeness of an imperial crown. The eight horses, which were attached to the carriage by trappings and cords of gold, were the most beautiful in the imperial stables, and each was led with a golden bridle by a *palefrenier* in grand

livery." The Empress Marie Alexandrowna, attended by a galaxy of noble ladies, came last among the illustrious throng, and a squadron of cuirassiers closed the procession.

The emperor, and the other members of the imperial family, halted in front of the cathedral of the Assumption, which they entered, and participated there in some religious ceremonies, and then proceeded to the cathedrals of the Archangel Michael and the Annunciation, where they kissed certain images and relics, and prostrated themselves before the effigies of former czars. They then walked to the Kremlin, where the Archbishop of Moscow presented the emperor with bread and salt; after which a salvo of 101 guns announced that the imperial family had entered the time-honoured palace of their ancestors.

Several days elapsed before the coronation took place, and these were devoted to various festive ceremonies. On the 1st of September the emperor reviewed an immense body of troops, consisting of sixty-four battalions, or about 50,000 men of the guard; twenty battalions of the corps of grenadiers, three of rifles; one of sappers, and one of marine infantry. All the illustrious people at Moscow were occupied in receptions and presentations; and the English ambassador-extraordinary, the Earl Granville, came out very brilliantly in this way. Something of an amicable rivalry in the matter of splendour and hospitality is said to have existed between this nobleman and Count de Morny, the French ambassador. Indeed the feeling seemed to exist among all the special embassies; and an odd story was circulated concerning it. It is said that Prince Esterhazy's agent at Moscow, from having been early in the field, was able to obtain a suitable house for his serene highness, at the moderate charge of 17,000 roubles a month; but that the prince, subsequently hearing that the British and French ambassadors were respectively paying 40,000 roubles, indignantly cancelled his contract, and insisted on having a house at the same price. The serene ambition was easily gratified. A new coat of paint, a new name, and a new rate of rental, soon brought the original house up to the prince's notion of what was suitable for the representative of the emperor.

On the 4th of September the ceremony of proclaiming the emperor's coronation took place in the square before the senate-house, inside the Kremlin. The proclamation very



much resembled the manifesto we have previously given. Like most matters of this kind in Russia, the ceremony was quite military in its aspect. It was repeated on each of the two following days. On its conclusion the trumpets of the cavalry played "God save the Czar." The immense crowd cheered loudly, and many of the spectators knelt down and prayed for the welfare and happiness of their sovereign. The masters of the ceremonies then proceeded in great state to the residences of the different ambassadors, and announced that the following Sunday was fixed for the coronation.

The weather had been extremely unpropitious, the rain descending with that merciless obstinacy which often characterises it in our own metropolis; but the 7th—the coronation day—was a beautiful one,—calm, cloudless, and radiant with sunshine. The whole population of Moscow appeared to be up and stirring by daybreak; and, indeed, even before the rosy dawn, the hum of voices and the tramp of feet rose from the streets. "At six o'clock," said Mr. Russell, "the Kremlin was assaulted by a sea of human beings, who lashed themselves angrily against the gates, and surged in like waves through the portals. This is to the Russians what the Tower, St. Paul's, Westminster Abbey, the cathedrals, and the universities, all in one, would be to an Englishman;—it is the heart and the soul of Moscow, as Moscow is the heart and the soul of Russia. It is her historical monument and the temple of her faith. Against these walls have been broken the hordes which for so many centuries sought to destroy in its cradle the Hercules which was born to crush them, and within them have passed most of the great events which are the landmarks in Russian history. Here is all that is most precious and most sacred to the Russian race—the tombs of the kings, dukes, and czars, the palaces, the cathedrals, the treasures, the tribunals, the holy images, the miraculous relics, so dear to this giant of the Slavonic race. In form it is an irregular polygon, with a tower at each angle of the walls. It is bounded by the river on one side, and by boulevards marking the course of an ancient stream, now as dry as the Cephissus, on the other, and its walls define accurately the size of the whole city of Moscow in the days of the early czars."

The coronation was to take place in the church of the Assumption, which, however

it might be fraught with historical associations and venerable traditions, pleasing to Russian nationality, was yet extremely unsuited in point of size for the grand ceremony to be performed in it. It scarcely afforded accommodation for 500 persons, while almost as many as 5,000 had the privilege of entrance. Still its great height gave it an imposing appearance; while the pictures and gilding with which its walls are covered, and the costly shrines and monuments it contains, subdued the mind by their splendour, and created in it reverential feelings by their mystic symbolism. The number of pictures of saints and heroes in it amount to no less than two or three thousand; while a colossal half-length of the Saviour looks down with a benignant expression on the worshippers beneath.

At seven o'clock a salute of twenty-one guns from the walls of the Kremlin gave the signal for the officials engaged in the ceremonial to repair to the places assigned to them. The echoes of the cannon were responded to, first by the bells of the church of the Assumption ringing out a merry peal, and afterwards by the thousand bells of the other churches of Moscow, which readily took up the chorus. About nine the distinguished visitors poured into the church; amongst them Lord and Lady Granville, Lord Wodehouse, the Marquis and Marchioness of Stafford, Sir Robert and Lady Emily Peel, the Count de Morny, attended by a numerous and brilliant suite, Prince Esterhazy, the Prince de Ligne, and the other ambassadors. Without, the scene was most animating and brilliant;—such assemblages of expectant faces, and such a gay blending of colours from military men with gilt or shining helmets, civilians in court costume, and ladies with gorgeous dresses, and bonnets and parasols of every hue.

A gallery had been constructed leading from the Kremlin palace to the church of the Assumption. Within the sacred edifice wax tapers were burning, incense was rising in clouds, and choristers and priests, in the gorgeous habiliments of the Greek clergy, were chanting solemn strains of music; when, about ten, the hum of the people without, and the roar of artillery, announced an imperial arrival. Preceded by masters of ceremonies and chamberlains, and attended by a magnificent retinue, came the widow of the Emperor Nicholas. She was robed in an imperial mantle, and



wore a crown of diamonds; but as, shattered in constitution, she passed slowly and feebly on, the acclamations of the people were mingled with emotions of pity. She was accompanied by the grand-dukes and grand-duchesses, and followed by the foreign princes, maids of honour, and ladies of her court. As the last of this *cortège* entered the door of the cathedral, a varied procession heralded the approach of the emperor. As the canopy came in sight, beneath which walked the czar, the loud cheers of the people swelled into shrill cries, which overpowered the booming of the cannon, the tolling of the bells, and the loud flourishes of drums and trumpets, which arose on every hand.

With an erect attitude, and firm measured stride, the emperor approached, bowing right and left as he passed along. Behind him, though beneath the same canopy, walked the young empress, attended by thirteen ladies of honour, in Parisian versions of the Russian national costume. The one generally regarded as the most beautiful amongst them, was the lovely Princess Sherematieff, the grand-daughter of a serf. The empress was greeted with repeated outbursts of cheering. She was dressed with remarkable simplicity, and presented a pleasing contrast to the glare by which she was surrounded. The gracefulness of her movements, and her quiet dignity and gentleness, won every heart, and attracted the gaze of the spectators, even from the person of her imperial husband. As their majesties approached the entrance of the cathedral, they were met by the metropolitans of Mos-

cow and Novgorod. The former presented them the holy hood to kiss, and the latter sprinkled them with holy water.

Having entered the cathedral, the imperial pair were seated on the ancient throne of the czars, and prepared to take the principal parts in a ceremony instinct with meaning, and full of sacred solemnity to the mind of the unsophisticated Russian people. It was truly observed, that the eye uninformed by the spirit, cannot rightly interpret a great symbolical representation; and we must, for the time, put aside our modern-day, constitutional, and essentially English ideas, if we would rightly appreciate the overwhelming effect of so striking a spectacle as was then filling many of the beholders with enthusiasm—all with wonder.

Here we must draw upon the vivid description of Mr. William Russell.\* "Let us for the moment," said that gentleman, "try to identify ourselves in thought with one of his people. The Russian finds himself in the centre of this magnificent church, every inch of whose walls glitters with gold, and whose pictorial sides offer to his eyes allegorical representations of his faith. On the one hand he sees the saints under the altar of the Apocalypse, looking up to heaven with the agonised cry, 'How long, O Lord?' On the other he views the avenging flames glaring out of the pit of the wicked; while from the top of the gorgeous ceiling a gigantic head of the Saviour looks down in peace, and gives consolation to his soul. All around him are the sacred relics and images of the saints; and before him, raised on a platform, and under a canopy of velvet and

city showing itself beyond them; the feverish movements of the crowd; the signals of the long ceremonial; the arrival of the various embassies, with their national characteristics, the persons, their uniforms, their manner, and gait; the solemn acts themselves, the dignity and grace of the chief personages, the beauty of their dress, the simple reverence of their bearing; the frantic devotion of the people, the shrill tones of ecstatic loyalty, a thousand living pictures, a thousand echoing sounds, a thousand breathing forms, a thousand throbbing pulses, are all seized in rapid succession—the work of one day—fixed in perpetuity, and transferred from mortal gaze and cold oblivion to the imperishable pages of history. Yes. In all his 60,000,000 subjects, in his hundred races, and his names of terror—in that devoted band of servants that stand round the throne of the czar, he had not on that day a more useful and effective friend than that skilful Irishman who was recording for all the world, on tablets more enduring than brass or stone, the greatness of his power, the magnificence of his court, the loyalty of his subjects, the devotion of his church, and the simple, natural affection, of his family."

\* The *Times* referred in the following complimentary manner to Mr. Russell's admirable description of the coronation of the czar:—"Yet—as we cannot add to his description, we will content ourselves with calling attention to its merits—will our readers just observe how completely the writer has been able to keep up the quickness of his observation, the keenness of his perception, and the freshness of his taste for the picturesque or the quaint throughout a day of which every minute must have made new demands on those delicate faculties? The minute distinctions of rank, of service, of honour, in the generals and staff of the army; the semi-barbarous head-dress, the singular decoration, the unusual colour or material; the costly or beautiful regalia and jewels; the veterans of the French war, with their obsolete uniforms and historic recollections; the grotesque pomp of heraldry; the great names of Russia and the late war, the two Gortschakoffs, Biruleff, Mentschikoff, Lüders, Stalipine, Todtleben; the representatives of a hundred races differing from time immemorial in aspect, dress, religion, and character; the strange architecture and peculiar arrangement of the edifices round this marvellous scene; the vast and gorgeous



gold, are the thrones of the czars John III. and Michael Feodorowitch, prepared now for the emperor and empress, the inauguration of whose heaven-bestowed power he is about to witness. The empress-dowager and the imperial family have already entered the church and taken their places on the platform around the thrones. Amid the ringing of bells and the shouts of the populace, the young emperor and his empress reach the entrance of the church. And now they detach themselves from the crowd of officials about them, and passing along the gorgeous screen that separates the chancel from the church, they fall on their knees before the images of the saints, kiss with fervent reverence the sacred relics, and offer up silent prayers to heaven. Let the perfect grace and earnestness with which the young empress performs these acts be noted. She is richly attired in a white robe, studded with the finest jewels, but her head is adorned only by her own luxuriant hair, without a single ornament. Her right hand is ungloved, and with this she repeatedly crosses herself as she performs her religious offices, not mechanically, as if going through part of a prescribed ceremony, but fervently, religiously, and with the grace of perfect womanhood. And now the emperor, followed by his empress, mounts the platform of the throne, and repeats from a book delivered to him by the Archbishop of Moscow the confession of his Christian faith. He then receives the benediction of the archbishop; and suddenly the choir, which has hitherto preserved silence, bursts out in psalms and praise to God, and the holy building vibrates with the ring of their harmonious voices. There is no note of organ nor sound of other instrument. The singers, admirably organised, and chanting with astonishing power and precision, need no support; the plaintive soprano voices of the boys rise clear and distinct above the deep tones of the rich basses, and the sustained harmony, solemn and affecting, throbs through the holy building. But already the imperial mantle of silver and ermine, richly studded with gems, is in the hands of the archbishop, who proceeds to clasp it round the shoulders of his majesty. Next follows the great crown, which is placed by the same hands on the imperial head, reverently bent to receive it; and the sceptre and globe are then delivered to his majesty, who, invested with these royal insignia, seats himself on the throne. The

empress now approaches with a meek yet dignified air, and falls on her knees before the emperor. His majesty, lifting the crown from his own head, touches with it that of the empress, and again sets it on his own brows. A lesser crown is then brought, which the emperor places on the head of the empress, where it is properly adjusted by the mistress of the robes; and his majesty, having invested the empress with the imperial mantle, draws her towards him and tenderly embraces her. This is the signal for the whole imperial family, with the foreign princes, to approach and congratulate their majesties; and nothing can be more touching than the spectacle, from the evident earnestness with which embraces (which are indeed the expression of the deep and cordial love which binds in one common bond of tenderness all the members of the imperial family) are received and returned. Oh for that touch of nature which makes the whole world kin! How electric is its effect! Here, in the midst of a ceremony necessarily stiff and formal, there is suddenly, on the part of the principal performers, a genuine outburst of natural feeling; and mark its effect—there is scarcely a dry eye among the masses crowded in the church; while the feeble frame of the empress-mother totters with outstretched arms towards the imperial son, and passionately clasps and holds him in a long embrace; and tears and smiles mingle together as the little grand-dukes are seen to clamber up to the side of their father and uncle, who has to stoop low in order to reach the little faces which ask to be kissed.

“But the most important and solemn part of the ceremony has now to be performed; and there is a general stillness in the church, as the emperor descends from his throne, and proceeds to the entrance of the chancel. He is met there by the Archbishop of Moscow, who holds in his hands the sacred vessel which contains the holy oil. Stretching forth his right hand, the venerable father takes a golden branch, with which, having dipped it in the consecrated oil, he anoints the forehead, eyelids, nostrils, ears, hands, and breast of the emperor, pronouncing the solemn words—*‘Impressio doni Spiritus Sancti.’* The act is done, and Russian eyes look with awe upon the anointed of God, the delegate of His power, the high priest of His church, at once emperor and patriarch, consecrated and installed in his high temporal and spiri-



tual office. A salvo of cannon, the bray of trumpets, the roll of drums, announce the completion of the sacred act to the ears of those who are without the church and cannot witness it. Meanwhile the empress comes forward, and is in like manner anointed by the archbishop, but on the forehead only. Then the emperor and empress, the one on the right, the other on the left, of the presiding archbishops of Moscow, St. Petersburg, and Novgorod, receive the holy sacrament; to the emperor, as the chosen servant privileged by Heaven, it is administered in the two kinds, the empress receiving only the sacramental bread which is partaken of by all members of the Russian church. Once more the choir burst out in full jubilant chorus, and their majesties once more mount the platform of the throne, and stand erect while the mass is intoned by the priests, and the responses are chanted by the choir. The holy service being concluded, the emperor steps from the throne, bows right and left to the great dignitaries of state, to the prelates, to the representatives of the foreign powers, and then leaves the church by the northern gate, accompanied by his splendid retinue, and followed at a short distance by the empress.

"As the brilliant procession passes out of the church, the Russians, with eager eyes, seek out and distinguish their illustrious fellow-countrymen. There, in the rear of the emperor, walks the man now famous throughout Europe, the young and gallant soldier, the defender of Sebastopol, the intrepid Todtleden. His carriage is noble and full of hero-like decision; but his step falters, and he limps on with the aid of a cane, which tells how sorely he still suffers from a wound received in the trenches before the town which his genius so long defended. His countenance is full of intelligence, yet mild and modest; his chin, the most remarkable feature in his face, is finely developed, and bespeaks the iron will which belongs to the great soldier. All eyes are upon him. There, too, walks the friend of the Emperor Nicholas, the guardian of his son, the negotiator of the treaty of Paris, the upright and gallant Orloff; and there, also, is descried the world-famous Mentschikoff, who was selected for that disastrous mission to Constantinople, out of which grew the war—the '*Mentschikoff au paletôt*,' as some foreigner irreverently whispers. But the foreigner, too, is engaged in looking

among foreigners for distinguished individuals and distinguished things, among which latter must not be omitted the famous pearl-embroidered coat of the Hungarian noble, Prince Esterhazy, the ambassador of Austria. There, too, stands the ambassador of France, and beside him that of England, wearing the *distinction* (as Prince Metternich called it) of an embroidered coat, unadorned with a single star or order."

The roar of artillery proclaimed that the ceremony of crowning and its accessories was concluded; and shortly afterwards the gorgeous procession emerged from the church, and directed its steps towards the palace. First, from the southern gate, came the empress-mother and her suite; then the Grand-duke Constantine, and the other subordinate members of the imperial family. All of them were received by vehement cheers, and even cries of loyal admiration. From the southern gate came the procession that heralded the approach of the emperor; and presently he made his appearance, arrayed in an imperial robe, and wearing on his head a crown, of dazzling splendour. "The sun's rays," said the eloquent beholder to whom we have chiefly referred, "seem to seek congenial light in those flashing diamonds. The eye cannot bear the brilliancy; and the mujik and the prostrate Russian may well be pardoned if, with his imagination heated by all that he has seen and heard—the chanting of the choirs, the carillons of bells, the strains of music, and the clamour of voices—he thinks he sees a halo of heavenly glory around the imperial head. Such homage to a man can only be pardoned on the ground that he is the elect and anointed of the Lord; and, indeed, had one come from the skies with all the power and glory of a celestial messenger, he would scarce have excited more fervour of adoration than did the czar, as, with his figure drawn up to the highest, his eye flashing, and his cheek flushed, but his tread as firm as a lion's, he came forth from the church and stood, with globe and sceptre in his hands, in the blaze of the sun, before his people. In how many wild tongues, with what frantic gesticulations, did they call on Heaven to bless him! Many a tear rolled down the rugged cheeks of the rude Cossacks; and in many a strange dialect did the descendants of distant races implore their common Father to pour down every blessing on him who represented their for-



gotten conquest, bondage, and thralldom, and the influence of whose name alone bound them up with the Russian people. What might not be done with such subjects, and with such devotion and such faith! The flourishing of trumpets, the crash of bands, the swell of the noble national anthem, 'God preserve the Czar!' (which nearly equals our own), the roll and tuck of drums, the bells, the voices of the people—all these formed a strange *mélange* of sound, and stunned the ear; but when the czar, passing out by the archway on our right, made his appearance to the larger crowd, there was a noise like a roar of thunder or the waves of the sea, which swallowed up all else. The people on the terraces below, on the banks of the river, and in the streets outside the Kremlin, took up the cry, and shouted like the rest; and some, I am told, went on their knees in the dust, and prayed for the czar.\*

The emperor and empress visited the cathedral of St. Michael and the church of the Annunciation, where, among other religious observances, they kissed the relics preserved

\* The same gorgeous scene is thus more briefly, though perhaps scarcely less ably, drawn by the pen of Mr. John Murphy:—"The imperial pair being seated on the ancient thrones of the czars, the regalia was properly arranged, and another burst of divine harmony came from the choir. The metropolitan then presented a profession of faith, which his imperial majesty must read, and which he did read on this occasion with due emphasis and discretion. The document, which was exceedingly lengthy, took upwards of ten minutes in the reading, during which the most profound silence reigned in the church. Immediately after, the emperor was invested with the state mantle; and here followed the most interesting feature in the day's proceedings. Taking from the metropolitan the crown (an immense one, blazing all over with diamonds), his majesty, with his own hands, placed it on his head: thereby intimating that from no earthly power, priestly or lay, did he receive his sovereignty. Then, making a sign to the empress, who knelt submissively before him on a golden cushion, he just touched her forehead with it, and immediately replaced it on his own head. This was a moment of intense interest. The imperial children clustered round the august pair, and all rules of etiquette were forgotten in the affection of the paternal embrace. The empress-mother, who had borne up with immense fortitude, burst into tears, as she, in turn, advanced to congratulate her son; and the whole of the congregation, as they fell on their knees in honour of the rite, sobbed and cried in sympathy, like children. What a history did not that tear of the empress-mother recall! More than a quarter of a century before she had received a similar honour from the greatest sovereign of his time; had for years after shared his thoughts, his joys, and his sorrows; had been the gentle spirit that softened the iron firmness of his character; and now she stood alone—the

in those buildings, and knelt down and prayed before the tombs of their ancestors. On re-entering the palace of the Kremlin, the emperor turned, and with outraised arms, seemed as if he was, on his part, imploring a blessing on the people. The enthusiasm was immense; and in a few moments more he was lost to the sight of the gazers within the portals of the palace. A gorgeous banquet followed in the hall of St. Andrew, in which is placed the imperial throne, adorned with purple and gold, and with seven steps leading up to it. The walls of the hall are blue, and ornamented with the armorial bearings of all the kingdoms, principalities, duchies, and provinces of the Russian empire; and between the windows are represented in gilt relief, the chain and cross of the apostle. In the morning the crown jewels were exhibited in this apartment to those who were fortunate enough to obtain the privilege of viewing them. Mr. Russell was one of these fortunate people. He says—"The only praise that can be given to diamonds belongs to those in the crown: they are very big and

great man had passed away, and to other hands was about to be confided the powerful sceptre which it had been so long her happiness to share in wielding. This was the culminating point of the ceremonial. Then came the recital of the emperor's titles; the anointing; the administration of the sacrament—to the emperor in both forms, the empress in one; the mass, and other ceremonials purely religious; and, finally, the congratulations, which the emperor received with great dignity and self-possession. At the same time his countenance wore a careworn and saddened look, and he seemed like one who felt oppressed with the sense of an awful responsibility. Now came the moment for which 70,000 people outside had been waiting with exemplary patience. A gorgeous procession issued from the church door. In front was a splendid canopy, under which walked the emperor, with the imperial crown upon his head, and wearing the imperial mantle. A step or two behind, followed the empress, wearing the small crown, which, in the church, had been attached to her head-dress by one of the ladies of honour. There were the standard, the seal, and the sword of the empire, the great functionaries at a respectful distance behind, and the dismounted *gardes à cheval*, in their golden cuirasses, lining the way. From a hundred bands pealed out at once the national anthem—"God save the Czar"—and the shouts of the people formed a tremendous accompaniment to the music. The countenance of his majesty was most solemn; he bowed repeatedly, but never smiled, and the cheers seemed to die away for want of the imperial sympathy. It was a strikingly oriental spectacle: the pagoda-like canopy; the great czar, with his immense crown of diamonds blazing in the sun; the many oriental costumes, and the bearded mujiks—all formed a picture which I shall not soon forget, but which I feel I have but weakly attempted to preserve for the English reader."



very bright. The crown is a cluster of Koh-i-Noors; and there is a wreath of diamonds, in the form of oak-leaves, around it, which is dazzling as the sun itself. Many of these brilliants are the size of pistol-balls of the old duelling diameter. As to the sceptre, there is a tip to it, formed of a famous diamond, which one is almost afraid to talk about. I really would not venture to state how large it seems to be, and shall content myself by saying that this is the precious stone for which Catherine II. gave nearly £80,000, and a large pension for life to a runaway slave.\*

The imperial banquet concluded the ceremonies of the coronation-day, and the emperor and empress then retired to obtain that rest which the exhausting proceedings of the day must have rendered needful. The first toast, during the banquet, was to the health of the emperor; when the artillery fired sixty-

\* Of this famous diamond our readers will perhaps not regret to hear the history; especially as it is a remarkably singular and romantic one. "The crown treasury of the czars at Moscow contains precious stones of considerable amount. The two most considerable are diamonds, one the size of a pigeon's egg rose-cut. The Russians have given it the name of the Orloff. The other has the form of an irregular prism, and is of the size and almost the length of a little finger; it bears the name of the Shah, and its history is as follows:—It formerly belonged to the Sophis, and was one of two enormous diamonds which ornamented the throne of Nadir Shah, and which were designated by the Persians by the names of 'Sun of the Sea,' and 'Moon of the Mountains.' When Nadir was assassinated his treasures were pillaged, and his precious stones divided among a few soldiers, who carefully concealed them. An Armenian, named Shafra, resided at that period at Bussora with his two brothers. One day an Afghan came to him, and offered for sale the large diamond, 'the Moon of the Mountains,' as well as an emerald, a ruby of fabulous size, a sapphire of the finest water, called by the Persians the 'Eye of Allah,' and a number of other stones, for the whole of which he asked such a moderate sum that Shafra suspected that they had not been honestly come by, and told him to call again, as he had not the money in the house. The Afghan, fearing Shafra was going to act with treachery towards him, left the place and could not again be found, although the three brothers made every search for him. Some years afterwards the elder brother met the man at Bagdad, who told him that he had just sold all his precious stones for 65,000 piastres and a pair of valuable horses. Shafra had the residence of the purchaser, who was a Jew, pointed out to him, and he went to him and offered him double the price he had given for them, but was refused. The three brothers then agreed to murder the Jew and rob him of his purchase, which they did, and on the following day poisoned the Afghan, and threw both the bodies into the river. A dispute soon after arose between the brothers as to the division of the spoil, which terminated in Shafra getting rid of his two brothers

one guns. When the healths of the empress and the empress-dowager were drank, the artillery responded with fifty-one guns to each; thirty-one were fired in honour of the imperial house, and only twenty-one to the clergy and *all* faithful subjects. In the evening Moscow was brilliantly illuminated—a festive demonstration for which the city is said to have peculiar advantages, on account of its undulating site and the grotesque forms of many of its public buildings. Artists from Paris and Berlin had been occupied for months in preparing the devices which shone forth so brilliantly in every direction. The Kremlin was of course the principal feature in these brilliant decorations. Mr. Murphy, who rode through the crowded city at night, observes—"Imagine all these quaint outlines brilliantly lighted up, and appearing as if suspended in the misty sky; imagine three

by poison, after which he fled to Constantinople, and thence to Holland, where he made known the riches he possessed, and offered them for sale to the different courts of Europe. Catherine II. proposed to buy 'the Moon of the Mountains' only. Shafra was requested to come to Russia, and he was introduced to the court jeweller. The terms demanded by Shafra were—letters of nobility, a life annuity of 10,000 roubles, and 500,000 roubles, payable by equal instalments in ten years. Count Panin, who was then minister, delayed the settlement of the bargain as long as possible, and in the meantime had the Armenian led into such extravagances that he fell into debt, and when the minister found that he had no means of paying what he owed he abruptly broke off the negotiation. Shafra, according to the laws of the country, could not leave until his debts should be paid, and the court jeweller prepared to take advantage of his embarrassments, and intended that the diamond should fall into his hands for a fourth of its value. Shafra, however, discovered the trap that had been laid for him, and, disposing of some of the less valuable stones among his countrymen, paid his debts, and disappeared. Agents were sent after him, who had even orders to assassinate and rob him, but he escaped them. Ten years after, while he was at Astrachan, renewed offers were made to him, but he refused to enter into any negotiations unless the bargain should be settled at Smyrna. Catherine accepted, and became the possessor of the diamond for letters of nobility, 600,000 roubles, and 170,000 paper roubles, making together about two-and-a-half millions of francs. Shafra, not being able to return to his country, where he would have had to give an account of two homicides and two fratricides, fixed himself at Astrachan, where he married a countrywoman of his, and had seven daughters. One of his sons-in-law poisoned him for the sake of possessing his share of his property. The immense fortune which the murderer had acquired (from ten to twelve millions) was divided, and soon spent, by his successors, and several of the grandchildren of Shafra are now living at Astrachan in abject misery." Thus ended the tragedy of a diamond.



miles of walls, draped in sparkling festoons; imagine, or rather realise, some enchanted garden with its fountains of diamonds, its trees covered with pearls and rubies, and its cascades of liquid gold and silver. The architectural outline of every building seemed accurately traced out with a pencil of light; and not only the outline, but every ornament that could be found on the surface. The tower of Ivan Veliki looked like a colossal czar arrayed in a mantle of diamonds, and with a coronet of rubies encircling his head. The odd-looking St. Basil was, by the magic influence of tallow in a state of combustion, transformed into a fairy palace; and the more modern buildings of the Kremlin were as delicately traced out in light as they might have been in the architect's plan. Across the water we looked down upon an enchanted city, and the quiet waters of the Mosqua flamed like liquid fire from the reflection of the lights. The aborigines pronounced it to be the finest illumination they had ever had in Moscow, and the travellers vowed that it completely eclipsed the great annual Roman illumination.

"Next to the Kremlin, the place in which the great theatre is situated was most remarkable for the taste of the design and the beauty of the effects produced. This is an immense expanse, four times the extent of Lincoln's-inn-fields, and at one end stands the peerless theatre, with its grand Corinthian portico and its magnificent *façade*. On the other sides, at intervals, stand various buildings, all of which had, for the present occasion, been connected by a handsome screen of many arches, so that, when lighted up, the whole circuit of the square formed one complete and continuous design. Above all, and before all, stood the theatre itself, every flute in the pillars, every scroll or ornament in the capitals or entablature, being accurately traced out in living light. The illumination had made it an enchanted palace, and the state of the atmosphere hung it, as it were, in the air, producing every moment from the thousands of spectators shouts of astonishment and delight. I myself, although not altogether unused to scenes of this description, enjoyed the luxury of a new sensation, and have not as yet recovered sufficiently from my wonder to give you more than the above loose, general impressions of the illuminations of Moscow."

Alexander distinguished his coronation by a "manifesto of grace," which conferred

many acceptable boons upon his people. The document is a long one: we will therefore only mention its most important points. It conferred a commemorative medal upon all of his subjects, either military or civil, who took any part in the events of the late war. "This medal," said the *Journal de St. Petersburg*, "similar to that which the emperor has conferred in particular on the heroic defenders of Sebastopol, who have astonished the world by the longest and the most stubborn defence that the annals of nations have retained any record of, will recall to the most remote posterity the military and civil virtues of which all Russia has given proof in the grand national trial which she has just passed through." The next concession was not a compliment, but a solid benefit, and one likely to prove of lasting service to the population. Alexander released the whole of Russia from the burden of military recruiting, or conscription, during a period of four years, "unless (which God avert) the necessities of war should interpose obstacles in the execution of this measure." The emperor also directed his minister of finance to obtain a new census of the population of the empire, with the object of a more equitable assessment of the capitation tax. All arrears of taxes, amounting to at least 24,000,000 silver roubles, he remitted, while that hitherto levied on passports for foreign parts be abolished, reserving only a stamp duty to be appropriated for the benefit of the "Invalides." All criminals whose conduct had been irreproachable since their condemnation, were either pardoned or received a considerable commutation of their punishment. Prisoners for political offences were, some of them, pardoned conditionally, while the lot of others was much alleviated. The Jewish subjects of the emperor were relieved from the special burdens hitherto entailed upon them by the subscription. These are the chief points of the manifesto, which consisted of no less than thirty-eight separate articles. Concerning this document the *Times* observed:—"He must be both confiding and secure who can thus throw himself at once on the affections, on the prosperity of so many millions, hitherto ruled with a rod of iron. No doubt experience has long suggested some such changes; and in this, as in many other instances, the Russian government has only recorded the conclusions of time: but it is not every potentate, or every government, that can so interpret the teaching of history."



Alexander II. has passed through the ordeal of war; and from the bloody field of a raging strife, and superior foes, he has undertaken, with pure hands and a warm heart, a new reign of peace.\* Doubtless the sanguinary scenes he has himself witnessed, and the far more extensive and more miserable results of which he has had proof, have helped to teach a lesson which it yet needed a good heart to bring home to him." It is perhaps no longer premature to augur favourably of the personal disposition of the emperor. If the peace and welfare of Europe depended on him alone, we believe they would remain in tranquillity for ever. But it must be remembered that the czar is not Russia, nor altogether the government of Russia. Few men can stand successfully against an hereditary policy, the influence of which bears upon them from all points, and in many indirect and subtle ways. To the great statesmen and soldiers of Russia must we look for that condition of events which will, as far as their country is concerned, preserve the peace of Europe. Alexander may do much, but we doubt his ability to stand alone against the designs of his nobles and the wishes of his people, if they should chance to lie in an opposite direction. Undoubtedly his nature appears to be amiable, and his personal conduct unexceptionable. Mr. Russell observes—"The acts and the sayings of the czar have given universal satisfaction, except to those few whom he has been obliged to visit with marks of his disapprobation. He has gratified the peace party and the friends of internal improvement by the promptitude with which he has directed the arrangements for the development of railways and steam navigation to be completed and carried out, and he has evinced the greatest interest in the welfare and efficiency of the army and of the navy. More especially has he cleared the path of youthful talent, which was somewhat obstructed by jealousy in the lifetime of the late emperor, who had an affection for the rough old soldiers of the last war, looked with suspicion on the pretensions of the more youthful and better educated officers of the *état major*, and thrust the *vieux*

*sabreurs* and *moustaches blanches* into all posts of profit or distinction. The Czar Alexander has evinced, it is said, great discrimination in the promotions which have taken place, as well as in other measures of character not quite so agreeable for the advantage of the service. There are but few clouds in the present horizon of Russia, and they are very small and just overhead, so we know what they mean. The emperor is young—he is beloved and revered by his people—he has had a severe teaching in statesmanship in the rude school of the Czar Nicholas—and, as he was long engaged in playing the part of a mediator, in softening asperities, in acting, as it were, like a buffer to the state engine, and easing off the effects of its violent shocks, he has attained to a self-control which is rare among czars, as among men, and has not only learnt to examine questions without passion, but to act with moderation and dignified forbearance. Such, at least, is the character ascribed to Alexander II. by those who know him best; and the oldest ministers profess astonishment and admiration at the capacity, energy, and application he exhibits in the management of public affairs. May we hope that their judgment is right, and that all their predictions may be realised, and thus will be secured many blessings for Russia, and incalculable advantages for peaceful Europe."

The coronation itself was now over, but the programme of festivities, by which it was to be accompanied, had by no means drawn to a close; indeed they were prolonged through the whole month.

On Thursday, September 11th, a spectacle, in connection with the coronation, was presented at the Grand Opera, which almost equalled in interest that gorgeous ceremony itself. On this occasion the theatre had been devoted entirely to the service of the court, and admission could only be obtained by special invitation, or, to use a more courtier-like expression, command of the emperor. Nearly all the *noblesse* of Russia, together with all the foreign embassies and distinguished strangers, applied for tickets, and, necessarily, some thousands of persons were

\* We hope so. Still it will be wise to wait for a little more evidence before we pronounce decisively upon this point. Before the coronation ceremonies had passed away, the Russian government assumed an equivocal attitude, and one that approached almost to menace, concerning the allied occupation of Greece, and the necessary interference with the capricious tyranny of the King of Naples, which

threatened, by the production of a revolution within his own dominions, to disturb the peace of Europe. For certainly if, at this period, a suffering Italian people had broke out into successful revolution, it is difficult to say where the commotion would subside. Nearly all the thrones of continental Europe stand, in a strangely hazardous manner, upon bayonets—an unsafe foundation in troubled times.



disappointed; for, however large and commodious a theatre may be, its dimensions are necessarily limited. The Grand Opera of Moscow is a larger and more magnificent theatre than a stranger would probably expect to see in the ancient city of Moscow. It contains six tiers of boxes, with rooms at the back of each, into which the auditors can retire when they please. The pit is all divided into stalls, and in no case are more tickets issued than the house will conveniently accommodate. The boxes are arranged in such a manner that the occupants can be readily seen, for the visitors are not enclosed, except when they please to retire to the apartment behind them. Thus the personal beauty and brilliant dresses of the ladies, and the numerous uniforms of the male part of the audience, present a very graceful and cheering sight. The decorations of the house consist of an elaborate gold scroll-work, on a ground of delicate green, while the boxes are draped with crimson velvet, and the seats and cushions are of the same colour.

Again must we refer to the lively and pictorial description of the gentleman upon whose productions we have drawn so extensively. "It began to rain in the afternoon, but the only effect that had was to make the lamps, used in illuminating the outside of the theatre and the large square in which it is placed, pale their fires, and cause great anxiety to their attendants. At seven o'clock the whole of this square was filled with carriages, which the Cossacks and *gendarmes* had difficulty in reducing into order. The lights of the illumination flashed through the drizzle on a sea of tossing plumes, fea-

thers, and waving crests, through which the 'eternal Cossack,' just as much at home here as on his old look-out from Canrobert's-hill, rode like a dolphin. The pillars and the *façade* of the house were covered with the ciphers and honours of the czar traced in characters of fire. But it was, for the sternest disregarder of these things, almost impossible not to give way to a thrill of admiration and surprise on entering the body of the house and taking the first look from the pit. A Roman amphitheatre was probably a grander, but it could not have been a more brilliant sight. A gorgeous and magnificent crowd filled the theatre; but the arrangements were so good that there was neither hustling, confusion, nor noise. There were no ladies in the pit, so that the effect of the many splendid uniforms was homogeneous; but the front rows of the first tier of boxes were occupied by the mistresses of creation in full dress—such diamonds, in coronets, circlets, ear-rings, necklaces, bracelets, brooches—in all the forms that millinery and jewellery could combine those precious stones they were present—looking their best, and filling the house with an atmosphere of flashes and sparks in the rays of the waxlights. The grand ladies of the Russian court—the haughty old *haute noblesse*—were there, rich with the treasures won, in ages past, by their hard-pated ancestors from Tartar, Turk, or Georgian. Some of these ladies are very beautiful; but if there could be any portion of womankind which, as a rule, could be said not to be exquisite and of resplendent charms, it might be safely affirmed that they lived in Russia.\* The exceptions to such a remark are very conspicuous. There is one little

\* We suppose Mr. Russell is correct in this scarcely gallant expression, though we have heard the fair and delicate beauty of the Russian ladies highly spoken of. Mr. Murphy refers in more complimentary language to those present on this occasion:—"The *Réze-de-chaussée* was completely monopolised by the ladies; and amongst the Russian *belles* were many faces that would create a sensation in St. James's. The *Bel-étage* was given up almost wholly to the ambassadors, Lord Granville's box being on one side of the emperor's and the Count de Morny's on the other. Lord Granville was accompanied by the countess (who has won golden opinions amongst all classes by the affability of her demeanour), the Marchioness of Stafford, and Lady Emily Peel. The two latter ladies are, I understand, exceedingly admired by the Russian officers—a proof, I must say, of decidedly good taste on the part of these gentlemen. There was Prince Esterhazy in his immortal diamond pelisse, and the Prince de Ligne, who looked as if he had hardly yet recovered the slight, real or imagined, which for the last two days has

supplied the Moscow world with gossip. Count de Morny, it appears, got the order of St. Andrew, the highest of the Russian orders, while the prince was offered the White Eagle, which he indignantly refused. It is said that his wounded feelings have since received a salve in the shape of a malachite vase; but whether the gift will induce him to wear the rejected order is a problem for the solution of which a trembling world must, I believe, wait a little longer. There was the Princess Belasinski, the greatest heiress in Russia, and beautiful as a Peri, and, 'observed of all observers,' the illustrious Todtleben, in whose behalf strangers vied with Russians in the earnestness of their admiration. The defender of Sebastopol is a fine-looking man of about forty years of age, tall and strong, and weather-beaten, as a soldier should be. He seemed to be on intimate terms with most of the English officers, and chatted freely with all who could express themselves fluently in French. I confess that to me this wonderful man was a greater object of interest and curiosity than all the splendour I have been attempting to describe." In



head which always attracts any eyes that may be near it—a baby mignon face, with the most peachlike colour, enveloped in a wild riotous setting of flaxen hair, which bursts from all control of band or circlet, and rushes in a flood over the shoulders. It is such a face as inspired the artists who operated on old Dresden china, and it belongs to a young Russian princess, who has just burst upon the Moscow world. Another lady near her is Juno herself—a statelier and more perfect beauty could not be seen. A little further on there is a lovely young Moldave, married to a Russian prince, who has just been sent off to the Caucasus—three months after the wedding. There are also —. But the catalogue—not *raisonné*, I fear—must cease here for the present, for the crowd in the pit increases, and the emperor may be expected every moment. In the front rows of the pit are placed the generals and admirals, privy councillors, officers of state, chamberlains, and personages of the court. Behind these are similar officers mingled together with members of the foreign missions, and the strangers who were invited to be present. There were not half-a-dozen black coats in this assemblage of distinguished people; all the rest were in full uniform. Lord Granville was already in his box in the grand row on the left-hand side of the emperor's state box. M. de Morny and the French embassy were placed in the box on the right of the czar's. The other ministers and ambassadors were provided with places in the same row, and the *attachés* who had no room above were accommodated with seats in the pit. It was past eight o'clock when the emperor appeared, and the instant he was seen the whole of the house rose as if thrilled by an electric flash, and cheered most vehemently again and again. The czar and czarina bowed, and every salutation was the signal for a repetition of the enthusiastic uproar, through which at last the strains of 'God preserve the Czar' forced their way, and the audience resumed their places. On the left of the czar was the Grand-duke of Saxe-Weimar; on the right the empress, and next to her the Grand-duchess Constantine and Princess of Leuchtenberg. The Grand-duke Constantine sat in a demi-box on the left of the emperor.

As soon as the greeting and the national anthem ceased, the orchestra commenced the overture to *l'Elisir d'Amore*, and the opera, which was admirably sung by Bosio, Lablache, and Calzolari, was performed amid a dead silence. It was followed by the ballet of *La Vivandière*, in which Cerito made her appearance."

In the morning preceding this visit, the emperor held a *levée*, at which all the foreign ambassadors attended. Some accounts state that he received all the embassies with equal courtesy; a circumstance which is very probable. Others mention that he was very gracious to Count de Morny, the ambassador of France, and rather reserved towards Lord Granville. "We were *très liés* in days gone by," said the emperor to that nobleman, "but it is to be hoped that the estrangement will not continue." His lordship replied in a low tone of voice; and the words he uttered appear to have been lost to all except the ear for which they were intended. It is added, that the manner of the emperor was at first cold and distant towards Prince Esterhazy, the Austrian ambassador; but that the veteran diplomatist spoke so earnestly, and gave such assurances of the desire which actuated his court and country to return to their *premiers amours*, that Alexander appeared touched, and extended his hand with warmth. We mentioned that a little pleasant rivalry existed between the French and English ambassadors, on the point of who should display the most brilliant equipages, and give the most sumptuous and artistic dinners. At St. Petersburg, Count de Morny carried off the honours; but at Moscow they were unequivocally given to Lord Granville. The former was, it is said, fairly dined and danced down; and, eventually, the palm was universally yielded to Lord and Lady Granville for dinners, balls, receptions, and for unflagging graciousness and courtesy of demeanour. The house of the French ambassador was Bachelor's Hall; while the presence of Lady Granville at that of his friendly rival, attracted to her saloons the *élite* of the ladies of Russia. Indeed, so attractive were these assemblies, that a ball at the English ambassador's was considered

a subsequent letter Mr. Russell himself said, in allusion to the point first mentioned in this note:—"I must modify very considerably the opinion insinuated some time ago respecting the paucity of pretty women in Moscow, for there were present

last night (at a ball of the nobility) a large number of very attractive and elegant persons, who amply redeemed the character of the Russian type, and displayed great charms of face and figure."



the most agreeable opportunity of seeing, on one occasion, all the celebrities then assembled at Moscow. The bearers of many of the most distinguished historical names in Europe were to be met there; and old antagonists in court or camp, in war or diplomacy, there fought their battles over again in quiet corners, or in the eddies of the ball-room; or, perhaps, took secret measure of each other for fresh encounter. It was doubtless to be attributed to the ill-feeling produced by the recent war, that Englishmen received but little of the large hospitality for which Russians are generally considered somewhat famous. It is natural to suppose that some touch of bitterness, some unpleasant memories would remain in the minds even of the most polished and urbane of the Russians. Yet it is right to observe, that the relations of the ladies and gentlemen of both countries were marked by the most studied and exquisite politeness.

On the 13th a grand review took place, cards of invitation to which were sent to all persons recently presented to the emperor. The coronation festivities had been much interfered with by the rain, which, it appears, is more frequent and obstinately persevering than is the case in our own metropolis. Even a "Scotch mist," says Mr. Murphy, is Egyptian aridity as compared with a real, right-down Russian rainy day. The review, however, was held on the great Hadinka plain, where there is a parade ground of gigantic dimensions. Three divisions of infantry, consisting of about 45,000 men, were drawn up for inspection. Then a sham battle was fought, in which one-half of the army defended, while the other attempted to take the position. The emperor behaved with a truly regal indifference to the pitiless weather, which appeared to take a maliciously democratic pleasure in wetting him and his brilliant staff to the skin. He rode up and down, at intervals, between the presumed hostile armies, and watched the performance of each successive evolution with a critical interest. But the ground was a clayey pap, and the air so thick, that the troops could only just be distinguished by the spectators. Fortunately, the rain ceased at last, the air cleared a little, and there was seen, in battle array, the whole of the famous imperial guard, dotted over the plain in huge human parallelograms or glistening squadrons, the bayonets of the infantry, in long regular

rows, sparkling like a diamond necklace, and the varied uniforms of the cavalry glowing like the costumes of some great state pageant.

The following day (Sunday, the 15th) there was a *petite levée* at the Kremlin, at which the clergy and many of the boyards paid their respects to the emperor and empress. It was followed, in the evening, by a ball in the Salle Alexandre, to which the ambassadors, ministers, members of legations, distinguished strangers, and the *haute noblesse*, were invited. The Greek church, like that of Rome, considers the Sunday as a *fête* day; and it is frequently selected in Russia for balls and dinners, in preference to weekdays. For the members of the English embassy to have absented themselves on account of the different views they entertain with respect to the day, would probably have given offence, as those views could not readily be explained to the Russian clergy. The explanation would, at the least, have sounded pharisaical in their ears. Lord and Lady Granville, and the other members of the English embassy, with the exception of the Marquis of Stafford and Sir Robert Peel, were therefore present. Indeed, nearly all the celebrities of Moscow were there, and the emperor was remarkably affable and unreserved. A superb supper was served at midnight, at which the choicest French cookery was supplied amidst the gorgeous treasures of the imperial plate.

On the 16th, the merchants and *bourgeoisie* gave a dinner to the emperor and to the army. There is no recognition, in Russia, of the people as a great power in the state; which will account for the curious fact, that the hosts were not permitted to sit down to dinner with their guests. Though the banquet was one of the most splendid and costly of the coronation series, yet rank did not, and would not, know the givers of it—a circumstance which very naturally elicited some dissatisfied and rather irritable feelings in the minds of the latter. It took place in the Salle d'Exercice, a great riding-school, intended for the drill and exercise of troops during the severity of winter. This building is more than twice the size of Westminster Hall; and its vast enclosure can accommodate, at once, two complete regiments of mounted dragoons. The late Emperor Nicholas sometimes reviewed his favourite chevalier guards in the Moscow riding-school, at a time



when the weather was so bitter, that half-an-hour's exposure in the open air would have been certain death to man and horse. To prepare the building for the reception of the guests, its walls were hung with scarlet drapery, and the gravel on which the men and horses exercised, was boarded over, and also carpeted with scarlet. Along the walls were arranged small trees or plants, such as laurel, myrtle, and pines, in bright green tubs; while *bouquets* and single flowers were profusely used in the decoration of the tables. The shafts of the stones were ornamented with military trophies; and at the extremity of the hall there was a raised *daïs*, where the emperor and the generals were to sit. To the right and left of this were two large orchestras, occupied by the bands of the chevalier guard, and the civilian professional and amateur players of Moscow. There were thirty-two tables at the upper end of the hall, and forty at the lower end; the space between the two being occupied at the sides by the orchestra. The tables glittered with a brilliant display of plate, and were covered with a profusion of everything delicious in the way of eatables and drinkables. When the guests assembled, the great variety and splendour of the uniforms produced a brilliant effect. The glitter of gold and silver, and the differences of colour—scarlet, green, crimson, and blue—charmed, and even dazzled the spectator. In some galleries which had been erected for the occasion, were also assembled great numbers of brilliantly attired women, who, of course, added not a little to the beauty of the scene. The emperor made his appearance dressed as a general of division; and as the entertainment went off pretty much the same as all such affairs do, it is not necessary to speak further of it here. On retiring, the emperor thanked the representatives of the merchants for their hospitality, and complimented them on the taste and profusion of the dinner, which, it is said, had cost 200,000 roubles in preparation. We should mention that 2,500 soldiers were entertained at the same time, in one of the boulevards outside the Kremlin, which had been covered with canvas, and formed into a series of long rooms for the occasion. Each soldier had soup, two kinds of meat, pastry, together with a bottle of sherry, and a bottle of beer. Certainly, the trading community of Moscow cannot be accused of a want of liberality.

Festivities were kept up with an un-

flagging spirit. The following night there was a ball at the Graziani Palace, the residence of Lord Granville, which was graced by the presence of the Grand-duke and Grand-duchess Constantine, the Grand-duke Nicholas, the Grand-duchess Maria, and several other members of the imperial family. Princesses and countesses also were there without number, and many of the most distinguished members of the military and diplomatic circles of Russia. Mr. Russell, in speaking of this ball, mentions a curious fact in connection with the Grand-duke Constantine and the defences of Cronstadt, which we relate in his own words:—"Night and day he worked at Cronstadt while our fleet was before it, and he is now, with the utmost determination and perseverance, creating for Russia a very formidable force of steam gun-boats, of which there are no less than seventy-five in the Baltic, all built within the last twenty months: some of them are worked by the locomotive engines of the railway, fitted for that purpose; others are provided with engines made at the government factories; but these have given the grand-duke some trouble, as they are liable to aberrations and to execute mechanical manœuvres not designed by their manufacturers. Sir Charles Napier, in the account of his extraordinary experiences of Cronstadt, forgot one important fact: he talked much of the difficulties, and insinuated the impossibilities of an attack on the place, and mentioned especially the impediments created by the genius of Todleben in the passage at the north of the forts; but Sir Charles did not tell his countrymen what the grand-duke is at no pains to conceal—that the passage was quite practicable when the allied fleet first came off Cronstadt, and that the impediments to the passage of large ships were not formed till the winter of the second year of the war. The Russians were perfectly aware that the northern side could be forced, and that it was quite possible for a determined enemy to run past the forts, most of which are constructed on arcs of spheres, have their *maximum* amount of fire directed in front, and have only part of their guns available for an enemy passing their right flank. They had ever such a casualty in view; and the most desperate resolves were spoken of in case the fleets forced the Neva and St. Petersburg was at their mercy. The opportunity was lost, and the grand-duke and Todleben took care it never should occur again. The moment the allies retired



before the grip of winter, thousands of men were set to work, who sunk stones all along the northern channel, or heaped piles of hundreds of tons of blocks of granite on the ice, which went through to the bottom as it melted, and formed a line of artificial rocks across the passage. On some of these rocks batteries were erected, guns were placed to cover the approach, and the place was indeed rendered unassailable by large vessels. Why did not Sir Charles Napier tell us when this was done? Surely nothing of the kind took place till after his abortive demonstration in the summer of 1854."

To return to the ball at Lord Granville's. An amusing incident took place there, which the lovers of pleasant gossip will not be displeased with if we relate. The Marquis of Stafford's highland piper, Mr. McAllister, dressed in full uniform, with kilt and philibeg, had been sent for with the intention of introducing him for the amusement of the company. Having waited for some time in an ante-room, the man grew impatient; until at length, without waiting to be summoned, he shouldered his pipes, and striking up a pibroch that might have awakened the dead if such an event were possible, he marched, as if at the head of his clan, into the centre of the brilliant ring, round which dukes and duchesses were at that moment dancing the *polonaise*. It may be supposed such an unlooked-for appearance created a sensation. The Russians were at first astonished, and put their hands to their ears, while the ladies gazed at the seeming apparition in mute surprise. But, as a spectator observed, it soon became evident that there was a sympathy between the warlike race on one side, and the warlike music on the other. Ladies and gentlemen smiled, chatted, and then listened. Shortly afterwards the piper was sent for by the Grand-duchess Constantine, who had retired to another apartment, where he played her "The White Cockade," in a style that elicited her smiles and commendation. In the course of the evening he was several times called upon to play before small but admiring audiences. He afterwards became an object of much admiration to the Russian people, who followed him about the streets. The poor mujiks were much puzzled as to his rank and position in society; but a common impression prevailed among them that he was the chief of all the foreign ambassadors, but that with a fastidious refinement of *hauteur* he preferred walking,

on the ground that none of the carriages were grand enough for his notions of personal dignity.

We have just alluded to Sir Charles Napier, and what he did *not* do while in command of the Baltic fleet. We may mention as a sequel to his exploits, that shortly before the coronation he paid a visit to St. Petersburg, where his unexpected presence created some surprise and sensation. Many reasons were assigned as having induced him to take the journey; and the one generally credited has an air of eccentricity about it that renders it a little doubtful. Some people said it was too absurd; but when we consider all Sir Charles Napier's conduct since he was deprived of his command, it would be difficult to limit the extent of absurdity to which he might go upon occasions. It was said that he had come with the object of winning a wager he had formerly made, to the effect that he would breakfast at Cronstadt and dine at St. Petersburg on the same day. It is added, that as he visited both places between sunrise and sunset, he had won his bet. However that may be, he was treated with great courtesy by the Russian authorities; and the emperor is reported to have sent an invitation to him by an aide-de-camp, offering him a suite of rooms in one of the crown palaces.

The Russian authorities added to their civilities by informing Sir Charles, that orders had been given at Cronstadt, and elsewhere, for his admission, should he desire to examine their defences and other establishments. He was politely, though perhaps somewhat sarcastically, assured, that *now* he would not experience any difficulty in entering the various fortresses. At the same time, the Grand-duke Constantine ordered a steamer to be stationed in the river, just under the windows of Sir Charles's rooms, on the English quay, and a Russian officer informed the visitor that this vessel was for his especial behoof and accommodation; but first, he begged him to repair to the Marble Palace, the residence of the grand-duke. When some Russian officers boarded the English admiral's vessel, as it came up to St. Petersburg, Sir Charles pointed towards Oranienbaum, the beautiful groves of which came down to the water's edge, and inquired, "Have you any guns there?"—"Yes, some fourteen batteries," was the reply. "And there?" pointing to Peterhoff. "Oh yes; about a



hundred guns there." At the quay in St. Petersburg a crowd of people were collected to see the admiral disembark. When he went to Peterhoff, he proceeded in an off-hand way to the emperor's palace, and demanded of a servant in the grounds whether his majesty was there. As the man could not understand English, nor Sir Charles speak Russian, a little difficulty arose. An English gentleman, however, was found, who translated the question, and then translated the answer; which was, that the emperor was not there, but at his farm, a little distance off. An anecdote is related of Sir Charles during his stay at St. Petersburg, which, if true, is excellent. The Grand-duke Constantine, after letting him see all the arrangements, and the entire strength of Cronstadt, asked him, in a chuckling sort of manner, "Well, admiral, and why didn't you come in?" To which the old sailor replied by asking, in his turn, "Pray, why didn't your imperial highness come out?"

When Sir Charles Napier, after his return to England, met his parliamentary constituents at Southwark, on the 11th of November, he thus spoke of his visit to St. Petersburg:—"Since the conclusion of peace he had been to Cronstadt, to satisfy himself whether he had done right or wrong in not attacking it. He found the fortifications stronger even than he believed them to be when he was there with the fleet. In fact, they were perfectly and entirely impregnable. The Grand-duke Constantine had granted him an interview, and had shown him all his plans of defence; and, certainly, more judicious and more proper plans never were conceived. He was a man of great talent, and had spoken to him in a perfectly honest, plain, straightforward way. He remarked—'If you had attempted to come in, there would have been nearly 1,000 guns bearing on your fleet; there was not water enough for your large ships; the channel was narrow, and it was so thickly filled with infernal machines, that our own ships going in and out were afraid of being blown up.' 'Will you allow me,' said I, 'to speak plainly to you? Why did you not come out to meet us at Kiel? We were then badly manned and badly disciplined. If you had come out, I don't know what the consequences might have been.' 'Ah!' said the grand-duke, 'if I had had screws I should have come out to meet you. I did not know that you were

so badly manned until it was too late.' And I think," added the admiral, "that it was lucky he didn't come. Not that there was an Englishman there who would not have fought to the last drop rather than retreat; but after all, ships without disciplined men are no better than fortifications without soldiers. People are fond of talking about the British navy being unconquerable; but the British navy is men, not ships."

Well might the *Times* visit the senile admiral with its bitter sarcasm. It observed—"At one time, the insinuation was that the admiralty held him back; the true British sailor was restrained by a lukewarm semi-Russian cabinet in Downing-street; but the blindest partisanship can no longer cling to this assertion, so fully disproved; and now the admiral and his clique shift their ground. It is Cronstadt which was too strong—in fact, impregnable; terrible results would have followed an attack. One thousand guns would have been directed against the British fleet. We had read of the *Royal Sovereign* supporting alone the fire of the French and Spanish fleet for half-an-hour on the day of Trafalgar; but in those times, a naval officer thought more of gaining fame by laying his ship alongside the enemy, than by coming home to abuse his superiors before electioneering mobs, and making odious comparisons between his men and the enemy's. We have learned, too, from an authority equal to that of Sir Charles Napier, that during the first year of the war the defences of Cronstadt were in a most incomplete state, and that had he made the attempt he must, considering that many of his vessels were propelled by steam, have caused no small damage to the enemy's fleet, if even he were unsuccessful in destroying the dockyards and arsenals of the place.

"But Sir Charles Napier, in his confidential communications with the Grand-duke Constantine, seems, if he report himself accurately, to have exhibited his professional character in a manner which will be somewhat strange to the country. We knew that he had gone to the Baltic for six months, and done nothing. We knew that it was not only the terrible Cronstadt which he left alone, having satisfied himself *à priori* of the impregnability, which he afterwards ascertained experimentally by a visit, but that he had also given a wide berth to Revel, and Sweaborg, and Riga, and, in



fact, to everything except fishing villages and brigs laden with salt or flour. We knew that with an enormous fleet, containing probably not far from 20,000 seamen and marines, he did not attack Bomarsund with its 2,000 or 3,000 Russians without the aid of a French army, to carry off the only scrap of credit which the operations of the year furnished. But we were hardly prepared for the fact, that we were only saved from destruction by the neglect of the grand-duke to come out and seize his prey. There is a story of two republican armies in a South American campaign running away from each other: a similar result, we presume, would have followed, had the two heroes of the Baltic found themselves, by chance, within sight on the open sea; for Constantine could not be more afraid of Napier than Napier was of Constantine."

Abandoning this little episode, which grew naturally out of the subject, let us return to the coronation *fêtes* at Moscow. On the 20th of September occurred the most strange of these rejoicings. It was the emperor's dinner to the mujiks, or the "*Festin du Peuple*." We have perhaps spoken sufficiently about the banquets and balls; the gorgeous finery, and the choice eating and drinking which abounded during this period in the ancient city; and which must have been extremely wearying to the distinguished persons who were compelled to take part in them all. Yet a dinner given on a vast plain, with about a quarter of a million of people for guests, is so uncommon an occurrence, that some account of it must not be omitted. The "*Festin du Peuple*" is the entertainment of the Russian mob, or the "black people," as they are called—not improbably on account of the apparent aversion of the greater part of them to soap and water.

The dinner was laid out on a part of the vast plain where reviews take place, near the palace of Petrovsky. A handsome pavilion had been erected for the accommodation of the emperor and his family; and round it were galleries for the reception of the distinguished guests invited. From the pavilion rows of tables radiated in every direction for about half a mile. The tables were covered with white calico cloths, and sustained upon legs which had been painted of a light blue. Down the centre were ranged green tubs of earth, containing small fir-trees, from the branches of which were suspended roast fowls, portions of

game, fruit, and other delicacies. Between these trees were placed boiled hams, boiled legs of salted mutton, picces of corned beef, and a sheep roasted whole, with his horns gilded, and his back covered with a scarlet cloth. Then came mountains of bread, and here and there dwarf pine trees, hung with festoons of sausages. Pails of beer stood wherever there was room for them; and at certain spots were fountains, supplied with wine, tea, and vodka. The materials of the feast comprised 2,496 poods\* of ham, 936 poods of sausages, 3,120 roasted sheep, 12,480 roast fowls, 49,920 *pâtés*, 50,000 almond *pâtés*, 24,960 Russian cheesecakes, 145,088 small loaves of white bread, 312 poods of butter, 1,252 vedros of wine, 3,120 vedros of beer, 600 poods of Russian spiced cake, and 800 tchetverts of fruit. The total length of the tables spread for the guests was exactly seven miles. It took several days to lay out this gigantic spread, during which time, unfortunately, the rain fell heavily, and spoilt much of the food. During this time, said Mr. Russell, "the crows could not make it out at all. Here was a monster banquet, and yet no one came to eat it; so they hopped about between the tables as near as they dared, or flew over them for the sake of the sniff; and now and then made a regular swoop at the cake, but were always frightened off by the mujiks. When I say crows, I mean corvidæ of all sorts; ravens, roystons, carrions, rooks, and smart and spruce ecclesiastical Mr. Jackdaw." In addition to the eatables, amusements were provided for the people. These consisted of Montagne Russes, turnabouts, a circus for horsemanship, and a balloon ascent.

All these arrangements failed to produce the anticipated result. The rain fell all day in perfect torrents; the dark clouds seemed to rest upon the house-tops, and the air was thick and heavy. Never, perhaps, did the weather appear more maliciously intent on crushing enjoyment; and the rain fell splash, splash upon the poor patient people, in a way that elicited pity for them from every spectator. Even this was not the sole misfortune of the day. It was intended that the people should eat their dinners sociably together at the tables provided for them. By some accident, this pleasant arrangement was overturned; and what should have been a dinner turned out to be a disorderly scramble. How it oc-

\* A pood is nearly thirty-six pounds English.



curred is not very clear; but the following story was told concerning it:—By the pavilion to be occupied by the emperor was a staff, on which a white flag was to be hoisted as a signal to the multitude that they might fall on to the fare provided for them. It was arranged that this should be done at a signal from the emperor, who would then stand and contemplate the enjoyment of his people. In consequence of the signal-ropes having been contracted by the wet, the man who had charge of them thought that probably they would not act when required to do so, and therefore he gave an experimental pull, to see if such was the case. Contrary to his expectation, they proved to be in excellent order, and the white flag shot up like an arrow to the top of the staff. The hungry thousands, who had been waiting with ravenous expectation for their treat, no sooner beheld the signal, than they rushed upon the tables and ate and pocketed whatever came within their grasp. A very few minutes sufficed for the disappearance of everything; sheep, hams, sausages, beef, fowls, bread, and fruit—all had vanished; and the platters, dishes, trees, tubs, and wooden spoons followed. The alarmed official ordered the people to stop; shouted to his emissaries; sent orders to distant Cossacks; and had the flag jerked hurriedly down again. It was in vain; nothing could stop that mighty tide of life: the mischief was done; and before the arrival of the emperor, nothing but the bare tables remained. Alexander was inclined at first to be displeased; but he soon recovered his habitual serenity, and exclaimed, "Well, it can't be helped."

The following day, another entertainment of a more successful kind was given to the people. It was a ball at the palace of the Kremlin, at which about 20,000 persons were present, the admission being regulated by tickets. The halls of St. George, St. Vladimir, and St. Andrew, and the Salle Alexandre, were thrown open, and brilliantly illuminated; the last alone being lighted with more than 2,000 wax candles. Long before nine o'clock the palace was crowded, and the dark column of people streamed slowly forward through the gilded saloons.

At nine the emperor made his appearance, with the empress leaning on one arm, and the empress-mother on the other. Unattended by the chamberlains, who on ordinary occasions preceded him, Alexander

and his illustrious companions entered the ranks of the crowd without reserve or caution. The emperor nodded and smiled upon the people with a genial good-humour, which they repaid with a reverence which, in its affection, bordered on adoration. One who beheld the scene observed, that it was impossible to avoid the conclusion, that if the Russian government be a despotism, it is at the least, in as far as the emperor and the great mass of the people are concerned, a despotism of the heart quite as much as of the strong arm. The poor mujiks were much better pleased with their ball than with the "*festin*" of the previous day. This might have been expected, when we consider the pitiless soaking they endured on one occasion, and that they were sheltered in warm and brilliant saloons on the other. At the dinner, it is said that much of the meat was tainted—a circumstance which, we suppose, would settle even the mujik appetite. It should be observed, that this state of the food did not arise from any ill-judged economy in the purchase of it, but from the time occupied in its preparation.

More grand balls followed; the most important of them being that of the *noblesse* of Moscow, which is regarded as essential to the aristocracy of Russia; and one by Lord Granville. The first was attended by 3,000 persons of the best families in Russia, including the emperor and empress, and was held in the splendid mansion of the nobility. The latter was very brilliant and successful, attended as it was by about eight or nine hundred of the most distinguished people in Moscow, some of whom were so anxious to be there that they went without any invitation whatever. A monster mosque was erected, and opened into the drawing-room floor, from which it extended over the garden. The emperor and empress, and the grand-dukes and duchesses, were among the guests. In the *polonaise*, which followed soon after the entrance of the emperor, he led forth Lady Granville, while the ambassador was honoured by the hand of the czarina. The czar subsequently danced with Lady Emily Peel and Lady Stafford. He appeared thoroughly to enjoy himself, and his condescending and truly gentlemanly bearing was the theme of general remark. He danced frequently, and talked freely; and threw himself utterly into the spirit of the entertainment. During the evening an odd incident occurred, which illustrated in a very



marked manner his gentle and courteous bearing. He had been dancing in one particular set in the upper part of the room, when he suddenly left it at the formation of a new quadrille, and, with Lady Emily Peel as his partner, took his place in the second set, rather to the astonishment of the very great people. The room was crowded, and the emperor bore his share of the bumping with great complacency. At length an English gentleman, waltzing somewhat more vigorously than was necessary, "ran right into him," and endangered the imperial equilibrium. Alexander at once relieved the offender from his embarrassment by *apologising to him* for the accident, saying, "he (the czar) really could not get out of the way, the crowd was so great."

The *fêtes* were now drawing to a close. Count de Morny, on the 28th of September, gave a ball, which for brilliancy rivalled that of Lord Granville. On the following night came a final exhibition of fireworks for the people; and the coronation festivities were a thing of the past. Then the ambassadors took their farewell of the emperor, distinguished visitors hurried away from Moscow, and events once more flowed onward in their ordinarily placid channels. Let us trust that the czar (Alexander II.) may amply fulfil the early promise of his reign, and rule so wisely that not only his people, but those of surrounding states, may earnestly hope that many years may elapse before there will be another series of coronation festivities in Moscow.

### CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS.

Our task is ended. Though an interesting, it has not been altogether an easy one. It has been our lot to record for readers, whom we are proud to say are reckoned by tens of thousands, each event of the great struggle of 1854-'5, even as it passed. We chronicled the circumstances of the evanescent hour; and spoke with a fearless judgment of the conduct of those living statesmen and warriors who directed our councils and our battles. A history of the war, written under such circumstances, must, it is evident, have been composed under difficulties which will not obstruct the path of future authors who may adopt this theme as a subject for their industry, their judgment, and their eloquence. Our work must necessarily be disfigured by some imperfections inseparable from the mode of its production and the rapidity with which it has been presented to the public. While we offer every necessary apology upon this score, we yet feel it due to ourselves to say, that these unavoidable blemishes are far less numerous than might reasonably have been anticipated. The many opinions we have uttered on the events which had but just occurred, and the judgments we have passed on the conduct of public men, have not, in any instance that we are aware of, been falsified by subsequent circumstances. Time has shed a fuller light on many of the points we have treated of, and it has toned down the bitterness and the misconceptions

with which the great majority of Englishmen regarded our recent foes. At some future time it will be an easier thing to pen a history of the great war against Russian acquisitiveness, more condensed in substance and more calmly confident in tone, than is the work we are now closing. Yet we feel proud to say, that in some matters of opinion we stood somewhat in advance of the time in which we wrote. Our work is not disfigured by any insincerity; and we have never preferred the pleasant but hollow conventionalities of opinion, with which men deceive themselves, to the sterner precepts of severe truth. We do not love to strew the verge of pitfalls with roses, or to crown inflated mediocrity with laurels. We have sometimes expressed ourselves with severity concerning the shortcomings of our public men; but in casting back a glance upon these censures, we believe them to be both just and called for. The dignity of the British empire was concerned; its high character for heroism was at stake; and it would have been weak, if not criminal, to have refrained from a stern expression of the truth concerning those by whose incapacity its glories ran a risk of being sullied. Happily, England emerged from the struggle with her errors corrected and her nerves braced. Unlike the great military powers of the continent, she was not exhausted by the severity of the contest, but roused and ready for its con-



tinuance, should such a course prove necessary. Misfortunes stimulate the strong; calamities are teachers to the thoughtful.

While readily admitting the necessary defects of a narrative which followed like a shadow upon the great events it described, it must be seen that it has also a peculiar advantage arising out of that very condition. We have related our great battles and other incidents with the freshness, earnestness, and intensity with which they impressed us and all sensitive and thoroughly English minds at the time of their actual occurrence. Each great event is dwelt upon and made—to speak metaphorically—an actual thing. Narratives of battles in which the historian takes no interest, are necessarily but sombre and leaden records. They are rather the shrunken and galvanised corpse of history, imitating life with unnatural and spasmodic movements, than history itself. Such things remind us of the skeletons seen in buried cities; certainly, they are a record, but a ghastly and a sad one. We claim no merit from the fact that our work possesses something of the roundness, play, and ease of actual life; for it would have been difficult for us to avoid this. Only mental blindness and want of appreciation of the grand, the heroic, and the enduring, could have omitted touches of life and brilliancy in such a series of word-pictures, painted at such a time.

Who living at the period, and hearing day by day of the departure of our troops to the East—of their terrible sufferings from pestilence at Varna—of the voyage of the allied armies to the Crimea—of their glorious victory at the Alma, and the precipitate flight of the Russians from the heights—of the sufferings of our sick and wounded soldiers, from the want of even decent and common attention—of the terrible bombardments of Sebastopol—of the brilliant engagements of our cavalry with that of Russia at Balaklava, and of the insane but heroic charge of the light brigade there—could describe such events without earnestness and emotion? Who, under such circumstances, could write accounts of the glorious battle of Inkermann, in which the apparently overwhelming hosts of Russia were swept back, reeling in blood, by a force of only 8,000 British infantry, and 6,000 French? who could tell of the mighty storm which, roaring desperately on from the vexed Euxine, so shortly afterwards brought wreck and ruin upon many a fine

English and French vessel, and so much suffering upon their respective camps; or of the dismal winter that followed, in which the appalling sufferings and cruel sacrifices of our unprotected troops wrung the heart of England, and created tears of pity and feelings of astonishment and anger from end to end of the land? Who could, in the hour of peril, write with a powerless pen of the strong yet subdued excitement which influenced every British mind at this period; or of the successive events of that prolonged, yet ever memorable siege, which will for centuries be referred to as one of the most startling events of this age? Above all, who, at the time of their occurrence, could relate the horrors and the glories of the destruction of that great Russian stronghold without much strong and terrible colouring? Was it possible to speak of the wonderful perseverance, the heroic achievements, and the sublime endurance of all the allied armies without astonishment and admiration, when even similar feelings were wrung from us by the military virtues of our enemy? Finally, could we relate the abandonment of the Crimea by the allies without emotions of joy for the great deeds that had been accomplished there; and of regret for that also which remained undone? Could we wander in imagination in that scarred land of graves—where in eternal glory lay hecatombs of the dead—without experiencing the promptings of eloquence and the mental activity which is ever elicited by the contemplation of greatness? No! for the spot is hallowed; the reflections it excites are sacred; the emulation its records will awake shall yet add to the glory of our country. With a gifted woman, who also sleeps in an honoured grave, we exclaim—

“O! who shall lightly say that fame  
Is nothing but an empty name!  
Whilst in that sound there is a charm  
The nerves to brace, the heart to warm,  
As, thinking of the mighty dead,  
The young from slothful couch will start,  
And vow, with lifted hands outspread,  
Like them to act a noble part!

“O! who shall lightly say that fame  
Is nothing but an empty name!  
When but for those, our mighty dead,  
All ages past a blank would be,  
Sunk in oblivious murky bed,  
A desert bare, a shipless sea?  
They are the distant objects seen,  
The lofty marks of what hath been.”

While writing these few lines of conclusion and farewell, we cannot forget that though the war is over and our work con-



cluded, yet that much connected with the great struggle remains unsettled. It is the fate of those who would write contemporary history to find that that which is apparently settled one year, is often reopened in some new and unsuspected way the next. For this reason a complete history never was and never can be written; for there is no discernible end to the ceaseless flow of events connected with and arising out of each other. Who shall say that our difficulties with Russia are permanently settled? Who shall pronounce prophetically that the peace will remain undisturbed, when Russia has quite recovered from the exhaustion which accrued to her from the recent contest? The eyes of the prophets are dim; their days are past; and we cannot gaze into the future. Yet, it may be premised, that statesmen regard the future with uneasiness, and that England and the great continental governments are resting with arms beside them; for the most part content with peace, yet not unprepared for war. May the maledictions of the peoples of Europe rest upon that potentate who, from wantonness or any greedy spirit of aggressiveness, shall first disturb the peace of the continent.

Some few threads of our narrative yet remain to be gathered up. With regard to the treaty of peace, Russia raised some difficulties, or rather quibbles, discreditable to the statesmen of a great power, concerning the rectification of her Bessarabian frontier; but she eventually yielded this point, together with that respecting the possession of the Island of Serpents. Turkey was left to work out her future as best she might, assisted by the counsels of England and France, both of which she showed herself reluctant enough to accept—a course which was, doubtless, more prudent than might appear at a momentary glance. France exhibited a natural pride at the victories she had obtained, and a scarcely generous disregard of the exertions of her English ally. Some politicians suspected her government of secretly coquetting with that of Russia, the emissaries of which nation undoubtedly strove to create dissension and disunion between the two great nations of the West.

Sardinia stood unrewarded, yet honoured, and with its eyes bent on the sufferings of Italy, and its heart big with the hope of Italian emancipation. Austria remained cautious and cunning, congratulating herself on the mode in which she had avoided war by cajoling the Allies on one hand, and Russia on the other; and became more bigotedly catholic, more tyrannous, more hated, and more ripe for destruction every day. Prussia, who had trembled ignobly during the whole continuance of the war, for fear that she might in some unsuspected way be dragged forcibly into it, no sooner saw it fairly over than her government drew its sword, and flourishing it, with a ludicrous assumption of valour, in the eyes of Switzerland, might have committed some aggression upon that brave little state, but that its determined attitude, and the representations of the other powers of Europe, induced her to think better of it, and sheath a sword which she studiously abstained from drawing when to do so would have been honourable. England, in the recent war, has proved to Europe that a state, with a free people and free institutions, though necessarily not so prepared for hostilities at first as military despotism, could yet act a great part in a great war, and come out of it fresh and ready, while her military neighbours panted on the verge of utter exhaustion.

We now take leave of the subject, wishing to our readers that instruction which a study of the records of the past struggle will impart; to our ministers, that wisdom in future days of difficulty and battle which, unhappily, was not so apparent as it should have been in those recently passed away; to our countrymen, that commercial and social prosperity which they have won by labour, enterprise, and perseverance, and which they can, if necessary, effectually protect by the sword; to the potentates of Europe, the judgment and mercy which will promote the happiness of their subjects; and to its various peoples, the social and material advancement which arises from prolonged peace, and would end in making Europe in reality what it now is in fiction—a brotherhood of nations.





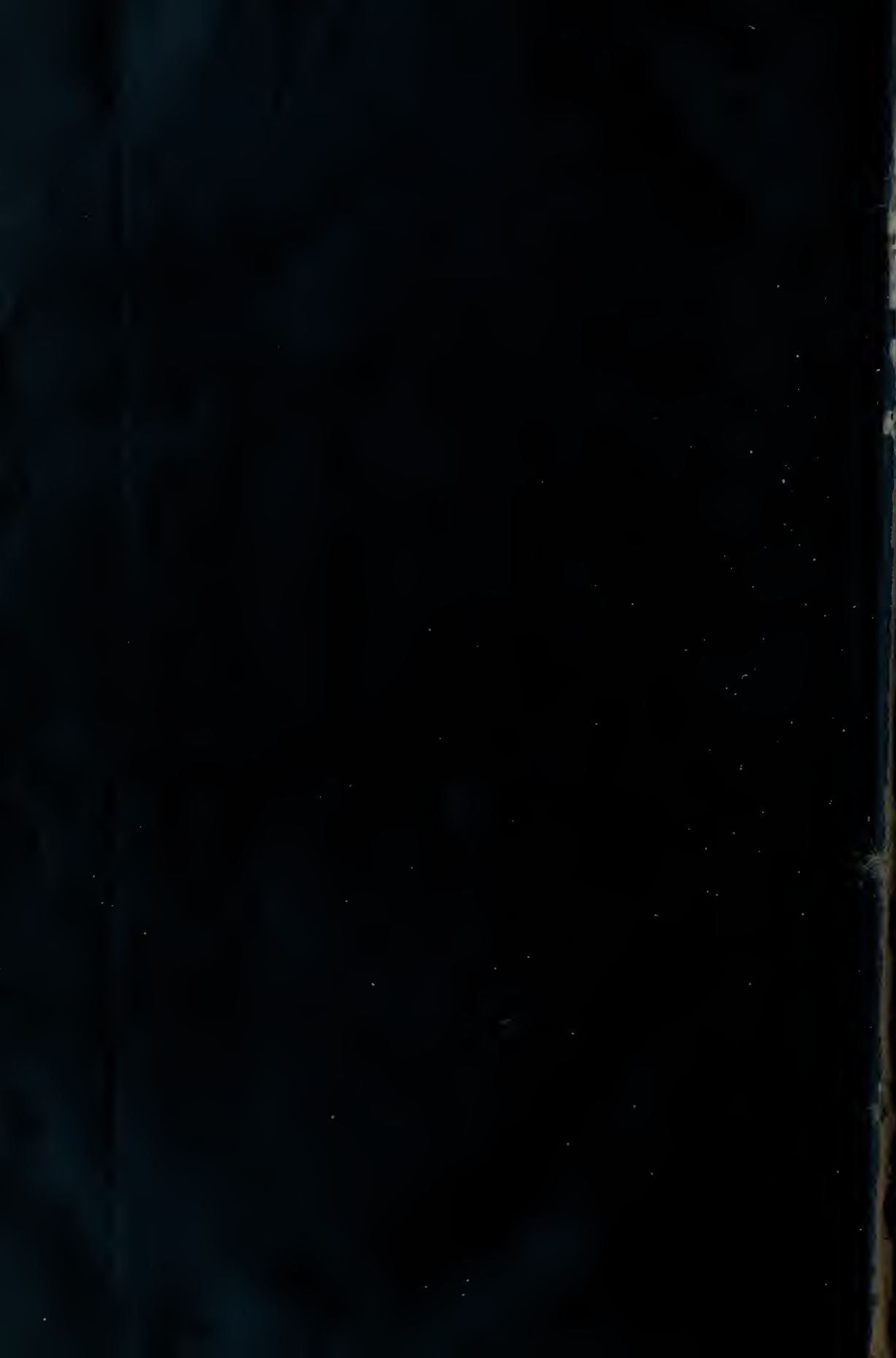












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